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ISAACUS BARROW S.T.P. REG. MAT. A SACRIS
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D. Loggan
ad Vivum delin.

THE

WORKS

Of the Learned

Iſaac Barrow, D. D.

Late Maſter of TRINITY-COLLEGE in *Cambridge*.

(Being All his *Engliſh* Works.)

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Publiſhed by his GRACE

Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*,

Late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The Firſt Volume,

Containing {
- Thirty two *Sermons* Preach'd upon ſeveral Occaſions.
- An *Expoſition* of the *Lord*'s *Prayer*, the *Creed*, &c.
- A Learned *Treatiſe* of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*.

LONDON:

Printed for *James Round* in *Exchange-Alley*, *Jacob Tonſon* in the *Strand*, and *William Taylor* in *Pater-noſter-Row*. 1716.

B1847
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Vol. 1
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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENEAGE

Earl of *Nottingham*,

Lord High Chancellor of *England*,

AND

One of His MAJESTY's moſt Honourable PRIVY-COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

I Take the Boldneſs to preſent your Lordſhip with ſome of the Fruits of my deceaſed Son's Studies in Divinity. And ſince it hath pleaſed God, to my unſpeakable Grief and Loſs, to deprive me of ſo great a Bleſſing, and Comfort of my old Age; it is no ſmall Mitigation of my Sorrow, that whilſt he liv'd he was not unprofitable to the World, and that now he is dead, he hath left thoſe Monuments of his Piety and Learning behind him, which I am told are generally thought not unworthy to be imparted to the Publick.

If

If theſe SERMONS be ſuch, I have no cauſe to doubt but they will eaſily obtain your Lordſhip's Patronage, who are ſo known a Favourer of all that is virtuous and worthy, eſpecially of Religion and the Miniſters of it. Of which I had particular Experience upon the Death of my good Son, when your Lordſhip was pleaſed, with ſo much Humanity and Condeſcenſion, to ſend to comfort me under that ſad Loſs, and to expreſs your own Reſentment of it.

But whatever theſe SERMONS be, ſince I have no other way to acknowledge my great Obligations to your Lordſhip upon all Occaſions, I hope your Lordſhip will pleaſe favourably to accept of this, how ſmall ſo ever, yet ſincere Teſtimony of my dutiful Reſpects and Gratitude. I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged,

and moſt obedient Servant,

THOMAS BARROW.

THE

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THE Author *of the following* SERMONS *was so publickly known, and so highly esteemed by all Learned and Good Men, that nothing either needs or can be said more to his Advantage. Not but that I think it very fit, that the Picture of this truly-great Man should be drawn at full length, for the Knowledge and Imitation of Posterity; and it will, I hope be done hereafter by some more skilful Hand: However I shall not within the narrow Limits of a* Preface, *so much as attempt the Character of him; of whom, either not a little, or nothing at all ought to be said.*

And the Sermons *themselves do as little need Commendation, as the* Author; *their own Excellency and Eloquence will praise them best. I shall therefore only advertise the* Reader *of some few things concerning them.*

The Design of the Five *first is, to recommend Religion to our Esteem and Practice, from the Consideration of the manifold Excellencies and Advantages of it. The* Four *next do treat of the two great Duties of Religion, and Parts of Divine Worship,* Prayer *and* Thanksgiving; *and contain likewise a very powerful Persuasive to the Practice of them. The* Three *following were preach'd upon three solemn Occasions: The* First *of them upon the 29th of* May, 1676. *the Anniversary of His* MAJESTY'S *happy* Restoration: *The* Second *upon the 5th of* November, 1675. *in Commemoration of our great Deliverance from the* Powder-Treason: *both in the Year of his* Vice-Chancellorship: *The* Third *at the Consecration of the Bishop of* Man, (*afterwards Lord Bishop of St.* Asaph) *his Uncle; in which he pleads for the due Respect and Revenue of the Clergy with so much Modesty, and yet with so great Force of Reason and Eloquence, that the whole Profession may justly think themselves for ever indebted to him.*

The Publiſher to the Reader.

Some of theſe twelve Sermons *were the very firſt that he made; by which we may judge with what Preparation and Furniture he entred upon this Sacred Employment. The* Firſt *of them was preach'd at St.* Mary's *in* Cambridge, June 30. 1661. *and was, I think, the firſt that he ever preach'd. Thoſe* two *excellent* Sermons *of* Thankſgiving *were, as I am inform'd, the next. The* fourth *in order, was the firſt that he preach'd before the* King's Majeſty. *In placing of them as they now ſtand, I had very little regard to the Order of Time, but rather to ſome ſmall Reaſon taken from the Subject matter of them, not worth the mentioning; any Reaſon almoſt being good enough in a matter ſo indifferent, and where none is neceſſary.*

The next ten Sermons *are thought fit to be put together, becauſe of their Affinity to one another, all of them relating to the ſame Argument, and tending to reform the ſeveral Vices of the Tongue. The* two *laſt of them indeed againſt* Pragmaticalneſs *and meddling in the Affairs of others, do not ſo properly belong to this Subject; but conſidering that this Vice is chiefly managed by the Tongue, and is almoſt ever attended with ſome Irregularity and Indiſcretion of Speech, they are not altogether ſo foreign and unſuitable to it. And never were Diſcourſes of this kind more neceſſary than in this wicked and perverſe Generation; wherein the Vices here reprehended are ſo very rife, and out of the abundant Impiety of Mens Hearts there proceeds ſo much* Evil-ſpeaking *of all kinds, in Atheiſtical Diſcourſes, and Blaſphemous Railery, and Prophane Swearing; and when Cenſoriouſneſs, Detraction and Slander are ſcarce accounted Faults, even with thoſe who would ſeem to be moſt ſtrict in other Parts and Duties of Religion.*

The Author *of them, as he was exemplary in all manner of Converſation, ſo eſpecially in this Part of it; being of all Men I ever had the Happineſs to know the cleareſt of this common Guilt, and moſt free from* Offending in Word; *coming as near as is poſſible for humane Frailty to do, to the perfect Idea of St.* James *his* perfect Man. *So that in theſe excellent Diſcourſes of his he hath only tranſcribed his own Practice. All the Rules which he hath given he moſt religiouſly obſerv'd himſelf, and was very uneaſy when at any time he ſaw them tranſgreſſed by others in his Company.*

There is one thing in them needs Excuſe, namely, That ſeveral things which are more briefly and ſummarily ſaid in the Firſt of theſe Sermons about Evil-ſpeaking *are repeated in ſome of the following Diſcourſes: which becauſe it could not well be avoided, but either by wholly leaving out the firſt Sermon; or very much mangling ſome of the reſt, will, it is hoped, for that Reaſon be eaſily pardoned.*

The Eight *following* Sermons *are likewiſe ſorted together, becauſe they explain and enforce the* two *great Commandments of the Law, the* Love of God, *and* of our Neighbour.

The Two *next were publiſhed by himſelf, and only thoſe two. The* Firſt *of them, about the* Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor, *was preach'd at the* Spital, *and publiſh'd at the Deſire of the* Lord Mayor

and Court of Aldermen. *This was received with univerſal Approbation; and perhaps there is nothing extant in* Divinity *more perfect in its kind: It ſeems to have exhauſted the whole Argument, and to have left no Conſideration belonging to it untouch'd. The other, on the* Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, *was the laſt he preach'd but one; and, I think, the occaſion of his Death, by a Cold he then got, which, in all Probability; was the Cauſe of the Fever of which he died, to our unſpeakable Loſs. This he ſent to the Preſs himſelf, but did not live to ſee it publiſh'd.*

The laſt Part of this Firſt *Volume is his learned* Treatiſe *of the* Pope's Supremacy, *to which becauſe there is prefix'd a* Preface *giving a ſhort Account of it, I need not here to ſay any thing farther of it.*

The next Part of this Volume *is a brief Explication of the* Lord's Prayer, *the* Creed, *the* Decalogue, *and the Doctrine of the* Sacraments.

The Creed *alſo he hath handled in a larger way, in a great many excellent* Sermons *upon the ſeveral* Articles *of it, wherein he hath not only explain'd and confirm'd the great Doctrines of our Religion, but likewiſe ſhewn what Influence every Article of our Faith ought to have upon our Practice. Which* Diſcourſes *make the* Second *Volume of his Works.*

Beſide theſe, the Author *hath left many other excellent* Sermons, *upon ſeveral important and uſeful Subjects in* Divinity: *Which make the* Third *Volume, being All his* Engliſh *Works.*

Now I heartily recommend theſe Sermons *which are here publiſh'd to thy ſerious Peruſal; and ſhall only ſay this of them, That as they want no other kind of Excellency, ſo particularly they are animated throughout with ſo genuine a Spirit of true Piety and Goodneſs, that he muſt either be a perfectly-good, or prodigiouſly-bad Man, that can read them over without being the better for them.*

John Tillotſon.

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Dr. Iſaac Barrow.

TO THE

Reverend Dr. TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury*.

SIR,

THE Affection of Friends, or Intereſt of the Bookſeller has made it uſual to prefix the Life of an Author before his Works; and ſometimes it is a Care very neceſſary to give him a high and excellent Character, the better to protect his Writings againſt that Cenſoriouſneſs and Miſconſtruction to which all are ſubject. What Dr. *Barrow* has left do as little as any need ſuch an Advantage, ſtanding firm on their own Worth; nay, his Works may ſupply the want of a Hiſtory of his Life, if the Reader take along with him this general Remark, That his Sermons were the Counterpart of his Actions; therein he has drawn the true Picture of himſelf, ſo that in them *being dead he yet ſpeaketh*, or rather, *is ſpoken of*. Yet we the Readers do gladly entertain any hopes of ſeeing his Example added to his Doctrine, and we think we expreſs ſome kind of Gratitude for your reviewing, digeſting and publiſhing his Sermons, if we deſire from you his Life too. His Sermons have coſt you ſo much pains as might have obliged the World with many of your own; if now his Life ſhould ask a farther Part of your Time, the Weight and Brightneſs of your Obſervations would ſtill more promote the ſame Ends, the Doctor's Honour, and the publick Good. It were an unpardonable Vanity in me to affect joining my Name with yours or his; but what Memorials I

Heb. 11. 4. *Marg.*

can

can recollect, I here preſent you, that when you have refined this Ore, it may be admitted as my Offering toward his Statue. What may be ſaid would have had a ſtronger Impreſſion upon our Paſſions when they were moved upon the firſt News of ſo great a Loſs; of perhaps 'twere beſt to forbear till the Publication of all his Works, when the Reader will be farther prepared to admire him. But I proceed in the order of time, that the other Particulars occurring to your Memory or ſuggeſted by other Friends may more readily find their proper Place, and ſo give the better Luſtre to one another: And this I think the fitter to be obſerved becauſe the harmonious, regular, conſtant Tenor of his Life is the moſt admirable thing in it. For though a Life full of Variety and even of Contrariety were more eaſy to be be writ, and to moſt more pleaſant to be read, it were leſs deſerving or deſirable to be imitated.

Dr. *Iſaac Barrow* was the Son of Mr. *Thomas Barrow* (a Citizen of *London* of good Reputation yet living, Brother to *Iſaac Barrow*, late L. Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) Son of *Iſaac Barrow*, Eſq; of *Spiny Abby* in *Cambridgeſhire* (where he was a Juſtice of Peace for 40 Years) Son of *Philip Barrow* who has in Print a Method of Phyſick, and had a Brother *Iſaac Barrow* Doctor of Phyſick, a Benefactor to *Trinity College*, and there Tutor to *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury* and Lord Treaſurer.

He was born in *London* *October* 1630 *. His Mother was *Ann*, Daughter of *William Buggin* of *North Cray* in *Kent*, Eſq; whoſe Tenderneſs he did not long enjoy, ſhe dying when he was about four Years old.

His firſt Schooling was at the *Charterhouſe* for two or three Years, when his greateſt Recreation was in ſuch Sports as brought on fighting among the Boys; in his after-time a very great Courage remained, whereof many Inſtances might be ſet down, yet he had perfectly ſubdued all Inclination to quarrelling, but a Negligence of his Cloaths did always continue with him. For his Book he minded it not, and his Father had little hope of Succeſs in the Profeſſion of a Scholar, to which he had deſigned him. Nay, there was then ſo little Appearance of that Comfort which his Father afterward received from him, that he often ſolemnly wiſht, that if it pleaſed God to take away any of his Children, it might be his Son *Iſaac*, ſo vain a thing is Man's Judgment, and our Providence unfit to guide our own Affairs.

Removing thence to *Felſted* in *Eſſex*, he quickly made ſo great a Progreſs in Learning and all things Praiſe-worthy, that his Maſter appointed him a little Tutor to the Lord Viſcount *Fairfax* of *Emely* in *Ireland*. While he ſtay'd here he was admitted in *Peter-houſe* his Uncle the Biſhop's College; but when he removed to (and was fit for) the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Feb.* 1645. he was planted in *Trinity*

* *Dr.* Pope *in the Life of Biſhop* Ward, p. 129. *ſays this was a Miſtake; but it was not, as appears from Dr.* Barrow's *Epitaph made from his Father's Information, and mentioned by Dr.* Pope *himſelf*, p. 169.

College;

College; His Condition was very low, his Father having ſuffered much in his Eſtate on account of adhering to the King's Cauſe, and being gone away from *London* to *Oxford*, his chief Support at firſt was from the Liberality of the famous and reverend Dr. *Hammond*, to whoſe Memory he paid his Thanks in an excellent Epitaph (among his Poems) wherein he deſcribes the Doctor and himſelf too; for the moſt, and moſt noble Parts of the Character do exactly agree to them both. Being now as it were without Relations, he abuſed not the Opportunity to Negligence in his Studies, or Licentiouſneſs in his Manners, but ſeaſoned his tender Years with the Principles and the Exerciſe of Diligence, Learning and Piety, the beſt Preparatives for the ſucceeding Varieties of Life.

The young Man continued ſuch a Royaliſt that he would never take the *Covenant*; yet carrying himſelf with Fairneſs, Candour and Prudence he gained the Good-will of the chief Governors of the Univerſity. One Day Dr. *Hill*, Maſter of the College, laying his Hand on his Head, ſaid, *Thou art a good Lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier:* And when in an Oration on the *Gun-powder-treaſon* he had ſo celebrated the former times as to reflect much on the preſent, ſome Fellows were provok'd to move for his Expulſion, but the Maſter ſilenc'd them with this, *Barrow is a better Man than any of us.* Afterward, when the *Engagement* was impoſed, he ſubſcribed it, but upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he went back to the Commiſſioners and declared his Diſſatisfaction, and got his Name raſed out of the Liſt.

For the Juniors, he was always ready to give them his help and very freely, though for all the Exerciſes he made for them in Verſe and Proſe he never received any Recompence but one Pair of Gloves.

While he was yet a young Scholar his Judgment was too great to reſt ſatisfied with the ſhallow and ſuperficial Phyſiology then commonly taught and received in the Univerſities, wherewith Students of meaner Abilities contentedly took up, but he applied himſelf to the reading and conſidering the Writings of the Lord *Verulam*, *Monſieur des Cartes*, *Galileo*, and other the great Wits of the laſt Age, who ſeemed to offer ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial.

When the time came that he could be choſen Fellow of his College, *Ann. Dom.* 1649. he obtained by his Merit; nothing elſe could recommend him who was accounted of the contrary Party. After his Election, finding the times not favourable to Men of his Opinion in the Affairs of Church and State, to qualify him (as he then thought) to do moſt good, he deſigned the Profeſſion of Phyſick, and for ſome Years bent his Studies that way, and particularly made a great Progreſs in the Knowledge of Anatomy, Botanicks and Chymiſtry. But afterward upon Deliberation with himſelf and Conference with his Uncle the late Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, thinking that Profeſſion not well conſiſtent with the Oath he had taken when admitted Fellow, to make Divinity the End of his Studies, he quitted Medicine and

and apply'd himſelf chiefly to what his Oath ſeemed to oblige him.

He was upon all Opportunities ſo open and communicative, that many of his Friends in that College (for out of it he had few Acquaintance) can, and I hope ſome one will, report frequent Inſtances of his calm Temper in a factious Time, his large Charity in a mean Eſtate, his facetious Talk upon fit Occaſions, his indefatigable Induſtry in various Studies, his clear Judgment on all Arguments, his ſteady Virtue in all Difficulties, which they muſt often have obſerved and can better deſcribe.

Of his way of Diſcourſe I ſhall here note one thing, that when his Opinion was demanded, he did uſually ſpeak to the Importance as well as to the Truth of the Queſtion; this was an excellent Advantage, and to be met with in few Mens Converſation.

Tractare res multi norunt, æſtimare pauci. Cardan.

While he read *Scaliger* on *Euſebius* he perceived the Dependence of Chronology on Aſtronomy, which put him on the Study of *Ptolomy*'s *Almageſt*, and finding that Book and all Aſtronomy to depend on Geometry, he applied himſelf to *Euclide*'s *Elements*, not ſatisfied till he had laid firm Foundations; and ſo he made his firſt Entry into the Mathematicks, having the learned Mr. *John Ray* then for his *ſocius ſtudiorum*, and ſometimes his Fellow-Traveller in Simpling, and always for his very much eſteemed Friend: He proceeded to the Demonſtration of the other ancient Mathematicians, and publiſhed his *Euclide* in a leſs Form and clearer Method than any one had done before him; at the end of his Demonſtration of *Apollonius* he has writ April 14. May 16. *Intra hæc temporis intervalla peractum hoc opus*; to ſo much Diligence nothing was impoſſible: And in all his Studies his way was not to leave off his Deſign till he brought it to effect, only in the Arabick Language he made an Eſſay for a little while and then deſerted it. In the ſame Place having alſo writ, *Labore & conſtantiâ*, he adds, *Bonæ ſi conjungantur humilitate & ſubminiſtrent charitati.* With theſe Speculations the Largeneſs of his Mind could join Poetry, to which he was always addicted and very much valued that part thereof which conſiſts of Deſcription, but the Hyperboles of ſome modern Poets he as much ſlighted; for our Plays he was an Enemy to them as a principal Cauſe of the Debauchery of theſe Times, (the other Cauſes he thought to be the French Education and the ill Examples of great Perſons;) for Satyrs, he writ none; his Wit was ſweet and peaceable.

When Dr. *Duport* reſigned the Chair of Greek Profeſſor, he recommended this his Pupil for his Succeſſor, who juſtified his Tutor's Opinion by an excellent Performance of the Probation Exerciſe, but being thought inclined to Arminianiſm he obtained it not; however he always acknowledged the Favour which Dr. *Whicheote* ſhewed him on that as on all Occaſions. The Partiality of others againſt him in that Affair ſome thought might help forward his Deſire to ſee foreign Countreys. I make no doubt, but that he, who in leſſer Occurrences

currences did very judiciously consider all Circumstances, had on good Grounds made this Resolution, and wish we now knew them; for the Reasons and Counsels of Action would take off from the Dryness of this Narration, and more strongly recommend him to Imitation.

To provide for his Voyage, *Ann. Dom.* 1654. he sold his Books and went first into *France*; at *Paris* he found his Father attending the English Court, and out of his small *Viaticum* made him a seasonable Present; he gave his College an Account of his Voyage thither, which will be found among his Poems; and some farther Observations in a Letter, which will shew his piercing Judgment in Political Affairs when he applied his Thoughts that way.

After some Months he went to *Italy*, and made a Stay at *Florence*, where he had the Favour and neglected not the Advantage to peruse many Books in the Great Duke's Library and ten thousand of his Medals, and discourse thereon with Mr. *Fitton*, the Fame of whose extraordinary Abilities in that sort of Learning had caused the Duke to invite him to the Charge of that great Treasury of Antiquity.

Florence was too dear a Place for him to remain in long, his Desire was to visit *Rome* rather than any other Place, but the Plague then raging there, he took Ship at *Livorn* (*Nov.* 1657.) for *Smyrna*. In this Voyage they were attack'd by a Pirate, and tho' he had never seen any thing like a Sea-fight, he stood to the Gun appointed him with great Courage, for he was not so much afraid of Death as of Slavery ---*Vitali charior aura Libertas*, &c. as he expresses himself. At *Smyrna* he made himself most welcome to Consul *Bretton*, and the Merchants; and so at *Constantinople*, to Sir *Thomas Bendish* the English Embassador, and Sir *Jonathan Daws*, from whose Civility he received many Favours, and there ever after continued between them an intimate Friendship.

As he could presently learn to play at all Games, so he could accomodate his Discourse to all Capacities, that it should be grateful and profitable; he could argue a Point without Arrogance or Passion to convince the Learned, and could talk pleasantly to the Entertainment of easier Minds, yet still maintaining his own Character, which had some such Authority as is insinuated in these Words of *Cicero* to *Atticus*; *Non te Bruti nostri vulticulus ab ista oratione deterret?* Ep. 20. l. 14.

At *Constantinople*, the See of St. *Chrysostome*, he read over all the Works of that Father, whom he much preferred before any of the others, and remained in *Turky* above a Year; returning thence to *Venice*, as soon as he was landed the Ship took fire, and with all the Goods was burnt, but none of the People had any harm: He came thence home through *Germany* and *Holland*; and some Part of these Travels and Observations are also related in his Poems.

The Term of Time was now somewhat past before which all Fellows of *Trinity* College are by the Oath obliged to take upon them Priestly Orders, or quit the College; he had no Rest in his Mind till he got himself Episcopally ordained, which I think was done by

Biſhop *Brownrig*, notwithſtanding the Times were then very unſettled, the Church of *England* at a very low Ebb, and Circumſtances much altered from what they were when he took the Oath, wherewith others ſatisfied themſelves in the Neglect of Orders.

When the Church and State flouriſhed upon the King's Reſtauration, his Friends expected great Things for him who had ſuffered and deſerved ſo much, yet nothing came, ſo that he was ſenſible enough to ſay, (which he has not left among his Poems)

Te magis optavit redituruṁ, Carole nemo,
Et nemo ſenſit te rediiſſe minùs.

1660. He was without a Competitor choſen to the Greek Profeſſorſhip in *Cambridge*, of which I can only ſay, that ſome Friend (to himſelf I mean) thought fit to borrow and never to reſtore thoſe Lectures.

July 16. 1662. He was choſen to the Geometry Lecture at *Greſham College*, vacant by the Death of Mr. *Laurence Rook*, of whom I could not forbear to ſpeak, but that a large and true Character is given by Dr. *Barrow* himſelf in his Inauguration Speech. Dr. *Wilkins*, who while *Trinity College* had the Happineſs of his Maſterſhip, thoroughly obſerved and much eſteemed him, and was always zealous to promote worthy Men and generous Deſigns, did interpoſe vigorouſly for his Aſſiſtance, well knowing that few others could fill the Place of ſuch a Predeceſſor; he not only diſcharged the Duty incumbent on him; but ſupplied the Abſence of his learned Collegue Dr. *Pope*, Aſtronomy Profeſſor; and among others of his Lectures were divers of the Projections of the Sphere, which he lent out alſo, and many other Papers we hear no more of. About this time he was offered a Living of good Value, but the Condition annexed of teaching the Patron's Son, made him refuſe it as too like a Simoniacal Contract. He was alſo invited to take the Charge of the *Cotton* Library, but upon trial a while he liked better to ſettle at *Cambridge*. He ſo well anſwered all Expectation, and performed what Dr. *Wilkins* had undertaken for him, that when (1663) Mr. *Lucas* founded a Mathematick Lecture at *Cambridge*, the ſame good and conſtant Friend recommended him to the Executors, Mr. *Raworth* and Mr. *Buck*, who very readily conferr'd on him that Employment; and the better to ſecure the End of ſo noble and uſeful a Foundation, he took care that himſelf and Succeſſors ſhould be bound to leave yearly to the Univerſity ten written Lectures; and thoſe of his which have been, and others yet to be printed, will beſt give an Account how well he acquitted himſelf of that Service. Tho' his two Profeſſorſhips were not inconſiſtent, yet he was content with that at *Cambridge*, and *May* 20. 1664. reſigned that at *Greſham* College. There was great Intereſt againſt Mr. *Robert Hook* who deſired to ſucceed him, and by the Aſſiſtance of Dr. *Wilkins* obtained the Place; the Appearance of ſuch a Patron were enough of Mr. *Hook's* Merit, if the World were not ſatisfied of it by his own Works. But after that

learned Piece *Geometricæ Lectiones* had been ſome while in the World, he had heard of very few that had read and conſider'd it thoroughly beſide Monſieur *Sluſius* of *Liege*, and Mr. *Gregory* of *Scotland*, two that might be reckoned inſtead of very many; but the little Reliſh that ſuch things met with did help to looſen him from theſe Speculations, and the more engage his Inclination to the Study of Morality and Divinity, which had always been ſo predominant, that when he commented on *Archimedes*, he did not forbear in Diſcourſe to prefer and admire much more *Suarez* for his Book *de Legibus*; and before his *Apollonius* I find written this divine Ejaculation.

Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ.

Tu autem, Domine, quantus es Geometra? quum enim hæc Scientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in ſempiternum novorum theorematum inventioni locus relinquatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium, tu uno hæc omnia intuitu perſpecta habes, abſque catena conſequentiarum, abſque tædio demonſtrationum. Ad cætera penè nihil facere poteſt intellectus noſter; & tanquam brutorum phantaſia videtur non niſi incerta quædam ſomniare, unde in iis quot ſunt homines tot exiſtunt ferè ſententiæ: in his conſpiratur ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium ſe poſſe aliquid, imo ingens aliquid & mirificum viſum eſt, ut nihil magis mirum, quod enim in cæteris penè ineptum, in hoc efficax, ſedulum, proſperum, &c. Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te ſuſpicor, atque illum diem deſiderare ſuſpiriis fortibus in quo purgatâ mente & claro oculo non hæc ſolum omnia abſque hac ſucceſſiva & laborioſa imaginandi cura, verum multo plura & majora ex tua bonitate & immenſiſſima ſanctiſſimaque benignitate conſpicere & ſcire concedetur, &c.

The laſt Kindneſs and Honour he did to his Mathematick Chair was to reſign it (1669.) to ſo worthy a Friend and learned Succeſſor as Mr. *Iſaac Newton*, fixing his Reſolution to apply himſelf entirely to Divinity; and he took a courſe very convenient for his publick Perſon as a Preacher, and his private as a Chriſtian; for thoſe Subjects which he thought moſt important to be conſider'd for his own uſe, he caſt into the Method of Sermons for the Benefit of others, and herein was ſo exact as to write ſome of them four or five times over; his Sermons were all large and finiſhed, and fairly written, which he was very ready to preach, *i. e.* read or lend them as often as deſired: Had he been a ſettled Preacher he intended them ſhorter, and he would have truſted to his Memory.

The Method of Dr. *Barrow* in his Sermons is ſuch as the ableſt Divines of the Church of *England* obſerve; but we may farther remark, that he having apply'd himſelf much to Mathematicks, had acquir'd a Habit to write with Exactneſs, to proceed directly toward his Scope, and to make uſe of ſolid Proofs rather than Figures of Rhetorick. *Le Clerc Bibl. Univ.* 3. 312.

The Sermons of this Author are rather Treatiſes or exact Diſſertations than Harangues to pleaſe the Multitude; if we had not reſolved to keep within the Bounds of a meer Hiſtorian, we might ſay

we have never known a Sermon-maker comparable to this Author. *Ib.* 326.

And now he was only a Fellow of *Trinity College*, till my L. Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* gave him a ſmall *Sine-cure* in *Wales*, and the R. Reverend *Seth* L. Biſhop of *Salisbury* (who very much valued his Converſation) a Prebend in his Church; the Advantages of both which he beſtowed in a way of Charity, and parted with them as ſoon as he was made Maſter of his College (1672.) he and his Relations being by that time out of a neceſſitous Condition; the Patent for his Maſterſhip, being ſo drawn for him as it had been for ſome others, with Permiſſion to marry, he was at Charge to have it altered, thinking it not agreeable with the Statutes, from which he deſired no Diſpenſation.

He had hitherto poſſeſſed but a ſcanty Eſtate, which yet was made eaſy to him by a contented Mind, and not made a Trouble by Envy at more plentiful Fortunes; he could in Patience poſſeſs his Soul when he had little elſe; and now with the ſame Decency and Moderation could maintain his Character under the Temptations of Proſperity.

When the King advanced him to this Dignity, he was pleaſed to ſay, *he had given it to the beſt Scholar in* England; his Majeſty had ſeveral times done him the Honour to diſcourſe him, and this Preferment was not at all obtained by Faction or Flattery; it was the King's own Act, though his Deſert made thoſe of the greateſt Power forward to contribute to it, particularly *Gilbert* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* then Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and formerly a Member of *Trinity College*.

It were a Diſreſpect to his College to doubt, that where he had ſpent ſo much time, and obliged ſo many Perſons, he ſhould not be moſt welcome; they knew as his Power increaſed, the Effects of his Goodneſs would do ſo too; and the Senior Fellows ſo well underſtood and eſteemed him, that with Good-will and Joy they received a Maſter much younger than any of themſelves.

Beſides the particular Aſſiſtance he gave to many in their Study, he concerned himſelf in every thing that was for the Intereſt of his College; he ſoon excuſed them from ſome Expence and Allowances which they had made to his Predeceſſors. Upon the ſingle Affair of building their Library, he writ out Quires of Paper, chiefly to thoſe who had been of the College, firſt to engage them, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted; theſe Letters he eſteemed not enough to keep Copies of, but by the generous Returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no ſmall Value; and thoſe Gentlemen that pleaſe to ſend back their Letters will deſerve to be accounted farther Benefactors to the Library. He had always been a conſtant and early Man at the Chapel, and now continued to do the ſame; and was therein encouraged not only by his own Devotion, but by the Efficacy his Example had upon many others of his College.

In this place ſeated to his Eaſe and Satisfaction, a Station wherein of all others in the World he could have been moſt uſeful, and which he meant not to make uſe of as a Step to aſcend higher, he abated nothing of his Studies, he yielded the Day to publick Buſineſs, and took from his Morning Sleep many Hours to encreaſe his Stock of Sermons and write his Treatiſe of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*. He underſtood Popery both at home and abroad, he had narrowly obſerved it, militant in *England*, triumphant in *Italy*, diſguiſed in *France*, and had earlier Apprehenſions than moſt others of the approaching Danger, and would have appeared with the forwardeſt in a needful time; for his Engagement in that Cauſe, and his Place in your Friendſhip, I would (with the leave of the moſt worthy Dean of St. *Paul*'s, his highly reſpected Friend) call him another Dr. *Stillingfleet*.

But ſo it pleaſed God, that being invited to preach the *Paſſion-Sermon*, *April* 13. 1677. at *Guildhall Chapel* (and it was the ſecond Sermon for which he ever received a pecuniary Recompence) he never preached but once more, falling ſick of a Fever; ſuch a Diſtemper he had once or twice before, otherwiſe of a conſtant Health; this fatally prevailed againſt the Skill and Diligence of many Phyſicians his good Friends.

I think not my ſelf competent to give an Account of his Life, much leſs of his Sickneſs and Death; if great Grief had not forced Silence, you, Sir, his deareſt and moſt worthy Friend, had perpetuated the Remarkables of that ſad Scene, in a Funeral Sermon.

Our Paſſions, which have hitherto been kept within the Banks, ſhould now be permitted to overflow, and they even expect to be moved by a Breath of Eloquence, but that is not my Talent. In ſhort, his Death was ſuitable to his Life; not this imperfect, ſlight Life as I relate it, but that admirable, reſigned, heroick, divine Life which he lived.

He died the 4*th* of *May*, 1667. and had it not been too inconvenient to carry him to *Cambridge*, then Wit and Eloquence had paid their Tribute for the Honour he has done them.

Now he is laid in *Weſtminſter-Abby*, with a Monument erected by the Contribution of his Friends, a Piece of Gratitude not uſual in this Age, and a Reſpect peculiar to him among all the Glories of that Church. I wiſh they would (as I have adventured) bring in their Symbols toward the Hiſtory of his Life: there are many which long before me had the Advantage of his Converſation, and could offer more judicious Obſervations, and in a Style fit to ſpeak of Dr. *Barrow*. My Lord Chancellor's Meſſage of Condolence to his Father, was, That he had too much Cauſe to grieve, for no Father loſt a better Son: But that was alſo a Reaſon to mitigate his Sorrow.

In the Epitaph, Dr. *Mapletoft*, his much eſteemed Friend, doth truly deſcribe him; his Picture was never made from the Life, and the Effigies on his Tomb doth little reſemble him. He was in Perſon of the leſſer Size and lean, of extraordinary Strength, of a fair

and

and calm Complexion, a thin Skin, very ſenſible of the Cold; his Eyes grey, clear and ſomewhat ſhort-ſighted, his Hair of a light auburn, very fine and curling. He is well repreſented by the Figure of *Marcus Brutus* on his *Denarii*, and I will transfer hither what was ſaid of that great Man.

Virtue was thy Life's Centre, and from thence
Did ſilently and conſtantly diſpenſe
The gentle vigorous Influence
To all the wide and fair Circumference. Cowly.

The Eſtate he left was Books; thoſe he bought, ſo well choſen as to be ſold for more than they coſt; and thoſe he made, whereof a Catalogue is annexed, and it were not improper to give a farther Account of his Works than to name them: Beſide their Number, Variety, Method, Style, Fulneſs and Uſefulneſs, I might thence draw many Proofs to confirm what I have before endeavoured to ſay to his Advantage, and many more important Reflections will be obvious to you than to ſuch a Reader as I am. I will only take leave to ſay, that for his little Piece of *the Unity of the Church*, he has better deſerved of the Church and Religion than many who make a greater Figure in Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory and Politicks. For upon his Principles Eccleſiaſticiſm would be for Edification, and not for Deſtruction; it is the learned Mr. *Thorndyke* he diſputes againſt, but that did not abate the intimate Friendſhip that was between them. But ſuch Remarks will be more fitly placed in what we expect from his learned Friends of the Univerſity. And to them I muſt alſo refer for the Obſervables at the taking his ſeveral Degrees, and diſcharging the Office of Vice-Chancellor.

There are beſide other Particulars which are grateful to talk over among Friends, not ſo proper perhaps to appear in a publick Writing. For inſtance, one Morning going out of a Friend's Houſe before a huge and fierce Maſtiff was chained up (as he uſed to be all Day) the Dog flew at him, and he had that preſent Courage to take the Dog by the Throat, and after much ſtruggling bore him to the Ground, and held him there till the People could riſe and part them, without any other hurt than the ſtreining of his Hands, which he felt ſome Days after.

Some would excuſe me for noting that he ſeem'd intemperate in the Love of Fruit, but it was to him Phyſick as well as Food; and he thought that if Fruit kill hundreds in Autumn, it preſerves thouſands; and he was very free too in the Uſe of Tobacco, believing it did help to regulate his thinking.

I did at firſt mention the Uniformity and conſtant Tenor of his Life, and proceeding on have noted ſeveral Particulars of very different Nature. I therefore explain my ſelf thus, that he was always one by his exact Conformity to the Rule in a virtuous and prudent Converſation, he ſteered by the ſame Compaſs to the ſame Port, when the Storms forced him to ſhift his Sails. His Fortune did in

ſome

ſome Occaſions partake of the Unſettledneſs of the Times wherein he lived; and to fit himſelf for the ſeveral Works he was to do, he enter'd upon Studies of ſeveral kinds, whereby he could not totally devote himſelf to one, which would have been more for the publick Benefit, according to his own Opinion, which was, that general Scholars did more pleaſe themſelves, but they who proſecuted particular Subjects did more Service to others.

Being thus engaged with Variety of Men and Studies, his Mind became ſtored with a wonderful Plenty of Words wherewith to expreſs himſelf; and it happened that ſometime he let ſlip a word not commonly uſed, which upon Reflection he would doubtleſs have altered, for it was not out of Affectation.

But his Life were a Subject requiring other kind of Diſcourſes; and as he that acts another Man, doth alſo act himſelf; ſo he that would give an Account of the excellent Qualities in Dr. *Barrow*, would have a fair Field wherein to diſplay his own. Another *Camerarius* or *Gaſſendus* would make another Life of *Melanchthon* or *Piereskius*. What I am doing will not prevent them; I ſhall be well ſatisfied with my Unskilfulneſs if I provoke them to take the Argument into better Hands.

All I have ſaid, or can ſay, is far ſhort of the Idea which Dr. *Barrow*'s Friends have formed of him, and that Character under which he ought to appear to them who knew him not. Beſide all the Defects on my part, he had in himſelf this Diſadvantage of wanting Foils to augment his Luſtre, and low Places to give Eminence to his Heights; ſuch Virtues as his Contentment in all Conditions, Candour in doubtful Caſes, Moderation among differing Parties, Knowledge without Oſtentation, are Subjects fitter for Praiſe than Narrative.

If I could hear of an Accuſation, that I might vindicate our Friend's Fame, it would take off from the Flatneſs of my Expreſſion; or a well-managed Faction, under the Name of Zeal, for or againſt the Church, would ſhew well in Story; but I have no Shadows to ſet off my Piece. I have laid together a few Sticks for the Funeral-fire, dry Bones which can make but a Sceleton, till ſome other Hand lay on the Fleſh and Sinews, and your Breath cauſe them to live and move. You will encourage others by pardoning me, which I promiſe my ſelf from that Goodneſs wherewith Dr. *Barrow* and you have uſed to accept the ſmall Service with the great Devotion of,

SIR,

Your obedient

and humble Servant,

London, April 10. 1683.

Abr. Hill.

Iſaacus Barrow.

S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.

VIR, propè Divinus, & verè Magnus, ſi quid magni habent
Pietas, Probitas, Fides, ſumma Eruditio, par Modeſtia,
Mores ſanctiſſimi undequaque, & ſuaviſſimi.
Geometriæ Profeſſor *Londini Greſhamenſis*,
Græcæ Linguæ, & Matheſeos apud *Cantabrigienſes* ſuos.
Cathedras omnes, Eccleſiam, Gentem, ornavit.
Collegium S. S. *Trinitatis* Præſes illuſtravit,
Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ Fundamentis auxit.
Opes, Honores, & univerſum vitæ Ambitum,
Ad majora natus, non contempſit, ſed reliquit ſeculo.
Deum quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus eſt
Pauciſſimis egendo, benefaciendo quam plurimis,
Etiam poſteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non deſinit.
Cætera, & penè Majora ex ſcriptis peti poſſunt.

Abi, Lector, & æmulare.

Obiit IV. Die *Maii*, Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.

Ætat. ſuæ XLVII.

Monumentum hoc Amici poſuêre.

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VOL. I.

SERMON I.

The Pleaſantneſs of Religion.

PROV. III. 17.

Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace.

THE meaning of theſe words ſeems plain and obvious, and to need little explication. *Her ways*, that is, the ways of Wiſdom. What this Wiſdom is, I ſhall not undertake accurately to deſcribe. Briefly, I underſtand by it, An habitual skill or faculty of judging aright about matters of practice, and chuſing according to that right judgment, and conforming the actions to ſuch good choice. *Ways* and *paths* in Scripture-dialect are the courſes and manner of action. For *doing* there is commonly called *walking*; and the methods of doing are the *ways* in which we walk. By *pleaſantneſs* may be meant the joy and delight accompanying, and by *peace* the content and ſatisfaction enſuing ſuch a courſe of actions. So that, in ſhort, the ſenſe of theſe words ſeems ſimply to be this, That a courſe of life directed by wiſdom and good judgment is delightful in the practice, and brings content after it. The truth of which Propoſition it ſhall be my endeavour at this time to confirm by divers Reaſons, and illuſtrate by ſeveral inſtances.

I. Then, Wiſdom of it ſelf is delectable and ſatisfactory, as it implies a revelation of Truth, and a detection of Error to us. 'Tis like Light, pleaſant to behold, caſting a ſprightly luſtre, and diffuſing a benign influence all about; preſenting a goodly proſpect of things to the eyes of our mind; diſplaying objects in their due ſhapes, poſtures, magnitudes and colours; quickning our ſpirits with a comfortable warmth, and diſpoſing our minds to a chearful activity; diſpelling the darkneſs of ignorance, ſcattering the miſts of doubt, driving away the ſpectres of deluſive fancy; mitigating the cold of ſullen melancholy; diſcovering obſtacles, ſecuring progreſs, and making the paſſages of life clear, open and pleaſant. We are all naturally endowed with a ſtrong appetite to know, to ſee, to purſue Truth: and with a baſhful abhorrency from being deceived, and entangled in miſtake. And as ſucceſs in enquiry after Truth affords matter of joy and triumph; ſo being conſcious of Error, and miſcarriage therein, is attended with ſhame and ſorrow. Theſe deſires Wiſdom in the moſt perfect manner ſatisfies, not by entertaining us with dry, empty, fruitleſs theories, upon mean and vulgar ſubjects; but by enriching our minds with excellent and uſeful knowledge, directed to the nobleſt objects, and ſerviceable to the higheſt ends. Nor in its own nature only, but,

Veritatis luce menti hominis nihil dulcius. Cic. *Acad.*

II. Much more in its worthy conſequences is Wiſdom exceedingly pleaſant and peaceable: in general, by diſpoſing us to acquire and to enjoy all the good, delight and happineſs we are capable of; and by freeing us from all the inconveniences, miſchiefs and infelicities our condition is ſubject to. For whatever good from clear underſtanding, deliberate advice, ſagacious fore-ſight, ſtable reſolution, dextrous addreſs, right intention and orderly proceeding doth naturally reſult, Wiſdom confers: whatever evil blind ignorance, falſe preſumption, unwary credulity, precipitate raſhneſs, unſteady purpoſe, ill contrivance, backwardneſs, inhability, unweildineſs and confuſion of thought, beget, Wiſdom prevents. From a thouſand ſnares and treacherous allurements, from innumerable rocks and dange-

rous ſurprizes, from exceedingly many needleſs incumbrances and vexatious toils of fruitleſs endeavour, ſhe redeems and ſecures us. More particularly,

III. Wiſdom aſſures us we take the beſt courſe, and proceed as we ought. For by the ſame means we judge aright, and reflecting upon that judgment are aſſured we do ſo: as the ſame arguments by which we demonſtrate a theorem convince us we have demonſtrated it, and the ſame light by which we ſee an object makes us know we ſee it. And this aſſurance in the progreſs of the action exceedingly pleaſes, and in the ſequel of it infinitely contents us. He that judges amiſs, not perceiving clearly the rectitude of his proceſs, proceeds uſually with a dubious ſollicitude, and at length, diſcovering his error, condemns his own choice, and receives no other ſatisfaction but of repentance. Like a Traveller, who being uncertain whether he goes in the right way, wanders in continual perplexity, till he be informed, and then too late, underſtanding his miſtake, with regret ſeeks to recover himſelf into it. But he that knows his way, and is ſatisfied that it is the true one, makes on merrily and careleſly, not doubting he ſhall in good time arrive to his deſigned journey's end. Two troubleſome miſchiefs therefore Wiſdom frees us from, the company of anxious doubt in our actions, and the conſequence of bitter repentance, For no man can doubt of what he is ſure, nor repent of what he knows good.

IV. Wiſdom begets in us a hope of ſucceſs in our actions, and is uſually attended therewith. Now what is more delicious than hope? what more ſatisfactory than ſucceſs? That is like the purſuit of a flying enemy, this like gathering the ſpoil; that like viewing the ripe corn, this like the joy of harveſt it ſelf. And he that aims at a good end, and knows he uſes proper means to attain it, why ſhould he deſpair of ſucceſs, ſince effects naturally follow their cauſes, and the Divine Providence is wont to afford its concourſe to ſuch proceedings? Beſide that ſuch well-grounded hope confirms reſolution, and quickens activity, which mainly conduce to the proſperous iſſue of deſigns. Farther,

V. Wiſdom prevents diſcouragement from the poſſibility of ill ſucceſs, yea and makes diſappointment it ſelf tolerable. For if either the foreſight of a poſſible miſcarriage ſhould diſcourage us from adventuring on action, or inculpable fruſtration were intolerable, we ſhould with no heart apply our ſelves to any thing; there being no deſigns in this world, though founded upon the moſt ſound advice, and proſecuted by the moſt diligent endeavour, which may not be defeated, as depending upon divers cauſes above our power, and circumſtances beyond our proſpect. The inconſtant opinions, uncertain reſolutions, mutable affections, and fallacious pretences of men, upon which the accompliſhment of moſt projects rely, may eaſily deceive and diſappoint us. The imperceptible courſe of nature exerting it ſelf in ſudden tempeſts, diſeaſes, and unlucky caſualties, may ſurprize us, and give an end to our buſineſſes and lives together. However, the irreſiſtible power of the Divine Providence, guided by the unſearchable counſel of his will, we can never be aſſured that it will not interpoſe and hinder the effects of our endeavours. Yet notwithſtanding, when we act prudently, we have no reaſon to be diſheartned; becauſe, having good intentions, and uſing fit means, and having done our beſt, as no deſerved blame, ſo no conſiderable damage can arrive to us: and though we find Almighty God hath croſſed us, yet we are ſure he is not diſpleaſed with us. Which conſideration, wherewith Wiſdom furniſhes us, will make the worſt ſucceſs not only tolerable, but comfortable to us. For hence we have reaſon to hope, that the All-wiſe Goodneſs reſerves a better reward for us, and will ſometime recompence not only the good purpoſes we unhappily purſued, but alſo the unexpected diſappointment we patiently endured; and that however we ſhall be no loſers in the end. Which diſcourſe is mainly fortified by conſidering how the beſt and wiſeſt attempts have oft miſcarried. We ſee *Moſes*, authorized by God's command, directed by his counſel, and conducted by his hand, intended to bring the *Iſraelites* into the land of *Canaan*; yet by the unreaſonable incredulity and ſtubborn perverſeneſs of that people he had his purpoſe fruſtrated. The holy Prophets afterward earneſtly endeavoured to contain the ſame people within compaſs of obedience to the Divine commands, and to reduce them from their idolatrous and wicked courſes; yet without correſpondent effect. Our Saviour, by the example of his holy life, continual inſtruction, and vehement exhortations, aſſayed to procure a belief of and ſubmiſſion to his moſt excellent Doctrine; yet how few *believed*

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his report, and complied with his Diſcipline? Yea, Almighty God himſelf often complains, how in a manner his deſigns were defeated, his deſires thwarted, his offers refuſed, his counſels rejected, his expectations deceived. *Wherefore*, (ſaith he concerning his Vineyard) *when I looked it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?* And again, *I have ſpread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people.* And again, *I have even ſent unto you all my prophets daily, riſing up early, and ſending them; yet they hearkened not unto me.* Wherefore there is no good cauſe we ſhould be diſheartened, or vexed, when ſucceſs is wanting to well-adviſed purpoſes. 'Tis fooliſh and ill-grounded intentions, and practices unwarrantable by good reaſon, that make the undertakers ſolicitous of ſucceſs, and being defeated leave them diſconſolate. Yea farther, Iſa. 5. 4. Iſa. 65. 2. Jer. 7. 25, 26.

VI. Wiſdom makes all the troubles, griefs and pains incident to life, whether caſual adverſities, or natural afflictions, eaſy and ſupportable; by rightly valuing the importance, and moderating the influence of them. It ſuffers not buſy fancy to alter the nature, amplify the degree, or extend the duration of them, by repreſenting them more ſad, heavy and remedileſs than they truly are. It allows them no force beyond what naturally and neceſſarily they have, nor contributes nouriſhment to their increaſe. It keeps them at a due diſtance, not permitting them to encroach upon the Soul, or to propagate their influence beyond their proper ſphere. It will not let external miſchances, as poverty and diſgrace, produce an inward ſenſe which is beyond their natural efficacy: nor corporeal affections of ſickneſs and pain, diſturb the mind, with which they have nothing to do. The region of theſe malignant diſtempers being at moſt but the habit of the body, Wiſdom by effectual antidotes repels them from the heart, and inward parts of the Soul. If any thing, ſin, and our unworthy miſcarriages toward God, ſhould vex and diſcompoſe us: yet this trouble Wiſdom, by repreſenting the Divine Goodneſs, and his tender mercies in our ever-bleſſed Redeemer, doth perfectly allay. And as for all other adverſities, it abates their noxious power, by ſhewing us they are either merely imaginary, or very ſhort and temporary: that they admit of remedy, or at moſt do not exclude comfort, not wholly hindring the operations of the mind, nor extinguiſhing its joys; that they may have a profitable uſe, and pleaſant end; and, however, neither imply bad Conſcience, nor induce obligation to puniſhment. For,

VII. Wiſdom hath always a good Conſcience attending it, that pureſt delight and richeſt cordial of the Soul; that brazen wall, and impregnable fortreſs againſt both external aſſaults, and internal commotions; that *continual feaſt*, whereon the mind, deſtitute of all other repaſt, with a never-languiſhing appetite may entertain it ſelf; that faithful witneſs, and impartial judge, whoever accuſes, always acquitting the innocent Soul; that certain friend, in no ſtrait failing, in no adverſity deſerting; that ſure refuge in all ſtorms of fortune, and perſecutions of diſgrace. Which (as *Solomon* here notes) render's a man's *ſleep ſweet*, and undiſturbed with fearful phantaſms, his heart light, and his ſteps ſecure; and, if any thing, can make the Stoical Paradox good, and cauſe the Wiſe man to ſmile in extremity of torment; arming his mind with an invincible courage, and infuſing a due confidence into it, whereby he bears up chearfully againſt malicious reproach, undauntedly ſuſtains adverſity, and triumphs over bad fortune. And this invaluable treaſure the Wiſe man is only capable of poſſeſſing; who certainly knows, and heartily approves the grounds upon which he proceeds; whenas the fool, building his choice upon blind chance, or violent paſſion, or giddy fancy, or uncertain example, not upon the ſteddy warrant of good reaſon, cannot avoid being perplexed with ſuſpicion of miſtake, and ſo neceſſarily is deprived of the comfort of a good Conſcience.

VIII. Wiſdom confers a facility, expert readineſs, and dexterity in action; which is a very pleaſant and commodious quality, and exceedingly ſweetens activity. To do things with difficulty, ſtruggling and immoderate contention, diſhearten a man, quells his courage, blunts the edge of his reſolution, renders him ſluggiſh and averſe from buſineſs, though apprehended never ſo neceſſary, and of great moment. Theſe obſtructions Wiſdom removes, facilitating operations by directing the intention to ends poſſible and attainable, by ſuggeſting fit means and inſtruments to work by, by contriving right methods and courſes of proceſs; the mind by it being ſtored with variety of good principles, ſure rules, and happy expedients repoſed in the memory, and ready upon all occaſions to be produced, and employed in practice.

IX. Wiſdom begets a ſound, healthful and harmonious complexion of the Soul, diſpoſing us with judgment to diſtinguiſh, and with pleaſure to reliſh ſavory and wholeſome things, but to nauſeate and reject ſuch as are ingrateful and noxious to us; thereby capacifying us to enjoy pleaſantly and innocently all thoſe good things the Divine Goodneſs hath provided for, and conſigned to us; whence to the Soul proceeds all that comfort, joy and vigour, which reſults to the Body from a good conſtitution, and perfect health.

X. Wiſdom acquaints us with our ſelves, our own temper and conſtitution, our propenſions and paſſions, our habitudes and capacities; a thing not only of mighty advantage, but of infinite pleaſure and content to us. No man in the world leſs knows a fool than himſelf; nay, he is more than ignorant, for he conſtantly errs in the point, taking himſelf for, and demeaning himſelf as toward another, a better, a wiſer and abler man than he is. He hath wonderful conceits of his own qualities and faculties; he affects commendations incompetent to him; he ſoars at employment ſurpaſſing his ability to manage. No Comedy can repreſent a miſtake more odd, and ridiculous, than his: for he wanders, and ſtares, and hunts after, but never can find nor diſcern himſelf: but always encounters with a falſe ſhadow inſtead thereof, which he paſſionately hugs and admires. But a Wiſe man, by conſtant obſervation, and impartial reflection upon himſelf, grows very familiar with himſelf: he perceives his own inclinations, which if bad, he ſtrives to alter and correct; if good, he cheriſhes and corroborates them: he apprehends the matter he is fitting for, and capable to manage, neither too mean and unworthy of him, nor too high and difficult for him; and thoſe applying his care to, he tranſacts eaſily, chearfully and ſucceſsfully. So being neither puft up with vain and over-weening opinion, nor dejected with heartleſs diffidence of himſelf; neither admiring, nor deſpiſing; neither irkſomely hating, nor fondly loving himſelf; he continues in good humour, maintains a ſure friendſhip and fair correſpondence with himſelf, and rejoices in the retirement and private converſation with his own thoughts: whence flows a pleaſure and ſatisfaction unexpreſſible.

XI. Wiſdom procures and preſerves a conſtant favour and fair reſpect of men, purchaſes a good name, and upholds reputation in the world: which things are naturally deſirable, commodious for life, encouragements to good, and preventive of many inconveniences. The compoſed frame of mind, uniform and comely demeanour, compliant and inoffenſive converſation, fair and punctual dealing, conſiderate motions and dextrous addreſſes of Wiſe men naturally beget eſteem and affection in thoſe that obſerve them. Neither than theſe things is there any thing more commendable to humane regard. As ſymmetry and harmony to the animal ſenſes, ſo delectable is an even temper of ſoul and orderly tenour of actions to rational apprehenſions. Folly is freakiſh and humorous, impertinent and obſtreperous, inconſtant and inconſiſtent, peeviſh and exceptious; and conſequently faſtidious to ſociety, and productive of averſation and diſreſpect. But the Wiſe man is ſtable in his ways, conſonant to himſelf, ſuiting his actions to his words, and thoſe to his principles, and all to the rule of right reaſon; ſo that you may know where to find him, and how to deal with him, and may eaſily pleaſe him, which makes his acquaintance acceptable, and his perſon valuable: beſide that real worth of it ſelf commands reſpect; and extorts veneration from men, and uſually proſperity waits upon his well-adviſed attempts, which exceedingly adorn, and advance the credit of the undertaker: however, if he fail ſometime, his uſual deportment ſalves his repute, and eaſily makes it credible it was no fault of his, but of his fortune. If a fool proſper, the honour is attributed to propitious chance; if he miſcarry, to his own ill management: but the entire glory of happy undertakings crowns the head of Wiſdom; while the diſgrace of unlucky events falls otherwhere. His light, like that of the Sun, cannot totally be eclipſed; it may be dimmed, but never extinguiſhed, and always maintains a day, though over-clouded with misfortune. Who leſs eſteems the famous *African* Captain for being overthrown in that laſt fatal battel, wherein he is ſaid to have ſhewn the beſt skill, and yet endured the worſt of ſucceſs? Who contemns *Cato*, and other the grave Citizens of *Rome*, for embracing the juſt, but improſperous Cauſe of the Common-wealth? A Wiſe man's circumſtances may vary and fluctuate like the floods about a rock; but he perſiſts unmoveably the ſame, and his reputation unſhaken: for he can always render a good account of his actions, and by reaſonable apology elude the aſſaults of reproach.

XII. Wiſdom inſtructs us to examine, compare, and righty to value the objects that court our affections, and challenge our care; and thereby regulates our paſſions, and moderates our endeavours, which begets a pleaſant ſerenity and peaceable tranquillity of mind. For when, being deluded with falſe ſhews, and relying upon ill-grounded preſumptions, we highly eſteem, paſſionately affect, and eagerly purſue things of little worth in themſelves, or concernment to us, as we unhandſomely proſtitute our affections, and prodigally miſ-ſpend our time, and vainly loſe our labour; ſo the event not anſwering our expectation, our minds thereby are confounded, diſturb'd and diſtempered. But when, guided by right reaſon, we conceive great eſteem of, and zealouſly are enamoured with, and vigorouſly ſtrive to attain things of excellent worth, and weighty conſequence, the conſcience of having well placed our affections, and well employed our pains, and the experience of fruits correſponding to our hopes raviſhes our mind with unexpreſſible content. And ſo it is: Preſent appearance and vulgar conceit ordinarily impoſe upon our fancies, diſguiſing things with a deceitful varniſh, and repreſenting thoſe that are vaineſt with the greateſt advantage; whilſt the nobleſt objects, being of a more ſubtile and ſpiritual nature, like faireſt Jewels encloſed in a homely Box, avoid the notice of groſs ſenſe, and paſs undiſcerned by us. But the light of Wiſdom, as it unmasks ſpecious impoſture, and bereaves it of its falſe colours; ſo it penetrates into the retirements of true excellency, and reveals its genuine luſtre. For example, Corporeal Pleaſure, which ſo powerfully allures and enchants us, Wiſdom declares that it is but a preſent, momentany and tranſient ſatisfaction of brutiſh ſenſe, dimming the light, ſullying the beauty, impairing the vigour, and reſtraining the activity of the mind; diverting it from better operations, and indiſpoſing it to enjoy purer delights; leaving no comfortable reliſh or gladſome memory behind it, but often followed with bitterneſs, regret and diſgrace. That the Profit the World ſo greedily gapes after is but a poſſeſſion of trifles, not valuable in themſelves, nor rendring the maſters of them ſo: accidentally obtained, and promiſcuouſly enjoyed by all ſorts, but commonly by the worſt of men; difficultly acquired, and eaſily loſt; however, to be uſed but for a very ſhort time, and then to be reſigned into uncertain hands. That the Honour men ſo dote upon is, ordinarily but the difference of a few petty circumſtances, a peculiar name or title, a determinate place, a diſtinguiſhing enſign; things of only imaginary excellence, derived from chance, and conferring no advantage, except from ſome little influence they have upon the arbitrary opinion and fickle humour of the people; complacence in which is vain, and reliance upon it dangerous. That Power and Dominion, which men ſo impatiently ſtruggle for, are but neceſſary evils introduced to reſtrain the bad tempers of men; moſt evil to them that enjoy them; requiring tedious attendance, diſtracting care, and vexatious toil; attended with frequent diſappointment, opprobrious cenſure, and dangerous envy; having ſuch real burthens, and ſlaviſh incumbrances, ſweetned only by ſuperficial pomps, ſtrained obſequiouſneſs, ſome petty privileges and exemptions ſcarce worth the mentioning. That Wit and Parts, of which men make ſuch oſtentation, are but natural endowments, commendable only in order to uſe, apt to engender pride and vanity, and hugely dangerous, if abuſed or miſemployed? What ſhould I mention Beauty, that fading toy; or bodily Strength and Activity, qualities ſo palpably inconſiderable? Upon theſe and ſuch like flattering objects, ſo adored by vulgar opinion, Wiſdom exerciſing ſevere and impartial judgment, and perceiving in them no intrinſick excellence, no ſolid content ſpringing from them, no perfection thence accruing to the mind, no high reward allotted to them, no ſecurity to the future condition, or other durable advantages proceeding from them; it concludes they deſerve not any high opinion of the mind, nor any vehement paſſion of the Soul, nor any laborious care to be employed on them, and moderates our affections toward them: it frees us from anxious deſire of them; from being tranſported with exceſſive joy in the acquiſition of them; from being overwhelmed with diſconſolate ſorrow at the miſſing of them, or parting with them; from repining and envying at thoſe who have better ſucceſs than our ſelves in the procuring them; from immoderate toil in getting, and care in preſerving them: and ſo delivering us from all theſe unquiet anxieties of thought, tumultuous perturbations of paſſion, and tedious vexations of body, it maintains our minds in a chearful calm, quiet indifferency, and comfortable liberty. On the other ſide, things of real worth and high concernment, that produce

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great ſatisfaction to the mind, and are mainly conducible to our happineſs, ſuch as are a right underſtanding and ſtrong ſenſe of our obligations to Almighty God, and relations to men, a ſound temper and complexion of mind, a vertuous diſpoſition, a capacity to diſcharge the duties of our places, a due qualification to enjoy the happineſs of the other World; theſe and ſuch like things, by diſcovering their nature, and the effects reſulting from them, it engages us highly to eſteem, ardently to affect, and induſtriouſly to purſue; ſo preventing the inconveniences that follow the want of them, and conveying the benefits ariſing from the poſſeſſion of them.

XIII. Wiſdom diſtinguiſhes the circumſtances, limits the meaſures, determines the modes, appoints the fit ſeaſons of action; ſo preſerving *decorum* and order, the parent of peace, and preventing confuſion, the mother of iniquity, ſtrife and diſquiet. 'Tis in the buſineſs of human life as in a building: a due proportion of bigneſs, a fit ſituation of place, a correſpondency of ſhape, and ſuitableneſs of colour, is to be obſerved between the parts thereof: a defect in any of which requiſites, though the materials hap to be choice and excellent, makes the whole fabrick deformed and ugly to judicious apprehenſion. The beſt actions, if they ſwell, and exceed their due meaſure, if they be unskilfully miſplaced, if in uncouth manmanner performed, they leſe their quality, and turn both to the diſgrace and diſadvantage of life. 'Tis commendable to pray; but they that would always be performing that duty, by their abſurd devotion procured to themſelves the title of Hereticks: and they that will ſtand praying in publick concourſe, deſerved our Saviour's reprehenſions; and thoſe men who, againſt the cuſtom and ordinary uſe, would needs pray with their faces covered, you know St. *Paul* inſinuates of them, that they were fond and contentious perſons. Friendly admonition is very laudable, and of rare uſe; but being upon all occaſions immoderately uſed, or in publick ſociety ſo as to encroach upon modeſty, or endamage reputation; or when the perſon admoniſhed is otherwiſe employed, and attent upon his buſineſs; or being delivered in an imperiouſly-inſulting way, or in harſh opprobious language; it becomes unſavoury and odious, and both in ſhew and effect reſembles a froward malicious exceptiouſneſs. 'Twere infinite to compute in how many inſtances want of due order, meaſure and manner, do ſpoil and incommodate action. 'Tis Wiſdom that applies remedy to theſe miſchiefs. Things muſt be compared to, and arbitrated by, her ſtandard, or elſe they will contain ſomething of monſtrous enormity; either ſtrutting in unwieldy bulk, or ſinking in defective ſcantneſs. If ſhe do not faſhion and model circumſtances, they will ſit ugly on the things that wear them; if ſhe do not temper the colours, and deſcribe the lineaments, the draught of practice will be but rude and imperfect, and little reſemble the true patterns of duty: but if ſhe interpoſe, and perform her part, all things will appear conformable, neat and delicate.

XIV. Wiſdom diſcovers our relations, duties and concernments, in reſpect of men, with the natural grounds of them; thereby both qualifying and inclining us to the diſcharge of them: whence exceeding convenience, pleaſure and content enſues. By it we underſtand we are parts and members of the great Body, the Univerſe; and are therefore concerned in the good management of it, and are thereby obliged to procure its order and peace, and by no irregular undertaking to diſturb or diſcompoſe it; which makes us honeſt and peaceable men: that we proceed from the ſame primitive ſtock, are children of the ſame father, and partake of the ſame blood with all men; are endowed with like faculties of mind, paſſions of ſoul, ſhape of body, and ſenſe of things: that we have equally implanted in our original conſtitution inclinations to love, pity, gratitude, ſociableneſs, quiet, joy, reputation: that we have an indiſpenſable need and impatient deſire of company, aſſiſtance, comfort and relief: that therefore it is according to the deſign of nature, and agreeable to reaſon, that to thoſe, to whom our natural condition by ſo many bands of cognation, ſimilitude and mutual neceſſitude, hath knit and conjoyned us, we ſhould bear a kind reſpect and tender affection; ſhould chearfully concur in undergoing the common burthens; ſhould heartily wiſh and induſtriouſly promote their good, aſſiſt them in accompliſhing their reaſonable deſires, thankfully requite the courteſies received from them, congratulate and rejoice with them in their proſperity, comfort them in their diſtreſſes, and, as we are able, relieve them; however, tenderly compaſſionate their diſappointments, miſeries and ſorrows. This renders us

kind and courteous neighbours; ſweet and grateful companions. It repreſents unto us the dreadful effects and inſupportable miſchiefs ariſing from breach of faith, contravening the obligations of ſolemn pacts, infringing publick laws, deviating from the received rules of equity, violating promiſes, and interrupting good correſpondence among men: by which conſiderations it engages us to be good citizens, obedient ſubjects, juſt dealers, and faithful friends. It minds us of the blindneſs, impotence and levity, the proneneſs to miſtake, and misbehaviour that human nature neceſſarily is ſubject to; deſerving rather our commiſeration, than anger or hatred, which prompts us to bear the infirmities of our brethren, to be gentle in cenſure, to be inſenſible of petty affronts, to pardon injuries, to be patient, exorable and reconcileable to thoſe that give us greateſt cauſe of offence. It teaches us, the good may, but the evil of our neighbour can in no wiſe advantage us; that from the ſuffering of any man, ſimply conſidered, no benefit can accrue, nor natural ſatisfaction ariſe to us; and that therefore 'tis a vain, baſe, brutiſh and unreaſonable thing, for any cauſe whatſoever, to deſire or delight in the grief, pain or miſery of our neighbour, to hate or envy him, or inſult over him, or deviſe miſchief to him, or proſecute revenge upon him; which makes us civil, noble and placable enemies, or rather no enemies at all. So that Wiſdom is in effect the genuine parent of all moral and political vertue, juſtice and honeſty; as *Solomon* ſays in her perſon, *I lead in a way of righteouſneſs*, and *in the midſt of the paths of judgment*. And how ſweet theſe are in the practice, how comfortable in the conſequences, the teſtimony of continual experience, and the unanimous conſent of all wiſe men ſufficiently declare. But farther, Prov. 8. 20.

XV. The principal advantage of Wiſdom is, its acquainting us with the nature and reaſon of true Religion, and affording convictive arguments to perſuade to the practice of it; which is accompanied with the pureſt delight, and attended with the moſt ſolid content imaginable. I ſay, the Nature of Religion, wherein it conſiſts, and what it requires: the miſtake of which produceth daily ſo many miſchiefs and inconveniences in the world, and expoſes ſo good a name to ſo much reproach. It ſheweth it conſiſteth not in fair profeſſions and glorious pretences, but in real practice; not in a pertinacious adherence to any ſect or party, but in a ſincere love of goodneſs, and diſlike of naughtineſs, where-ever diſcovering it ſelf; not in vain oſtentations and flouriſhes of outward performance, but in an inward good complexion of mind, exerting it ſelf in works of true Devotion and Charity; not in a nice orthodoxy, or politick ſubjection of our judgments to the peremptory dictates of men, but in a ſincere love of Truth, in a hearty approbation of and compliance with the doctrines fundamentally good, and neceſſary to be believed; not in harſh cenſuring and virulently inveighing againſt others, but in careful amending our own ways; not in a peeviſh croſſneſs and obſtinate repugnancy to received laws and cuſtoms, but in a quiet and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the expreſs Laws of God, and lawful commands of man; not in a furious zeal for or againſt trivial circumſtances, but in a conſcionable practiſing the ſubſtantial parts of Religion: not in a frequent talking or contentious diſputing about it, but in a ready obſervance of the unqueſtionable rules and preſcripts of it. In a word, that Religion conſiſts in nothing elſe but doing what becomes our relation to God, in a conformity or ſimilitude to his Nature, and in a willing obedience to his holy Will: to which by potent incentives it allures and perſuades us; by repreſenting to us his tranſcendently glorious Attributes; conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the frame, order and government of the World; that wonderful Power, which erected this great and goodly fabrick; that incomprehenſible Wiſdom, which preſerves it in a conſtant harmony; that immenſe Goodneſs, which hath ſo carefully provided for the various neceſſities, delights and comforts of its innumerable inhabitants. I ſay, by repreſenting thoſe infinitely glorious Perfections, it engages us with higheſt reſpect to eſteem, reverence and honour him. Alſo, by minding us of our manifold obligations to him, our receiving being, life, reaſon, ſenſe, all the faculties, powers, excellencies, privileges and commodities of our natures from him; of his tender Care and loving Providence continually ſupporting and protecting us; of his liberal Beneficence, patient Indulgence, and earneſt deſire of our good and happineſs by manifold expreſſions evidently manifeſted toward us; it inflames us with ardent love, and obliges us to officious gratitude toward him. Alſo, by declaring the neceſſary and irreconcileable contrariety of his Nature to all impurity and perverſeneſs, his peerleſs

Majeſty, his irreſiſtible Power, and his all-ſeeing Knowledge, it begets an awful dread and a devout fear of him. By diſcovering him from his infinite Benignity willing, and from his unlimited Power only able to ſupply our needs, relieve us in diſtreſſes, protect us from dangers, and confer any valuable benefit upon us, it engenders faith, and encourages us to rely upon him. By revealing to us his ſupereminent Sovereignty, uncontrollable Dominion, and unqueſtionable Authority over us; together with the admirable excellency, wiſdom and equity of his Laws, ſo juſt and reaſonable in themſelves, ſo ſuitable to our nature, ſo conducible to our good, ſo eaſie and practicable, ſo ſweet and comfortable; it powerfully inclines, and by a gentle force as it were conſtrains us to obedience. By ſuch efficacious inducements Wiſdom urges us to all duties of Religion, and withal ſurely directs us (as I before ſaid) wherein it conſiſts; teaching us to have right and worthy apprehenſions of the divine nature, to which our Devotion (if true and good) muſt be ſuited and conformed: And ſo it frees us, as from irreligion and profane neglect of God, ſo from fond ſuperſtitions, the ſources of ſo much evil to mankind. For he that wiſely hath conſidered the Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Power of God, cannot imagine God can with a regardleſs eye overlook his preſumptuous contempts of his Laws, or endure him to proceed in an outrageous defiance of Heaven, to continue hurting himſelf, or injuring his neighbour; nor can admit unreaſonable terrours, or entertain ſuſpicious conceits of God, as of an imperious Maſter, or implacable Tyrant over him, exacting impoſſible performances from, or delighting in the fatal miſeries of his Creatures; nor can ſuppoſe him pleaſed with hypocritical ſhews, and greatly taken with ſuperficial courtſhips of ceremonious addreſs; or that he can in any wiſe favour our fiery zeals, fierce paſſions, or unjuſt partialities about matter of opinion and ceremony, or can do otherwiſe than deteſt all factious, harſh, uncharitable and revengeful proceedings, of what nature, or upon what ground ſoever; or that he can be ſo inconſiſtent with himſelf, as to approve any thing but what is like himſelf, that is, Righteouſneſs, Sincerity and Beneficence.

Laſtly, Wiſdom attracts the Favour of God, purchaſeth a glorious Reward, and
Wiſd. 7. 28. 3. 15. ſecureth perpetual Felicity to us. *For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wiſdom.* And, *glorious is the fruit of good labour: and the root of wiſdom*
Prov. 3. 13. 8. 35. *ſhall never fall away.* And, *Happy is the man that findeth wiſdom:* and, *whoſo findeth* her, *findeth life, and ſhall obtain favour of the Lord.* Theſe are the words of wiſe *Solomon*, in the Book of *Wiſdom*, and in the *Proverbs*. God loveth her, as moſt agreeable to his nature; as reſembling him; as an off-ſpring, beam and efflux of that Wiſdom which founded the earth, and eſtabliſhed the heavens; as that which begetteth honour, love and obedience to his Commands, and truly glorifies him; and as that which promotes the good of his Creatures, which he earneſtly deſires. And the paths ſhe leads in are ſuch as directly tend to the promiſed inheritance of joy and bliſs.

Thus have I ſimply and plainly preſented you with part of what my meditation ſuggeſted upon this Subject: It remains that we endeavour to obtain this excellent endowment of Soul, by the faithful exerciſe of our Reaſon, careful obſervation of things, diligent ſtudy of the divine Law, watchful reflexion upon our ſelves, vertuous and religious practice; but eſpecially, by imploring the Divine influence, the original ſpring of light, and fountain of all true knowledge, following S. *James* his advice, *If any man lack wiſdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth freely.* Therefore, O everlaſting Wiſdom, the Maker, Redeemer and Governour of all things, let ſome comfortable Beams from thy great Body of heavenly Light deſcend upon us, to illuminate our dark minds, and quicken our dead hearts; to enflame us with ardent love unto thee, and to direct our ſteps in obedience to thy Laws, through the gloomy ſhades of this world, into that region of eternal light and bliſs, where thou reigneſt in perfect Glory and Majeſty, one God ever-Bleſſed, world without end. *Amen.*

SER-

SERMON II.

The Profitableneſs of Godlineſs.

1 TIM. IV. 8.

---But Godlineſs is profitable for all things.

HOW generally men, with moſt unanimous conſent, are devoted to Profit, as to the immediate ſcope of their deſigns, and aim of their doings, if with the ſlighteſt attention we view what is acted upon this Theatre of human affairs, we cannot but diſcern. All that we ſee men ſo very ſerious and induſtrious about, which we call buſineſs; that which they trudge for in the Streets, which they work or wait for in the Shops, which they meet and croud for at the Exchange, which they ſue for in the Hall, and ſolicit for at the Court, which they plow and dig for, which they march and fight for in the Field, which they travel for at Land, and ſail for (among rocks and ſtorms) upon the Sea, which they plod for in the Cloſet, and diſpute for in the Schools, (yea, may we not add, which they frequently pray for, and preach for in the Church?) what is it but Profit? Is it not this apparently for which men ſo eagerly conteſt and quarrel, ſo bitterly envy and emulate, ſo fiercely clamour and inveigh, ſo cunningly ſupplant and undermine one another, which ſtuffeth their hearts with mutual hatred and ſpite, which tippeth their tongues with ſlander and reproach, which often embrueth their hands with blood and ſlaughter; for which they expoſe their lives and limbs to danger, for which they undergo grievous toils and drudgeries, for which they diſtract their mind with cares, and *pierce their heart with ſorrows*; to which they ſacrifice their preſent eaſe and content, yea, to which commonly they proſtitute their honour and conſcience? This, if you mark it, is the great Miſtreſs, which is with ſo paſſionate rivality every where woed and courted; this the common mark which all eyes aim, and all endeavours ſtrike at; this the hire which men demand for all their pains, the prize they hope for in all their combats, the harveſt they ſeek from all the year's aſſiduous labour. This is the bait, by which you may inviegle moſt men any-whither; and the moſt certain ſign, by which you may prognoſticate what any man will do: for mark where his Profit is, there will he be. This ſome profeſſedly and with open face, others ſlily and under thin veils of pretence; (under guiſe of friendſhip, of love to publick good, of loyalty, of religious zeal;) ſome directly and in a plain track, others obliquely and by ſubtle trains; ſome by ſordid and baſe means, others in ways more cleanly and pauſible: ſome gravely and modeſtly, others wildly and furiouſly; all, (very few excepted) in one manner or another, do clearly in moſt of their proceedings level and drive at.

Prov. 14. 23. Φεῦ δὺ ὀβολῶ ὡς μέγα δυνάσθον παντα χῦ; Ariſtop. Plut.

Prima ferè vota, & cunctis notiſſima Templis Divitiæ ut creſcant, &c. Juv. Sat. 10.

Omnes ad affectum atque appetitum utilitatis ſuæ naturâ ipſius magiſterio atque impulſione ducuntur. Salv. *ad Eccl. Cath.* 2.

This practice then being ſo general, and ſeeing that men are reaſonable creatures, that it is ſo cannot ſurely proceed from mere brutiſhneſs, or dotage; there muſt be ſome fair colour or ſemblance of reaſon, which draweth men into, and carrieth them forward in this way. The reaſon indeed is obvious and evident enough, the very name of Profit implieth it, ſignifying that which is uſeful, or conducible to purpoſes really or ſeemingly good. The gain of money, or of ſomewhat equivalent thereto, is therefore ſpecially termed Profit, becauſe it readily ſupplieth neceſſity, furniſheth convenience, feedeth pleaſure, ſatisfieth fancy and curioſity, promoteth eaſe and liberty, ſupporteth honour and dignity, procureth power, dependencies and friendſhips, rendreth a man ſome-body, conſiderable in the world; in fine, enableth to do good, or to perform works of beneficence and charity. Profit is therefore ſo much affected and purſued, becauſe it is, or doth ſeem, apt to procure or promote ſome good deſirable to us.

If therefore a Project ſhould be propoſed to us very fecible and probable to ſucceed, in purſuance whereof aſſuredly we might obtain great Profit; methinks, in conſiſtence with our ſelves, and conformably to our uſual manner of acting, we ſhould be very ready to embrace and execute it. Such a project it is which in my Text, by a very truſty voucher, and skilful judge of ſuch things, and one who had himſelf fully experimented it, is propoſed; which in it ſelf is very practicable, ſo that any of us may, if we have a mind to it, and will be at the pains, throughly compaſs and carry it on: which will exceedingly turn to accompt, and bring in Gains unto us unſpeakably vaſt; in compariſon whereto all other deſigns, which men with ſo much care and toil do purſue, are very unprofitable, or detrimental, yielding but ſhadows of profit, or bringing real damage to us.

It is briefly this, to be religious or pious; that is, in our minds ſtedfaſtly to believe on God (ſuch as nature in ſome meaſure, and revelation more clearly declareth him,) in our hearts earneſtly to love and reverence him, through all our practice ſincerely and diligently to obſerve his Laws. This is it which Saint *Paul* affirmeth to be *profitable for all things*, and which it is my intent, by God's help, to recommend unto you as ſuch; demonſtrating it really to be ſo, by repreſenting ſome of thoſe numberleſs benefits and advantages which accrue from it, extending to all conditions and capacities of men, to all ſtates, all ſeaſons, and in effect to all affairs of life.

It hath been ever a main obſtruction to the practice of Piety, that it hath been taken for no friend, or rather for an enemy, to profit; as both unprofitable and prejudicial to its followers: and many ſemblances there are countenancing that opinion. For Religion ſeemeth to ſmother or to ſlacken the induſtry and alacrity of men in following Profit, many ways: by charging them to be content with a little, and careful for nothing; by diverting their affections and cares from worldly affairs to matters of another nature, place and time, preſcribing in the firſt place to ſeek things ſpiritual, heavenly and future; by diſparaging all ſecular wealth, as a thing in compariſon to virtue and ſpiritual goods, very mean and inconſiderable; by checking greedy deſires and aſpiring thoughts after it; by debarring the moſt ready ways of getting it, (violence, exaction, fraud and flattery,) yea, ſtreightning the beſt ways, eager care and diligence; by commending ſtrict Juſtice in all caſes, and always taking part with conſcience when it claſheth with intereſt; by paring away the largeſt uſes of wealth, in the prohibition of its free enjoyment to pride or pleaſure; by enjoyning liberal communication thereof in ways of charity and mercy; by engaging men to expoſe their goods ſometimes to eminent hazard, ſometimes to certain loſs; obliging them to forſake all things, and to embrace poverty for its ſake.

It favoureth this conceit, to obſerve, that often bad men by impious courſes do appear to thrive and proſper; while good men ſeem for their goodneſs to ſuffer, or to be no wiſe viſibly better for it, enduring much hardſhip and diſtreſs.

It furthereth the prejudice, that ſome perſons, void of true Piety, or imperfectly good, (ſome *Dabblers* in Religion,) do not from their lame, ſlight and ſuperficial performances feel ſatisfactory returns, ſuch as they did preſume to find; and thence
Mal. 3. 14. to the defamation of Piety, are apt to ſay, with thoſe men in the Prophet, *It is vain to ſerve God, and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hoſts?* Yea, that ſometimes very pious men, being out of humour, and ſomewhat diſcompoſed by the urgent preſſures of affliction, the diſappointments and croſſes incident to all men here in this region of trouble, are apt to complain and expreſs themſelves diſſatisfied, ſaying
Job 34. 9. with *Job, It profiteth a man nothing, that he ſhould delight himſelf with God.*
35. 3. *What advantage will it be unto me, and what profit ſhall I have, if I be cleanſed from my ſin*; or with *David, Verily I have cleanſed my heart in vain, and waſhed my hands in innocency: For all the day long I have been plagued, and chaſtned every morning.*
Pſ. 73. 13, 14.

To theſe conſiderations, diſadvantageous in this reſpect to Piety, may be added that the conſtant and certain profits emergent from it (although incomparably more ſubſtantial, and to the mind more ſenſible than any other) are for yet do groſs and palpable, that men, who from being immerſed in earth and flesh are blind in errour, dull of apprehenſion, vain and inconſiderate in their judgments, tainted and vitiated in their palates, can diſcern their worth or reliſh their sweetneſs. Hence it is, that

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ſo many follow the judgment and practice of thoſe in *Job*, *who ſay unto God, Depart from us, for we deſire not the knowledge of thy ways. What is the Almighty, that we ſhould ſerve him? and what profit ſhould we have if we pray unto him?* Job 21. 14, 15.

For voiding which prejudices, and the recommendation of S. *Paul*'s project, I ſhall (as I ſaid) propoſe ſome of thoſe innumerable advantages, by conſidering which the immenſe profitableneſs of Piety will appear. And firſt, I ſhall mention thoſe conſiderations which more plainly do import univerſality; then ſhall touch ſome Benefits thereof, ſeeming more particular, yet in effect vaſtly large, and of a very diffuſive influence.

I. Firſt then we may conſider, that Piety is exceeding uſefull for all ſorts of men, in all capacities, all ſtates, all relations; fitting and diſpoſing them to manage all their reſpective concernments, to diſcharge all their peculiar duties, in a proper, juſt and decent manner.

It rendreth all Superiors equal and moderate in their adminiſtrations; mild, courteous and affable in their converſe; benign and condeſcenſive in all their demeanour toward their Inferiours. Eph. 6. 9. Col. 4. 1.

Correſpondently it diſpoſeth Inferiours to be ſincere and faithful, modeſt, loving, reſpectful, diligent, apt willingly to yeild due ſubjection and ſervice. Eph. 6. 5. Col. 3. 22. 1 Pet. 2. 18.

It inclineth Princes to be juſt, gentle, benign, careful for their Subjects good, apt to adminiſter juſtice uprightly, to protect right, to encourage vertue, to check wickedneſs.

Anſwerably it rendreth Subjects loyal, ſubmiſſive, obedient, quiet and peaceable, ready to yeild due honour, to pay the tributes and bear the burthens impoſed, to diſcharge all duties, and obſerve all laws preſcribed by their Governours conſcionably, patiently, chearfully, without reluctancy, grudging or murmuring. Rom. 13. 1. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 1 Pet. 4. 9.

It maketh Parents loving, gentle, provident for their Childrens good education, and comfortable ſubſiſtence; Children again, dutiful, reſpectful, grateful, apt to requite their Parents. Phil. 2. 14. Eph. 6. 4. Col. 3. 21. 1 Tim 5. 8.

Husbands from it become affectionate and compliant to their Wives; Wives ſubmiſſive and obedient to their Husbands. Eph. 6. 1. Col. 3. 20. Eph. 5. 25. Col. 3. 19.

It diſpoſeth Friends to be Friends indeed, full of cordial affection and good-will, entirely faithful, firmly conſtant, induſtriouſly careful and active in performing all good offices mutually. 1 Pet. 3. 7. Eph. 5. 22. Col. 3. 18.

It engageth men to be diligent in their calling, faithful to their truſts, contented and peaceable in their ſtation, and thereby ſerviceable to publick good. Tit. 2. 5. 1 Pet. 3. 5.

It rendreth all men juſt and punctual in their dealing, orderly and quiet in their behaviour, courteous and complaiſant in their converſation, friendly and charitable upon all occaſions, apt to aſſiſt, to relieve, to comfort one another. Gal. 6. 2, 10. Phil. 4. 8. 1 Theſſ. 3. 12. 2 Cor. 9. 13.

It tieth all Relations more faſtly and ſtrongly, aſſureth and augmenteth all endearments, enforceth and eſtabliſheth all obligations by the firm bands of conſcience; ſet aſide which, no engagement can hold ſure againſt temptations of intereſt, or pleaſure. Much difference there is between performing theſe duties out of natural temper, fear of puniſhment, hope of temporal reward, ſelfiſh deſign, regard to credit, or other the like principles, and the diſcharging them out of religious conſcience; this alone will keep men tight, uniform, reſolute and ſtable; whereas all other principles are looſe and ſlippery, will ſoon be ſhaken and faulter.

In conſequence to thoſe practices ſpringing from it, Piety removeth oppreſſion, violence, faction, diſorders and murmurings, out of the State; ſchiſms and ſcandals out of the Church; pride and haughtineſs, ſloth and luxury, detraction and ſycophantry out of the Court; corruption and partiality out of Judicatures; clamours and tumults out of the Street; brawlings, grudges and jealouſies out of Families; extortion and cozenage out of Trade; ſtrifes, emulations, ſlanderous backbitings, bitter and foul language, out of Converſation: in all places, in all Societies it produceth, it advanceth, it eſtabliſheth order, peace, ſafety, proſperity, all that is good, all that is lovely or handſome, all that is convenient or pleaſant for humane ſociety and common life. It is that which (as the *Wiſe man* ſaith) *exalteth a nation*; it is that which *eſtabliſheth a throne*. Prov. 14. 34. & 16. 12. & 20. 28. & 29. 14. & 8. 15. & 29. 8.

It is indeed the beſt prop and guard that can be of Government, and of the Commonweal: for it ſettleth the Body politick in a ſound conſtitution of health, it firmly cementeth the parts thereof; it putteth all things into a right order and ſteady

courſe. It procureth mutual reſpect and affection between Governours and Subjects, whence ariſeth ſafety, eaſe and pleaſure to both. It rendreth men truly good, (that is, juſt and honeſt, ſober and conſiderate, modeſt and peaceable,) and thence apt, without any conſtraint or ſtir, to yield every one their due; not affected to needleſs change, not diſpoſed to raiſe any diſturbance. It putteth men in good humour, and keepeth them in it; whence things paſs ſmoothly and pleaſantly. It cheriſheth worth, and encourageth induſtry; whence vertue flouriſheth, and wealth is encreaſed; whence the occaſions and means of diſorder are ſtopt, the pretences for ſedition and faction are cut off. In fine, it certainly procureth the benediction of God, the ſource of all welfare and proſperity: whence, *When it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoyceth*; and, *When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoyce*, ſaith the great Politician, *Solomon*.

Prov. 11. 10. 29. 2.

It is therefore the concernment of all men, who (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh) *deſire to live well, and would fain ſee good days*; it is the ſpecial intereſt of great perſons, (of the Magiſtracy, the Nobility, the Gentry, of all perſons that have any conſiderable intereſt in the world,) who would ſafely and ſweetly enjoy their dignity, power or wealth, by all means to protect and promote Piety, as the beſt inſtrument of their ſecurity, and undiſturbedly enjoying the accommodations of their ſtate. 'Tis in all reſpects their beſt wiſdom and policy; that which will as well preſerve their outward ſtate here, as ſatisfie their conſciences within, and ſave their ſouls hereafter. All the *Machiavilian* arts and tricks, all the ſleights and fetches of wordly craft do ſignifie nothing in compariſon to this one plain and eaſie way of ſecuring and furthering their Intereſts.

Pſal. 34. 12. 1 Pet. 3. 10.

If then it be a groſs abſurdity to deſire the fruits, and not to take care of the root, not to cultivate the ſtock, whence they ſprout; if every Prince gladly would have his Subjects loyal and obedient, every Maſter would have his Servants honeſt, diligent and obſervant, every Parent would have his Children officious and grateful, every man would have his Friend faithful and kind, every one would have thoſe juſt and ſincere with whom he doth negotiate or converſe; if any one would chuſe to be related to ſuch, and would eſteem their relation a happineſs: then conſequently ſhould every man in reaſon ſtrive to further Piety, from whence alone thoſe good diſpoſitions and practices do proceed.

II. Piety doth fit a man for all conditions, qualifying him to paſs through them all with the beſt advantage, wiſely, chearfully and ſafely; ſo as to incur no conſiderable harm or detriment by them.

Is a man proſperous, high, or wealthy in condition? Piety guardeth him from all the miſchiefs incident to that ſtate, and diſpoſeth him to enjoy the beſt advantages thereof. It keepeth him from being ſwelled and puffed up with vain conceit, from being tranſported with fond complacence or confidence therein; minding him, that it is purely the gift of God, that it abſolutely dependeth on his diſpoſal, ſo that it may ſoon be taken from him, and that he cannot otherwiſe than by humility, by gratitude, by the good uſe of it, be ſecure to retain it; minding him alſo, that he ſhall aſſuredly be forced to render a ſtrict accompt concerning the good management thereof. It preſerveth him from being perverted or corrupted with the temptations to which that condition is moſt liable; from luxury, from ſloth, from ſtupidity, from forgetfulneſs of God, and of himſelf; maintaining among the floods of plenty a ſober and ſteady mind. It fenceth him from inſolence, and faſtuous contempt of others; rendreth him civil, condeſcenſive, kind and helpful to thoſe who are in a meaner ſtate. It inſtructeth and inciteth him to apply his wealth and power to the beſt uſes, to the ſervice of God, to the benefit of his neighbour, for his own beſt reputation, and moſt ſolid comfort. It is the right balaſt of proſperity, the only antidote for all the inconveniences of wealth; that which ſecureth, ſweetneth and ſanctifieth all other goods: without it all apparent goods are very noxious, or extremely dangerous: riches, power, honour, eaſe, pleaſure, are ſo many poiſons, or ſo many ſnares, without it. Again, Is a man poor and low in the world? Piety doth improve and ſweeten even that ſtate: it keepeth his ſpirits up above dejection, deſperation and diſconſolateneſs; it freeth him from all grievous ſolicitude and anxiety; ſhewing him, that although he ſeemeth to have little, yet he may be aſſured to want nothing, he having a certain ſuccour and never-failing ſupply from God's good Providence; that notwithſtanding the preſent ſtraitneſs of his condition, or leanneſs of outward things, he hath a title to goods infinitely more precious and more conſiderable.

ſiderable. A pious man cannot but apprehend himſelf like the child of a moſt wealthy, kind and careful father, who although he hath yet nothing in his own poſſeſſion, or paſſing under his name, yet is aſſured that he can never come into any want of what is needful to him: the Lord of all things (who hath all things in heaven and earth at his diſpoſal, who is infinitely tender of his childrens good, who doth inceſſantly watch over them) being his gracious Father, how can he fear to be left deſtitute, or not to be competently provided for, as is truly beſt for him?

This is the difference between a pious, and an impious man. Is the pious man in need? he hath then an inviſible refuge to fly to, an inviſible ſtore to furniſh him; he hath ſomewhat beyond all preſent things to hope in, to comfort himſelf with: whereas the impious perſon hath nothing beſide preſent appearances to ſupport or ſolace himſelf by; the which failing, down he ſinketh into dejection and deſpair. Is the good man in affliction? he knoweth that it cometh not on him without God's wiſe appointment, nor without good intention toward him, for probation, exerciſe and improvement of his virtues, or for wholſome correction of his bad diſpoſitions; that it is only phyſick and diſcipline to him, which ſhall have a comfortable iſſue; that it ſhall laſt no longer than it is expedient for him that it ſhould: wherefore he patiently ſubmitteth to it, and undergoeth it chearfully, with the ſame mind wherewith a patient ſwalloweth down an unſavoury potion, which he preſumeth will conduce to his health. Never, indeed, hath any man enjoyed more real content, or hath been more truly ſatified, than good men have have been in a ſeeming depth of adverſity. What men ever upon earth have been more ſorely afflicted, have underwent greater loſſes, diſgraces, labours, troubles, diſtreſſes in any kind, than did the H. Apoſtles? yet did they moſt heartily rejoyce, exult and triumph in them all. Such a wondrous virtue hath Piety to change all things into matter of conſolation and joy. No condition in effect can be evil or ſad to a pious man: his very ſorrows are pleaſant, his infirmities are wholſome, his wants enrich him, his diſgraces adorn him, his burthens eaſe him; his duties are privileges, his falls are the grounds of advancement, his very ſins (as breeding contrition, humility, circumſpection and vigilance) do better and profit him: whereas Impiety doth ſpoil every condition, doth corrupt and embaſe all good things, doth embitter all the conveniences and comforts of life.

Scimus amicos Dei ab amantiſſimo, miſericordiſſimo Patre Deo mala iſta pœnalia recipere, non ut pœnam ſeu vindictam iracundiæ, ſed magis ut correctiones & medicamenta ſtultitiæ, & adjumenta virtutis, ut malleationes ſive fabricationes, & tunſiones, ſive ablutiones, & candidationes. Guil. Par. *de Sacram.*

Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐπτοήθιζεν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ παράκλητον. Euſeb. 5. 1. *Mart. Lugd.*

III. Piety doth virtually compriſe within it all other profits, ſerving all the deſigns of them all: whatever kind of deſirable good we can hope to find from any other profit, we may be aſſured to enjoy from it.

He that hath it is *ipſo facto* vaſtly rich, is intituled to immenſe treaſures of moſt precious wealth; in compariſon whereto all the gold and all the jewels in the world are mere baubles. He hath intereſt in God, and can call him his, who is the *All*, and in regard to whom all things exiſtent are *leſs than nothing*. The infinite Power and Wiſdom of God belong to him, to be ever, upon all fit occaſions, employed for his benefit. All the ineſtimable treaſures of Heaven (a place infinitely more rich than the *Indies*) are his, after this moment of life, to have and to hold for ever: ſo that great reaſon had the *Wiſe man* to ſay, that *In the houſe of the righteous is much treaſure.* Piety therefore is profitable, as immediately inſtating in wealth: and whereas the deſired fruits of profit are chiefly theſe, honour, power, pleaſure, ſafety, liberty, eaſe, opportunity of getting knowledge, means of benefitting others; all theſe we ſhall ſee do abundantly accrue from Piety, and in truth only from it. Prov. 15. 6.

The Pious man is in truth moſt honourable. *Inter homines pro ſummo eſt optimus*, ſaith *Seneca*; whom *Solomon* tranſlated thus, *The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour.* He is dignified by the moſt illuſtrious titles, a ſon of God, a friend and favourite to the ſovereign King of the world, an heir of Heaven, a denizon of the *Jeruſalem* above: Titles far ſurpaſſing all thoſe which worldly ſtate doth aſſume. He is approved by the beſt and moſt infallible judgments, wherein true honour reſideth. He is reſpected by God himſelf, by the holy Angels, by the bleſſed Saints, by all good and all wiſe perſons; yea, commonly, by all men: for the effects of genuine Piety are ſo venerable and amiable, Sen. *Ep.* 90. Prov. 12. 26. Κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος τίμιος. Ariſtot. *Eth.* 3. 3. Prov. 12. 8, 4.

that

that ſcarce any man can do otherwiſe than in his heart much eſteem him that worketh them.

Tantum quantum vult poteſt, nec ſe unquam quod vult non putat poſſe. Senec. *Ep.* 90.

The Pious man is alſo the moſt potent man: he hath a kind of omnipotency, becauſe he can do what-ever he will, that is, what he ought to do; and, becauſe the Divine Power is ever ready to aſſiſt him in his pious enterpriſes, ſo that *He can do all things by Chriſt that ſtrengtheneth him.* He is able to combat and vanquiſh him that is ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, *the ſtout and mighty one*; to wage war with happy ſucceſs *againſt principalities and powers.* He conquereth and commandeth himſelf which is the braveſt victory, and nobleſt empire: he quelleth fleſhly luſts, ſubdueth inordinate paſſions, and repelleth ſtrong temptations. He, *by his faith, overcometh the world* with a conqueſt far more glorious than ever any *Alexander* or *Cæſar* could do. He, in fine, doth perform the moſt worthy exploits, and deſerveth the moſt honourable triumphs that man can do.

Prov. 16. 32. 25. 28. *Vide* Sen. *de Ben.* 5, 7.

The Pious man alſo doth enjoy the only true pleaſures; hearty, pure, ſolid, durable pleaſures; ſuch pleaſures as thoſe of which the divine Pſalmiſt ſingeth, *In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.* That *all joy in believing*, that *gayety of hope*, that inceſſant *rejoycing in the Lord*, and *greatly delighting in his Law*, that continual feaſt of a good Conſcience, that *ſerving the Lord with gladneſs*, that *exceeding gladneſs with God's countenance*, that *comfort of the Holy Spirit*, that *joy unſpeakable and full of glory*; the ſatisfaction reſulting from the contemplation of heavenly truth, from the ſenſe of God's favour, and the pardon of his ſins, from the influence of God's grace, from the hopes and anticipation of everlaſting bliſs; theſe are pleaſures indeed, in compariſon whereto all other pleaſures are no more than brutiſh ſenſualities, ſordid impurities, ſuperficial touches, tranſient flaſhes of delight: ſuch as ſhould be inſipid and unſavoury to a rational appetite; ſuch as are tinctured with ſourneſs and bitterneſs, have painful remorſes or qualms conſequent. All the Pious man's performances of duty and of devotion are full of pure ſatisfaction and delight here, and ſhall be rewarded with perfect and endleſs joy hereafter.

Pſal. 16. 11. Rom. 15. 13. Heb. 3. 6. Phil. 4. 4. Pſal. 43. 4. Pſal. 112. 1. & 1. 2. & 119. 16, 24, 47, 70, 77, 92, 143, 111. Pſal. 100. 2. & 21. 6. & 94. 19. Iſa. 29. 19. John 26. 20, &c. 1 Pet. 1. 8. Rom. 14. 17.

Quid enim jucundius, quàm Dei Patris & Domini reconciliatio, quàm veritatis revelatio, quàm errorum recognitio, quàm tot retrò criminum venia? quæ major voluptas, quàm faſtidium ipſius voluptatis, quàm ſæculi totius contemptus, quàm vera libertas, quàm conſcientia integra, quàm vita ſufficiens, quàm mortis timor nullus? &c. Tert. *de Spectac.* 29.

As for ſafety, the Pious man hath it moſt abſolute and ſure: he being guarded by Almighty power and wiſdom: *reſting under the ſhadow of God's wings*; God *upholding him with his hand, ordering his ſteps, ſo that none of them ſhall ſlide, holding his ſoul in life, and ſuffering not his feet to be moved*; he being, by the grace and mercy of God, ſecured from the aſſaults and impreſſions of all enemies, from ſin and guilt, from the Devil, world and fleſh, from death and hell, which are our moſt formidable, and in effect only dangerous enemies.

Pſal. 17. 8. & 36. 7. & 57. 1. & 61. 4. & 91. 4. Pſal. 37. 24. & 119. 117. Pſal. 37. 23, 31. & 119. 133. Pſal. 66. 9. Pſal. 119. 45.

As for liberty, the Pious man moſt entirely and truly doth enjoy that; he alone is free from captivity to that cruel Tyrant, *Satan*, from the miſerable ſlavery to ſin, from the grievous dominion of luſt and paſſion. He can do what he pleaſeth, having a mind to do only what is good and fit. The Law he obſerveth is worthily called *the perfect law of liberty*; the Lord he ſerveth pretendeth only to command freemen and friends: *Ye are my friends*, ſaid he, *if ye do whatever I command you*; and, *If the Son ſet you free, then are ye free indeed.*

Jam. 1. 25. John 15. 14. John 8. 36.

And for eaſe, 'tis he only that knoweth it; having his mind exempted from the diſtraction of care, from diſorder of paſſion, from anguiſh of conſcience, from the drudgeries and troubles of the world, from the vexations and diſquiets which ſin produceth. He findeth it made good to him, which our Lord inviting him did promiſe, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt:* he feeleth the truth of thoſe divine aſſertions, *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee*; and, *Great peace have they which love thy Law, and nothing ſhall offend them.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μόνῳ τῷ Χριστῷ ζῶν. Cheryl. *ad* Theod.

Mat. 11. 28. Iſa. 26. 3. Pſ. 119. 165.

As for knowledge, the Pious man alone doth attain it conſiderably, ſo as to become truly wiſe, and learned to purpoſe. *Evil men* (ſaith the *Wiſe man* himſelf, who knew well,) *underſtand not judgment: but they that ſeek the Lord underſtand all things.* It is the Pious man that employeth his mind upon the moſt proper and worthy objects, that knoweth things which certainly beſt deſerve to be known, that hath his ſoul enriched with the choiceſt notions, he ſkilleth to aim at the beſt ends,

Prov. 28. 5, 7.

ends, and to compaſs them by the fitteſt means; he can aſſign to each thing its due worth and value; he can proſecute things by the beſt methods, and order his affairs in the beſt manner: ſo that he is ſure not to be defeated or diſappointed in his endeavours, nor to miſ-ſpend his care and pains, without anſwerable fruit. He hath the beſt Maſter to inſtruct him in his ſtudies, and the beſt rules to direct him in his proceedings: he cannot be miſtaken, ſeeing in his judgment and choice of things he conſpireth with infallible Wiſdom. Therefore ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἀκρως φιλοσοφεῖ, *the pious man is the exquiſite philoſopher. The fear of the Lord that is wiſdom, and to depart from evil is underſtanding. The fear of the Lord* (as is ſaid again and again in Scripture) *is the head* (or *top*) *of wiſdom. A good underſtanding have all they that keep his commandments.* Triſmeg. Job. 28. 28. Prov. 9. 10. 1. 7. Pſal. 111. 10. 119. 34, 99, 104, 130.

Farther, the pious man is enabled and diſpoſed (hath the power and the heart) moſt to benefit and oblige others. He doth it by his ſuccour and aſſiſtance, by his inſtruction and advice, which he is ever ready to yield to any man upon fit occaſion: he doth it by the direction and encouragement of his good example: he doth it by his conſtant and earneſt prayers for all men: he doth it by drawing down bleſſings from Heaven on the place where he reſideth. He is upon all accounts the moſt true, the moſt common benefactor to mankind; all his neighbours, his countrey, the world are in ſome way or other obliged to him: at leaſt, he doeth all the good he can, and in wiſh doth benefit all men.

Thus all the fruits and conſequences of Profit, the which engage men ſo eagerly to purſue it, do in the beſt kind and higheſt degree reſult from Piety, and, indeed, only from it. All the Philoſophical *Bravados* concerning a Wiſe man being only rich, only honourable, only happy, only above fortune, are verified in the Pious man: to him alone, as ſuch, with a ſure foundation, without vanity, with evident reaſon thoſe aphoriſms may be applied. They are paradoxes and fictions abſtracting from Religion, or conſidering men only under the light and power of nature: but ſuppoſing our Religion true, a good Chriſtian ſoberly, without arrogance, in proportion and according to the meaſure of his Piety, may aſſume them to himſelf, as the H. Apoſtles did: *I poſſeſs all things, I can do all things*, he may in a ſort ſay after S. *Paul.*

As for all other Profits, ſecluding it, they are but imaginary and counterfeit, mere ſhadows and illuſions, yielding only painted ſhews inſtead of ſubſtantial fruit. Sen. *Ep.* 59.

If from bare worldly wealth (that which uſurpeth the name of Profit here) a man ſeeketh honour, he is deluded, for he is not thereby truly honourable; he is but a ſhining earth-worm, a well-trapped aſs, a gaudy ſtatue, a theatrical grandee: with God, who judgeth moſt rightly, he is mean and deſpicable: no intelligent perſon can inwardly reſpect him. Even here (in this world of fallacy and dotage) the wiſeſt and ſobereſt men, whoſe judgment uſually doth ſway that of others, cannot but contemn him, as maſter of no real good, nor fit for any good purpoſe; as ſeeing that in the end he will prove moſt beggerly and wretched.

If a man affecteth power thence, he is grievouſly miſtaken; for, inſtead thereof, he proveth exceedingly feeble and impotent, able to perform nothing worthy a man, ſubject to fond humours and paſſions, ſervant to divers luſts and pleaſures, *captivated by the Devil at his pleaſure*, overborn by temptation, hurried by the ſtream of the world, and liable to the ſtrokes of fortune.

If he propoundeth to himſelf thence the enjoyment of pleaſure, he will alſo much fail therein: for in lieu thereof he ſhall find care and trouble, ſurfeiting and diſeaſe, weariſome ſatiety and bitter regret; being void of all true delight in his mind, and ſatisfaction in his conſcience; nothing here being able to furniſh ſolid and ſtable pleaſure.

If he fanſieth ſafety, he deludeth himſelf: for how can he be ſafe, who is deſtitute of God's protection and ſuccour: who is the object of Divine wrath and vengeance; who is aſſailed by many fierce and powerful enemies; whom the roaring lion is ready to devour; whom death and *ſudden deſtruction* are coming to ſeiſe upon; whom guilt threatneth, and hell gapeth for; who without any guard or fence ſtandeth expoſed to ſuch imminent, ſuch horrid and ghaſtly dangers? 1 Theſſ. 5. 3. Prov. 10. 29.

If he thirſt for liberty, he will be fruſtrated: for he can be no otherwiſe than a ſlave, while he continueth impious; *ſervus tot dominorum, quot vitiorum, a ſlave to ſo many Maſters as he keepeth Vices:* a ſlave to himſelf, and his own luſts: carrying Auguſt. Prov. 25. 28.

rying about with him the fetters of unſatiable deſire, being hampered with inconſiſtent and irregular affections?

Eaſe he cannot obtain, being oppreſſed with unwieldy burthens of fear, of care, of
Iſa. 57. 20. trouble; being toſſed with reſtleſs agitations of luſt and paſſion; being *like the troubled Sea, which cannot reſt, whoſe waters caſt up mire and dirt.*

If he meaneth to get wiſdom, he is out: for wiſdom and impiety are incompatible things. All his knowledge is vain, all his ſpeculations are no better than dreams, ſeeing he erreth in the main point, and is *not wiſe to ſalvation.*

He is, in fine, extreamly miſtaken, and in all his projects will be lamentably diſappointed, whoever fanſieth any true profit without Piety: he never can attain to be ſo much as wealthy; but drudge and plod what he can, muſt be a begger, and a forlorn wretch. For how can he be any-wiſe rich, who doth want all the beſt things, the only valuable things in the world, which any man may have, which any good man doth poſſeſs? How can he be rich, who is deſtitute of the moſt needfull accommodations of life; who conſtantly feedeth on the courſeſt and moſt ſordid fare, (the duſt of pelf, the dung of ſenſuality;) who hath no faithful or conſtant friends, (nothing earthly can be ſuch;) who is maſter of nothing but dirt, or chaff or ſmoak? Whereas alſo riches do conſiſt, not in what one enjoyeth at preſent, (for that can be little) but in a preſumed ability to enjoy afterward what he may come to need or deſire; or in well-grounded hopes that he ſhall never fall into want or diſtreſs. How can that man be rich, who hath not any confidence in God, any intereſt in him, any reaſon to expect his Bleſſing? yea, who hath much ground to fear the diſpleaſure of him, in whoſe hand all things are, and who arbitrarily diſpoſeth of all? Piety
Prov. 3. 15. therefore is the only profitable thing, according to juſt eſteem. *She is more pretious than rubies, and all the things we can deſire are not to be compared to her.* Upon
Pſal. 37. 16. this accompt it is moſt true, what the *Pſalmiſt* affirmeth, *A little that the righteous hath, is better than great Riches of the ungodly.*

IV. That Commendation is not to be omitted which is neareſt at hand, and ſuggeſted by St. *Paul* himſelf to back this aſſertion concerning the univerſal profitableneſs of Piety; *For* (ſaith he) *it hath the promiſe of the life that now is, and of that which is to come:* that is, God hath promiſed to reward it with Bleſſings appertaining to this mortal life, and with thoſe which concern the future eternal ſtate.

As for the Bleſſings of this life, although God hath not promiſed to load the godly man with affluence of worldly things, not to put him into a ſplendid and pompous garb, not to diſpenſe to him that which may ſerve for pampering the fleſh, or gratifying wanton fancy, not to exempt him from all the inconveniences to which humane nature and this worldly ſtate are ſubject; yet hath he promiſed to furniſh him with whatever is needful or convenient for him, in due meaſure and ſeaſon, the which he doth beſt underſtand. There is no good thing which a man naturally deſireth, or reaſonably can wiſh for, which is not in expreſs terms propoſed as a reward, or a reſult of Piety.

Prov. 10. 6. Deut. 28. 8. 30. 9. Pſal. 84. 11. Eccles. 8. 12. Iſa. 3. 10. Pſ. 128. 1, 2. (Prov. 8. 35.) Prov. 12. 21. Rom. 8. 28. In general, it is declared, that *Bleſſings are upon the head of the juſt*; that, *No good thing God will withhold from them that walk uprightly*; that, whatever otherwiſe doth fall out, it *aſſuredly ſhall be well with them that fear God*; that, *Bleſſed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways: —happy ſhalt thou be, and it ſhall be well with thee*; that, *There ſhall no evil happen to the juſt*; that, *All things work together for good to them that love God.*

Particularly, there are promiſed to the pious man,

A Supply of all wants. *The Lord will not ſuffer the ſoul of the righteous to famiſh. The righteous eateth to the ſatisfying of his ſoul. There is no want to them that fear God. The young lions do lack, and ſuffer hunger; but they that ſeek the Lord ſhall not want any good thing.*

Prov. 10. 3. Prov. 13. 25. Pſ. 34. 9, 10. & 33. 19. & 36. 3, 19. Pſal. 33. 18. & 34. 20. & 112. 7. & 37. 28. Pſ. 91. 10, 11. A Protection in all Dangers. *The eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their ſoul from death, and to keep them alive in famine. There ſhall no evil befall thee, neither ſhall any plague come nigh thy dwelling: He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways,*

Pſ. 37. 23, & Prov. 3. 6. (Prov. 11. 3, 5.) Guidance in all his undertakings and proceedings. *The ſteps of a good man are ordered by the Lord——none of his ſteps ſhall ſlide. —— In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy paths.*

ſucceſs

Succeſs and proſperity in his deſigns. *Commit thy way unto the Lord, truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs.* ——*Whatſoever he doeth, it ſhall proſper.* ——*Thou ſhalt decree a thing, and it ſhall be eſtabliſhed; and the light ſhall ſhine upon thy ways. The Lord ſhall command a bleſſing upon thee in thy ſtore-houſes, and in all that thou ſetteſt thine hand unto. Thine expectations ſhall not be cut off.* (Prov. 16. 3.) Pſal. 37. 5. Pſal. 1. 3. Job 22. 28. Deut. 28. 8, 12. Prov. 23. 18.

Comfortable enjoying the fruits of his induſtry. ——*Thou ſhalt eat the labour of thine hands.*—— Pſal. 128. 2.

Satisfaction of all reaſonable Deſires. *The deſire of the righteous ſhall be granted. Delight thy ſelf in the Lord, and he ſhall give thee the deſires of thine heart. He will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him: he will hear their cry, and will ſave them.* Prov. 10. 24. Pſal. 37. 4. 145. 19.

Firm peace and quiet. *The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace; and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever. Great peace have they which love thy Law. The fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowed in peace.* Iſa. 32. 17. Pſ. 119. 165. James 3. 18.

Joy and alacrity. *Light is ſown for the righteous, and gladneſs for the upright in heart. In the tranſgreſſion of an evil man there is a ſnare: but the righteous doth ſing and rejoyce.* Pſal. 97. 11. Prov. 29. 6.

Support and comfort in afflictions. *He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds. Be of good courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen your heart, all ye that hope in the Lord.* Pſal. 147. 3. 31. 24. 27. 14.

Deliverance from trouble. *Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of all. He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.* 34. 19. 37. 39.

Preſervation and recovery from miſhaps, or miſcarriages. *Though he fall, he ſhall not be utterly caſt down: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.* 37. 24.

Preferment of all ſorts, to honour and dignity, to wealth and proſperity. *Wait upon the Lord, and keep his way; and he ſhall exalt thee to inherit the land. By humility and fear of the Lord are riches and honour. Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord——wealth and riches are in his houſe. The upright ſhall have good things in poſſeſſion. If they obey and ſerve him, they ſhall ſpend their days in proſperity, and their years in pleaſure. The tabernacle of the righteous ſhall flouriſh.* Pſal. 37. 34. Prov. 22. 4. Pſ. 112. 1, 3. Prov. 28. 10. (Job 36. 7.) Job 36. 11. Prov. 14. 11.

Long life. *The fear of the Lord prolongeth days. By me thy days ſhall be multiplyed, and the years of thy life ſhall be encreaſed. Let thine heart keep my commandments: For length of days, and long life, and peace ſhall they add unto thee.* 10. 27. 9. 11. Prov. 3. 1, 2, 16.

A Good name enduring after death. *The memory of the juſt is bleſſed.* Prov. 10. 7, 25.

Bleſſings entailed on poſterity. *His ſeed ſhall be mighty upon earth; the generation of the upright ſhall be bleſſed. The root of the righteous ſhall not be moved.* Pſal. 37. 26. 112. 2. (Exod. 20. 6.) Prov. 12. 3.

Thus is a liberal diſpenſation even of temporal goods annexed by God's infallible Word unto the practice of Piety. It is indeed more frequently, abundantly and explicitly promiſed unto God's ancient People, as being a conditional ingredient of the Covenant made with them, exhibited in that as a recompence of their external performance of religious works preſcribed in their Law. The Goſpel doth not ſo clearly propound it, or ſo much inſiſt upon it, as not principally belonging to the Evangelical Covenant, the which, in reward to the performance of its conditions by us, peculiarly doth offer bleſſings ſpiritual, and relating to the future ſtate; as alſo ſcarce deſerving to be mentioned in compariſon to thoſe ſuperior bleſſings. Yet as the celeſtial benefits, although not openly tendred in the *Jewiſh* Law, were yet myſtically couched therein, and cloſely deſigned for the ſpiritual and hearty practiſers of Religion; ſo is the collation of temporal accommodations to be underſtood to belong to all pious Chriſtians: there is a *Codicil* (as it were) annexed to the New Teſtament, in which God ſignifieth his intention to furniſh his children with all that is needful or convenient for them. His Providence hath not ceaſed to watch over us, his bounty doth not fail toward us even in this reſpect; his care will not be wanting to feed us and cloath us comfortably, to protect us from evil, to proſper our good undertakings. Hence doth he command us to care for nothing, but *to caſt our care upon him, to recommend our buſineſs to him, becauſe he careth for us*; he *will never forſake us*; he will hear our prayers and help us. Prov. 11. 31. Deut 28. 1. & 7. 12. & 11. 13. 2 Cor. 4. 17. Rom. 8. 18. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Phil. 4. 6. Heb. 13. 5. Matt. 6. 25.

1 Tim. 6. 17. Hence we are enjoyned *not to truſt in uncertain riches, but in the living God,*
2 Pet. 1. 3. *who giveth us richly all things to enjoy.* Hence it is ſaid, that *The divine power hath given us all things pertaining unto life and godlineſs, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue.* Hence it is promiſed by
Matt. 6. 33. our Lord, that *If we ſeek firſt the Kingdom of God, all things ſhall be added to us.* Hence it is inferred as conſequential to the nature of the evangelical diſpenſation, that we cannot want any good thing; *He* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that ſpared not his own*
Rom. 8. 32. *Son, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?* In fine, hence it is propoſed as notorious, that nothing is permitted to fall out otherwiſe than as conduceth to our good. *We know* (ſaith St. *Paul*,)
Rom. 8. 28. *that all things work together for good unto thoſe that love God:* Nor *will God,*
1 Cor. 10. 13. in any caſe, *ſuffer us to be tempted*, by any want or preſſure, *beyond what we are able to bear.* Thus is Piety evidently profitable, as *having the promiſes of this Life*, or exhibiting all temporal bleſſings deſirable to the practiſers thereof.

But infinitely more profitable it is as *having the promiſes of the future life*, or as procuring a title to thoſe incomparably more excellent bleſſings of the other
Luke 12. 33. world; thoſe *indefectible treaſures*; that *incorruptible, undefiled, and never-*
1 Pet. 1. 4. *fading inheritance, reſerved in heaven for us*; that *exceeding weight of glory*;
2 Cor. 4. 17. thoſe *ineffable joys of Paradiſe*, that lightſome countenance and beautifying pre-
1 Pet. 1. 8. 4. 13. ſence of God; that unconceivably and unexpreſſably joyful, glorious, perfect and endleſs bliſs; briefly, all that is compriſed and intimated in thoſe words of the A-
1 Cor. 2. 9. poſtle, *Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.* Infinitely profitable ſurely muſt that be which procureth thoſe things for us: and in theſe reſpects great reaſon had St. *Paul* to ſay, that *Godlineſs is profitable for all things.*

But farther to evidence and recommend this point, I might propound certain peculiar advantages ariſing from Piety, which have a very general influence upon our lives, and do afford unto them exceeding benefit: but this I muſt in regard to the time and your patience, at preſent forbear.

SERMON III.

The Profitableneſs of Godlineſs.

1 TIM. IV. 8.

---But Godlineſs is profitable for all things.

IN diſcourſing formerly upon theſe words, I did propound divers general conſiderations, ſerving to confirm and recommend this aſſertion of St. *Paul.* I ſhall now inſiſt upon ſome others more particular, which yet ſeem much conducible to the ſame purpoſe, declaring the vaſt utility of Religion or Piety.

I. We may conſider, that Religion doth preſcribe the trueſt and beſt rules of action; thence enlightning our mind, and rectifying our practice in all matters, and upon all occaſions, ſo that whatever is performed according to it, is done well and wiſely, with a comely grace in regard to others, with a chearful ſatisfaction in our own mind, with the beſt aſſurance, that things are here capable of, to find happy ſucceſs and beneficial fruit.

Of all things in the world there is nothing more generally profitable than light: by it we converſe with the world, and have all things before us; by it we truly and eaſily diſcern things in their right magnitude, figure and colour; by it we guide our ſteps ſafely in proſecution of what is good, and [illegible] noxious; by it our

our ſpirits are comfortably warmed and cheared, our life conſequently, our health, our vigour and activity are preſerved. The like benefits doth Religion, which is the light of our ſoul, yield to it. Pious men are *children of the light*; pious works are works of light *ſhining before men. God's word* (or true Religion) *is a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our path*; enabling us to perceive things, and judge rightly of them; teaching us to walk ſtreightly and ſurely, without erring or ſtumbling; qualifying us to embrace what is uſeful, and to avoid hurtful things; preſerving our ſpiritual life, and diſpoſing us to act well with a vigorous alacrity: without it a man is ſtark blind, and utterly benighted, *gropeth* in doubt, wandreth in miſtake, trippeth upon all occaſions, and often falleth into miſchief. *The path of the juſt* (ſaith the *Wiſe man*) *is as the ſhining light ----The way of the wicked is as darkneſs, they know not at what they ſtumble. Righteouſneſs keepeth him that is upright in the way; but wickedneſs overthroweth the ſinner.*

Luke 16. 8. Eph. 5. 8. 1 Theſſ. 5. 5. John 12. 36. Matt. 5. 16. Eph. 5. 11. Pſ. 119. 105. Iſ. 59. 10. Job 5. 14. Deut. 28. 29. Prov. 4. 18, 19. Prov. 13. 6. & 11. 3, 5.

Again, it is a fair ornament of a man, and a grand convenience both to himſelf, and to others with whom he converſeth or dealeth, to act regularly, uniformly and conſiſtently; freeing a man's ſelf from diſtraction and irreſolution in his mind, from change and confuſion in his proceedings; ſecuring others from deluſion and diſappointment in their tranſactions with him. * Even a bad rule conſtantly obſerved is therefore better than none: order and perſeverance in any way ſeemeth more convenient, than roving and toſſing about in uncertainties. But, ſecluding a regard to the precepts of Religion, there can hardly be any ſure or ſettled rule, which firmly can engage a man to, or effectually reſtrain a man from any thing.

* *Viâ eunti aliquid extremum eſt; error immenſus eſt.* Sen. *Ep.* 16.

There is ſcarce in nature any thing ſo wild, ſo untractable, ſo unintelligible as a man who hath no bridle of conſcience to guide or check him. A prophane man is like a ſhip, without anchor to ſtay him, or rudder to ſteer him, or compaſs to guide him; ſo that he is toſt with any wind, and driven with any wave none knoweth whither; whither bodily temper doth ſway him, or paſſion doth hurry him, or intereſt doth pull him, or example leadeth him, or company inveigleth and haleth him, or humour tranſporteth him; whither any ſuch variable and unaccountable cauſes determine him, or divers of them together diſtract him; whence he ſo rambleth and hovereth, that he can ſeldom himſelf tell what in any caſe he ſhould do, nor can another gueſs it; ſo that you cannot at any time know where to find him, or how to deal with him: you cannot with reaſon ever rely upon him, ſo *unſtable is he in all his ways*. He is in effect a mere child, all humour and giddineſs, ſomewhat worſe than a beaſt, which, following the inſtinct of its nature, is conſtant and regular, and thence tractable; or at leaſt ſo untractable, that no man will be deceived in meddling with him. Nothing therefore can be more unmanly than ſuch a perſon, nothing can be more unpleaſant than to have to do with him.

Nihil eſt tam occupatum, tam multiforme, tot actum variis affectibus conciſum atque laceratum, quàm mala mens. Quint. 12. 1.

But a Pious man, being ſteddily governed by conſcience, and a regard to certain Principles, doth both underſtand himſelf, and is intelligible to others: he preſently deſcrieth what in any caſe he is to do, and can render an account of his acting: you may know him clearly, and aſſuredly tell what he will do, and may therefore fully confide in him.

Οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἰαυτοῖς ὁμοιοῦσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὄντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν· τοιοῦτοι μένει γὰρ τὰ βελτίω, καὶ μεταβάλλει, ὥσπερ ἐνδεικτόν. Arist. *Eth.* 9. 6.

What therefore law and government are to the publick, things neceſſary to preſerve the world in order, peace and ſafety, (that men may know what to do, and diſtinguiſh what is their own,) that is piety to each man's private ſtate, and to ordinary converſation: it freeth a man's own life from diſorder and diſtraction; it prompteth men how to behave themſelves towards one another with ſecurity and confidence.

This it doth by confining our practice within ſetled bounds: but this advantage appeareth greater, conſidering that the rules which it preſcribeth are the beſt that can be. Such they muſt needs be, as proceeding from infallible wiſdom and immenſe goodneſs; being indeed no other than laws which the all-wiſe and moſt gracious Lord and Maker of the world, out of tender kindneſs to his ſubjects and creatures, with eſpecial regard to our welfare, hath been pleaſed to enact and declare. What of old he ſaid to the *Iſraelites*, concerning their laws, may with greater advantage be applied to thoſe which ſhould regulate our lives; *And now, Iſrael, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to ſerve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul; to keep the commandments of the Lord, and his ſtatutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?* (For thy good; that was the deſign of their being commanded, thereto the obſervance of them did tend.) And that

Deut. 10. 12, 13.

commendation which by the *Levites* in *Nehemiah* is given to that, doth more clearly
Neh. 9. 13. and fully agree to the Chriſtian (general and perfect) inſtitution: *Thou cameſt down from mount Sinai, and ſpakeſt with them from heaven, and gaveſt them right judg-*
Rom. 7. 12. *ments, and true laws, good ſtatutes and commandments.* And, *The law* (ſaith the Apoſtle *Paul*) *is holy, the commandment is holy, juſt and good:* as ſuch it is recommended to us by its Author, ſo we Chriſtians are by many great arguments aſſured that it is, and that it is ſuch even our natural reaſon dictateth; ſo (as to the chief inſtances thereof) the moſt wiſe and ſober men always have acknowledged, ſo the general conſent doth avow, and ſo even common experience doth atteſt. For, heartily to love and reverence the Maker of all things, who by every thing apparent before us demonſtrateth himſelf incomprehenſibly powerful, wiſe and good, to be kind and charitable to our neighbours, to be juſt and faithful in our dealings, to be ſober and modeſt in our minds, to be meek and gentle in our demeanours, to be ſtaunch and temperate in our enjoyments, and the like principal rules of duty are ſuch, that the common reaſon of men and continual experience do approve them, as hugely conducible to the publick good of men, and to each man's private welfare. So notoriouſly beneficial they appear, that for the juſtification of them we might appeal even to the judgment and conſcience of thoſe perſons who are moſt concerned to derogate from them. For hardly can any man be ſo ſenſeleſs or ſo lewd, as ſeriouſly to diſapprove or condemn them, as inwardly to blame or ſlight thoſe who truly act according to them. The will of men ſometimes may be ſo depraved, that diſſolute perſons wantonly and heedleſſly may ſcoff at, and ſeem to diſparage goodneſs; that good men by very bad men for doing well may be envied and hated: (their being ſo treated is commonly an argument of the goodneſs of their perſons and of their ways:) but the underſtanding of men can hardly be ſo corrupted, that piety, charity, juſtice, temperance, meekneſs, can in good earneſt conſiderately by any man be diſallowed, or that perſons apparently practiſing them can be deſpiſed; but rather, in ſpight of all contrary prejudice and diſaffections, ſuch things and ſuch perſons cannot but in judgment and heart be eſteemed by all men. The luſtre of them by a natural and neceſſary efficacy (like that of Heaven's glorious light) dazzleth the ſight and charmeth the ſpirits of all men living; the beauty of them irreſiſtibly conquereth and commandeth in the apprehenſions of men: the more they are obſerved, the more uſeful and needful they appear for the good of men; all the fruits which grow from the obſervance of them being to all mens taſte very pleaſant, to all mens experience very wholſome. Indeed, all the good whereby common life is adorned, is ſweetned, is rendred pleaſant and deſirable, doth ſpring thence; all the miſchiefs which infeſt particular men, and which diſturb the world, palpably do ariſe from the tranſgreſſion or neglect thereof.

If we look on a perſon ſticking to thoſe rules, we ſhall perceive him to have a chearful mind and compoſed paſſions, to be at peace within and ſatisfied with himſelf; to live in comely order, in good repute, in fair correſpondence and firm concord with his neighbours. If we mark what preſerveth the body ſound and luſty, what keepeth the mind vigorous and brisk, what ſaveth and improveth the eſtate, what upholdeth the good name, what guardeth and graceth a man's whole life; it is nothing elſe but proceeding in our demeanour and dealings according to the honeſt and wiſe rules of Piety. If we view a place where theſe commonly in good meaſure are obſerved, we ſhall diſcern, that peace and proſperity do flouriſh there; that all things proceed on ſweetly and fairly; that men generally drive on converſation and commerce together contentedly, delightfully, advantageouſly, yielding friendly advice and aid, mutually ſtriving to render one another happy; that few clamours or complaints are heard there, few contentions or ſtirs do appear, few diſaſters or tragedies do occur; that ſuch a place hath indeed much of the face, much of the ſubſtance of Paradiſe.

But if you mind a perſon who neglecteth them, you will find his mind galled with ſore remorſe, racked with anxious fears and doubts, agitated with ſtorms of paſſion and luſt, living in diſorder and diſgrace, jarring with others, and no leſs diſſatisfied with himſelf. If you obſerve what doth impa[illegible]h, doth weaken and fret the mind, doth waſte the eſtate, doth [illegible]tation, doth expoſe the whole life to danger and trouble; [illegible]rting theſe good rules? If you conſider a place wh[illegible] theſe are [illegible] will appear like a wil-

a wilderneſs of ſavage beaſts, or a ſtye of foul ſwine, or a hell of curſed fiends; full of roaring and tearing, of factions and fewds, of diſtractions and confuſions, of pitiful objects, of doleful moans, of tragical events. Men are there wallowing in filth, wildly revelling, bickering and ſquabbling, defaming, circumventing, diſturbing and vexing one another; as if they affected nothing more than to render one another as miſerable as they can. It is from luſt and luxury, from ambition and avarice, from envy and ſpite, and the like diſpoſitions, which Religion chiefly doth interdict, that all ſuch horrid miſchiefs do ſpring.

In fine, the precepts of Religion are no other, than ſuch as Phyſicians would preſcribe for the health of our bodies, as Politicians would avow needful for the peace of the ſtate, as *Epicurean* Philoſophers do recommend for the tranquillity of our mind, and pleaſure of our lives; ſuch as common reaſon dictateth, and daily tryal ſheweth conducible to our welfare in all reſpects: which conſequently, were there no law exacting them of us, we ſhould in wiſdom chuſe to obſerve, and voluntarily impoſe on our ſelves, confeſſing them to be fit matters of law, as moſt advantageous and requiſite to the good (general and particular) of mankind. So that what *Plutarch* reporteth *Solon* to have ſaid, that *he had ſo ſquared his laws to the Citizens, that all of them might clearly perceive, that to obſerve them was more for their benefit and intereſt, than to violate them*, is far more true concerning the Divine Laws. Plut. *in* Sol.

II. We may conſider more particularly, that Piety yieldeth to the practiſer all kind of interiour content, peace and joy; freeth him from all kinds of diſſatisfaction, regret and diſquiet; which is an ineſtimable great advantage: for certainly the happineſs and miſery of men are wholly or chiefly ſeated and founded in the mind. If that is in a good ſtate of health, reſt and chearfulneſs, whatever the perſon's outward condition or circumſtances be, he cannot be wretched: if that be diſtempered or diſturbed, he cannot be happy. For what if a man ſeem very poor; if he be abundantly ſatisfied in his own poſſeſſions and enjoyments? What if he taſteth not the pleaſures of ſenſe; if he enjoyeth purer and ſweeter delights of mind? What if tempeſts of fortune ſurround him; if his mind be calm and ſerene? What if he have few or no friends; if he yet be throughly in peace and amity with himſelf, and can delightfully converſe with his own thoughts? What if men ſlight, cenſure, or revile him; if he doth value his own ſtate, doth approve his own actions, doth acquit himſelf of blame in his own conſcience? Such external contingencies can ſurely no more prejudice a man's real happineſs, than winds bluſtring abroad can harm or trouble him that abideth in a good room within doors, than ſtorms and fluctuations at ſea can moleſt him who ſtandeth firm upon the ſhore. On the other hand, the greateſt affluence of ſeeming goods will avail nothing, if real content of mind be wanting. For what will the higheſt eminence of outward ſtate import to him that is dejected in his own conceit? What if the world court and bleſs him, or if all people do admire and applaud him; if he be diſpleaſed with; if he condemneth, if he deſpiſeth himſelf? What if the weather look fair and bright without, if ſtorms rage in his breaſt, if black clouds do overcaſt his ſoul? What if he do abound with friends, and enjoy peace abroad: if he find diſtraction at home, and is at cruel variance with himſelf? How can a man enjoy any ſatisfaction, or reliſh any pleaſure, while ſore remorſe doth ſting him, or ſolicitous doubts and fears do rack him? Prov. 18. 4. Chryſoſt. *in Rom.* 1. *Or.* 1. Εὐθυμίαν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν οὐκ ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀ χρημάτων πλῆθος, ἀ δυναστείας ὄγκος, οὐκ ἰσχὺς σώματος, ἀ πολυτέλεια τραπέζης, οὐχ ἱματίων κόσμος, οὐκ ἄλλο τ ἀνθρωπίνων ποιεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατόρθωμα μόνον πνευματικὸν, καὶ συνειδὸς ἀγαθόν.

Now that from the practice of Religion, and from it alone, ſuch inward content and pleaſure do ſpring; that it only miniſtreth reaſon of content, and diſpoſeth the mind to enjoy it; that it extirpateth the grounds and roots of diſcontent: that it is the only mother of true, ſober alacrity and tranquillity of mind, will, upon conſidering things, be manifeſt.

There is no other thing here in this world that can yield any ſolid or ſtable content to our mind. For all preſent enjoyments are tranſient and evanid; and of any future thing, in this kingdom of change and contingency, there can be no aſſurance. There is nothing below large enough to fill our vaſt capacities, or to ſatiate our boundleſs deſires, or to appeaſe our ſqueamiſh delicacy. There is nothing whoſe ſweetneſs we do not preſently exhauſt and ſuck dry; whereof thence Prov. 27. 24. 27. 20.

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we do not ſoon grow weary, quite loathing, or faintly liking it. There is not any thing which is not ſlippery and fleeting; ſo that we can for a long time hope to poſſeſs it, or for any time can enjoy it, without reſtleſs care in keeping it, and anxious fear of loſing it. Nothing there is, in the purſuance, the cuſtody, the defence and maintenance whereof we are not liable to diſappointments and croſſes. Nothing conſequently there is productive of any ſound content to the fallidious, impatient, greedy and reſtleſs heart of man. The greateſt confluence of preſent, corporeal, ſecular things (of all the health, the riches, the dignity, the power, the friendſhips and dependences, the wit, the learning and wiſdom, the reputation and renown in this world) will not afford much of it: which yet is an imaginary ſuppoſition; for in effect hardly do all ſuch accommodations of life concur in any ſtate. There is ever ſome *dead fly* in our box, which marreth our ointment; ſome adherent inconvenience, which ſoureth the guſt of our enjoyments: there is always ſome good thing abſent, which we do want or long for; ſome ill thing preſent, or in proſpect, which we abhor, would avoid, do fear may come. If therefore we would find content, we muſt not ſeek it here; we muſt want it, or have it from another world: it muſt come hither from Heaven, and thence only Piety can fetch it down. This, inſtead of theſe unſatisfying, uncertain and unſtable things, ſupplieth us with goods adequate to our moſt outſtretched wiſhes, infallibly ſure, inceſſantly durable; *an indefectible treaſure, an incorruptible inheritance, an unſhakeable kingdom*, a perfect and endleſs joy, capable to repleniſh the vaſteſt heart: which he that hath a good title to, or a confident hope of, how can he be otherwiſe than extremely pleaſed, than fully content? It aſſureth the favour and friendſhip of God, of him that is abſolute lord and diſpoſer of all things: the which he that hath, and confideth in, what can he want or wiſh more? what can he fear? what can annoy or diſmay him? what can hap to him worthy to be deemed evil or ſad? What is poverty to him, for whom God is concerned to provide? What is diſgrace to him, that hath the regard and approbation of God? What is danger to him, whom God continually protecteth? What can any diſtreſs work on him, whom God doth comfort, and will relieve? What is any thing to him, who is ſenſible that all things are purpoſely diſpoſed to him by that Wiſdom which perfectly knoweth what is beſt, by that goodneſs which entirely loveth him? In fine, he that is conſcious to himſelf of being well-affected in mind, and acting the beſt way, who is ſatisfied in the ſtate of his ſoul, ſecure from God's diſpleaſure, and hopeful of his favour, what can make any grievous impreſſion on him? What other affections than ſuch as are moſt grateful and pleaſant can lodge in his ſoul? Joy and Peace have natural ſeeds in ſuch a mind, and neceſſarily muſt ſpring up there: (in proportion, I mean, and according to the degrees of Piety reſident therein.)

Eccles. 10. 2.

Θησαυρὸν ἀνέκλειπτον, κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον, βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον.

The *Epicureans* did conceit and boaſt, that having by their Atheiſtical explications of natural effects, and common events here, diſcarded the belief and dread of Religion, they had laid a ſtrong foundation for tranquillity of mind, and driven away all the cauſes of grief and fear, ſo that nothing then remained troubleſome or terrible unto us; and conſequently, what, ſaid they, could forbid, but that we ſhould be entirely contented, glad and happy? —— *Nos exæquat victoria cœlo*; No God then ſurely could be more happy than we. But their attempt in many reſpects was vain and lame. They preſumed of a victory which it is impoſſible to obtain: and ſuppoſing they had got it, their triumph would not have been ſo glorious, their ſucceſs would not have been ſo great, as they pretended. For ſeeing no *Epicurean* diſcourſe can baffle the potent arguments which perſuade Religion; (thoſe arguments which the viſible conſtitution of nature, the current tradition of all ages, the general conſent of men, the pregnant atteſtations of hiſtory and experience concerning ſupernatural and miraculous events do afford;) ſince the being and providence of God have proofs ſo clear and valid, that no ſubtlety of man can ſo far evade them, as not to be ſhaken with them, as wholly to be freed from doubt and ſuſpicion of their truth; ſince there can be no means of evincing the negative part in thoſe queſtions to be true or probable; it is impoſſible that any conſidering man, in this cauſe againſt Religion, ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf to have acquired an abſolute and ſecure victory: or that he ſhould reap ſubſtantial fruit of comfort thence. It cannot be, that any man ſhould enjoy any perfect quiet, without acting ſo as to get ſome good hope of avoiding thoſe dreadful miſchiefs, which Religion threatneth to the tranſgreſſours of its precepts. We [illegible] reaſon enough to

to ſtir, if no to ſtagger, an infidel; were it ſomewhat dubious whether, yea, were it great odd that there are not reſerved any puniſhments for impiety, as indeed there is, if not the perfecteſt aſſurance imaginable, yet vaſt advantage on the contrary ſide; were there but any ſmall reaſon for a judgment to come, as there are apparently very many and great ones; had moſt men conſpired in denying Providence, as ever generally they have conſented in avowing it; were there a pretence of miracles for eſtabliſhing the mortality and impunity of ſouls, as there have been numberleſs, ſtrongly teſtified by good witneſſes and great events, to confirm the oppoſite doctrines; did moſt wiſe and ſober men judge in favour of irreligion, as commonly they ever did and ſtill do otherwiſe: yet wiſdom would require that men ſhould chooſe to be pious, ſince otherwiſe no man can be throughly ſecure. It is a wildneſs, not to dread the leaſt poſſibility of incurring ſuch horrible miſchiefs: any hazard of ſuch importance cannot but ſtartle a man in his wits. To be in the leaſt obnoxious to eternal torments, if men would think upon it as men, (that is, as rational and provident creatures,) could not but diſturb them. And indeed ſo it is in experience; for whatever they ſay or ſeem, all atheiſts and profane men are inwardly ſuſpicious and fearful; they care not to die, and would gladly ſcape the trial of what ſhall follow death. But let us grant or imagine the *Epicurean* ſucceſsful as he could wiſh in this enterprize of ſubduing Religion: yet except therewith he can alſo trample down reaſon, new mould humane nature, ſubjugate all natural appetites and paſſions, alter the ſtate of things here, and transform the world, he will yet in greateſt part fail of his conceited advantages; very ſhort he will fall of triumphing in a contented and quiet mind. That which accrueth thence will at moſt be no more than ſome negative content, or a partial indolency, ariſing from his being reſcued from ſome particular cares and fears; which exceedeth not the tranquillity of a beaſt, or the ſtupidity of one that is out of his ſenſes: that is all he can claim, which yet is more than he can ever compaſs. For he cannot be as a beaſt, or a mere ſot, if he would: Reaſon, reflecting on preſent evils, and boding others future, will afflict him; his own unſatiable deſires, unavoidable fears and untameable paſſions will diſquiet him. Were the other world quite out of his faith or his thought, yet this world would yield trouble ſufficient to render him void of any ſteddy reſt, or ſolid joy. All men ever have, and ever will complain, that the burthens, croſſes, ſatiates of this life, do much ſurpaſs the conveniences and comforts of it. So that, were no other to be expected or feared, this of it ſelf would become grievous and nauſeous; we ſhould ſoon have enough or too much of it, without a ſupport and ſupply from other-where. In the largeſt affluence of things, in the deepeſt calm of our ſtate, we are apt to nauſeate, and are weary even of our proſperity it ſelf; the which indeed commonly hath ingredients not only ſomewhat unſavoury, but very bitter and loathſome. We may add, that had thoſe profane attempters quite baniſhed Religion, they with it muſt have driven away all the benefits and comforts of it: which, even ſuppoſing them but imaginary, are yet the greateſt which common life doth need, or can deſire: with it they would ſend packing juſtice, fidelity, charity, ſobriety, and all ſolid virtue, things which cannot firmly ſubſiſt without conſcience: which being gone, humane life would be the moſt diſorderly, moſt unſafe, moſt wretched and contemptible thing that can be; nothing but inſipid and flaſhy ſenſualities would be left behind to comfort a man with; and thoſe hardly any man (by reaſon of competitions and contentions for them, no-wiſe reſtrainable) could enjoy quietly, or ſafely. It is therefore Piety alone, which, by raiſing hopes of bleſſings and joys incomparably ſuperior to any here, that cannot be taken from us, can lay any ground of true content, of ſubſtantial and poſitive content; ſuch as conſiſteth not only in removing the objects and cauſes of vexatious paſſions, but in employing the moſt pleaſant affections (love, hope, joy,) with a delightful complacence upon their proper and moſt noble objects. *The Kingdom of God* (and that only, no other Kingdom hath that priviledge) *conſiſteth in righteouſneſs* (firſt, then in) *peace and ſpiritual joy.* No Philoſopher, with truth and reaſon, can make that overture to us which our Lord doth; *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and ye ſhall find reſt to your ſouls.* Out of Religion there can be no Aphoriſm pretended like to that of the Prophet, *Thou ſhalt keep him in perfect peace, whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee.*

Non tempeſtate vexor, ſed nauſeâ Senec. *de Tranq. an.* 1.

Rom. 14. 17.

Mat. 11. 28.

Iſa. 26. 3.

If

If indeed we diſtinctly ſurvey all the grounds and ſources of content, it will appear that Religion only can afford it.

Doth it reſult from a well governing and ordering our paſſions? Then it is plain, that only a Pious man is capable thereof; for Piety only can effect that: it alone, with the powerful aid of Divine Grace, doth guide our paſſions by exact rules, doth ſet them upon worthy objects, doth temper and tune them in juſt harmony, doth ſeaſonably curb and check them, doth rightly correct and reform them.

Mala mens—cùm inſidiatur, ſpe, curis, labore diſtinguitur & jam cùm ſceleris compos fuerit, ſollicitudine, pœnitentia, pœnarùm omnium expectatione torquetur. Quint. 12. 1.

This no bare reaſon (which naturally is ſo dim and ſo feeble in man) can atchieve: much leſs can unreaſonableneſs do it, which is ever prevalent in irreligious perſons. Their paſſions do ever run wildly and at random, in no good pace, within no good compaſs, toward the meaneſt and baſeſt objects; whence they can have no reſt or quiet in their minds. As they are conſtantly offending, ſo will they ever be puniſhing themſelves, with inteſtine broils and conflicts, with diſſatisfactions and regrets. Hence, *There is no peace to the wicked. He is like the troubled ſea, which cannot reſt. God* (as St. *Auſtin* ſpeaketh) *hath ſaid it, and ſo it is, Every inordinate mind is a puniſhment to it ſelf.*

Nulla major pœna nequitiæ eſt, quàm quòd ſibi ac ſuis diſplicet. Sen. *Ep.* 42.
Τιμωρία πάντης ἀδικίας ἀκόλαστος. Plat. *de Leg.* 5.
Iſa. 48. 22. 57. 20.
Deus juſſit, & ità eſt, ſibi pœna eſt omnis inordinatus animus. Aug. *Conf.*

Doth content ſpring from a hearty approbation of, or a complacence in a man's own actions; from reflection that he conſtantly doth act according to reaſon and wiſdom, to juſtice and duty? Then can the Pious man alone pretend to it, who knoweth that he walketh *inoffenſively toward God and man*; that he conſulteth his own beſt intereſt and welfare; that aſſuredly no bad conſequence can attend his unblameable behaviour; that moſt wiſe men have declared their approbation of his proceedings; that if he prove in his chief deſign miſtaken, yet no miſchief can thence befal him; yea, that he is not thereby quite diſappointed, ſeeing even much preſent ſatisfaction and convenience do ariſe up to him from his practice.

Niſi ſapienti ſua non placent: omnis ſtultitia laborat faſtidio ſui. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Doth content grow from a ſound and healthful conſtitution of ſoul? It is the Pious man alone that hath that, whoſe mind is clear from diſtempers of vice and paſſion. The impious man is infirm, out of order, full of diſeaſe and pain, according to the Prophet's deſcription of him; *The whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint: from the ſole of the foot even unto the head there is no ſoundneſs in it, but wounds, and bruiſes, and putrefying ſores.*

Iſa. 1. 5, 6.

Doth content ariſe ſpecially from good ſucceſs is our attempts, or from proſperous events befalling us? Then it is the Pious man who is moſt capable thereof: for he only is ſecure, that what ſeemeth good and proſperous is really ſuch to him, as meant for his good by the Divine Goodneſs, as tending thereto by the guidance of infallible Wiſdom. As he only hath ground to hope for ſucceſs, becauſe he confideth in God: becauſe he dutifully ſeeketh God's help, becauſe God is favourably diſpoſed toward him, becauſe God *ordereth his ſteps*, becauſe God is by promiſe engaged to bleſs him, becauſe he is conſcious of intentions to render God thanks and praiſe for it, to employ his ſucceſs to God's honour and ſervice: ſo he only can be ſatisfied with the appearance of ſucceſs, being able with aſſurance to ſay after St. *Paul, We know that to thoſe who love God all things co-operate for good.*

Rom. 8. 28.

Is ſecurity from danger, from trouble, from want, from all evil, a ſource or matter of content? It certainly doth attend the Pious man; God being his eſpecial protector, his comforter, his purveyour. *There ſhall no evil befall the juſt: There ſhall no plague come near his dwelling. God keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken. He delivereth the righteous out of their troubles. The deſire of the righteous ſhall be granted. There is no want to them that fear God.* So do the Holy Oracles aſſure us.

Prov. 12. 21. Pſal. 91. 10. 34. 20, 17. Prov. 10. 24. Pſal. 34. 9.

Doth contentedneſs ſpring from ſufficency, real or apprehended? This appertaineth peculiarly to the Pious man: for, having God, the maſter of all, for *his portion*, he hath the richeſt eſtate that can [illegible] he can deſire, he cannot but take himſelf to have enough. Hence [illegible]*ntedneſs* (μετ' αὐταρκείας, *with ſufficiency*) *is* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *great way of gaining*. He ſaith it not, as ſuppoſing God[illegible]s to be ſeparable; but rather, as implying Godneſs [illegible] becauſe ſufficiency

1 Tim. 6. 6.

ficiency and contentedneſs do ever attend it. In fine, if that ſaying of *Seneca* be true, that, *If to any man the things he poſſeſſeth do not ſeem moſt ample, although he be maſter of the whole world, he is yet miſerable*; then aſſuredly the Pious man only can be happy; for to him alone his poſſeſſions can ſeem the largeſt and beſt, ſuch as there can be no poſſible acceſſion to, or amendment of. For nothing can be greater or better than God, in whom he hath a ſtedfaſt propriety, whoſe infinite power and wiſdom are engaged to do him the utmoſt good that he is capable of. And farther,

Si cui ſua non videntur ampliſſima, licèt totius Mundi Dominus ſit, tamen miſer eſt. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

III. Seeing we have mentioned happineſs, or the *ſummum bonum*, the utmoſt ſcope of human deſire, we do add, that Piety doth ſurely confer it. Happineſs, whatever it be, hath certainly an eſſential coherence with Piety. Theſe are reciprocal propoſitions, both of them infallibly true, he that is pious is happy; and, he that is happy is pious. No man doth undertake or proſecute any thing, which he doth not apprehend in ſome order or degree conducing to that which all men under a confuſed notion regard and tend to, which they call happineſs, the higheſt good, the chiefeſt deſirable thing. But in their judgments about this thing, or the means of attaining it, as men diſſent much; ſo of neceſſity moſt of them muſt be miſtaken. Moſt, indeed, do aim and ſhoot at a mere ſhadow of profit, or at that which is very little conſiderable, and in compariſon nothing at all; which little conduceth to the perfection of their nature, or the ſatisfaction of their deſire. If they miſs the mark, they are diſappointed; if they hit it, they are no leſs, and in effect hit nothing. But whatever this grand matter is, in whatever it conſiſteth, however it be procured; be it the poſſeſſion and fruition of ſome ſpecial choice goods, or an aggregation, an affluence of all goods; Piety ſurely is the main ingredient, and principal cauſe thereof. All other goods without it are inſignificant and unuſeful thereto; and it cannot be wanting, where Piety is. Be a man never ſo rich, ſo powerful, ſo learned and knowing, ſo proſperous in his affairs, ſo honourable in the opinions and affections of men: yet no wiſe happy can he be, if he is not Pious; being he wanteth the beſt goods, and is ſubject to the worſt evils; being he wanteth the love and favour of God, he wanteth peace and ſatisfaction of conſcience, he wanteth a right enjoyment of preſent things, he wanteth ſecurity concerning his final welfare. Be he never ſo poor, ſo low in the eyes of men, ſo forlorn and deſtitute of worldly conveniences; yet if he be Pious, he cannot be wretched: for he hath an intereſt in goods incomparably moſt precious, and is ſafe from all conſiderable evils; he hath a free reſort to the inexhauſtible fountain of all happineſs, he hath a right to immenſe and endleſs felicity, the which eminently containeth all the goods we are capable of; he is poſſeſſed thereof in hope, and certain reverſion, there is but a moment to paſs before his complete fruition of it. The want of all other petty things no more can maim the integrity of his felicity, than cutting the hair, or paring the nails, do mutilate a man: all other things are but ſuperfluities or excreſcences in regard to the conſtitution of happineſs. Whatever happeneth, that will aſſuredly be true, which is ſo much inculcated in holy Scripture, *Bleſſed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways; happy ſhall he be, and it ſhall be well with him.* Piety is indeed fraught with beatitudes, every part thereof yieldeth peculiar bleſſedneſs. To the love of God, to charity toward our neighbour, to purity of heart, to meekneſs, to humility, to patience, to mercifulneſs, to peaceableneſs beatitude is aſcribed by our Lord, (the great judge and deſpenſer of it.) Each religious performance hath happy fruits growing from it, and bliſsful rewards aſſigned thereto. All pious diſpoſitions are fountains of pleaſant ſtreams, which by their confluence do make up a full ſea of felicity.

Pſ. 128. 1. 112. 1. Matt. 5.

IV. It is a peculiar advantage of Piety, that it furniſheth employment fit for us, worthy of us, hugely grateful, and highly beneficial to us. Man is a very buſie and active creature, which cannot live and do nothing, whoſe thoughts are in reſtleſs motion, whoſe deſires are ever ſtretching at ſomewhat, who perpetually will be working either good or evil to himſelf: wherefore greatly profitable muſt that thing be, which determineth him to act well, to ſpend his care and pain on that which is truly advantageous to him; and that is Religion only. It alone faſtneth our thoughts, affections and endeavours, upon occupations worthy the dignity of our nature, ſuiting the excellency of our natural capacities and endowments, tending to the perfection and advancement of our reaſon, to the enriching and ennobling of our ſouls. ſecluding that, we have nothing in the world to ſtudy, to affect, to purſue, not

very mean and below us, not very baſe and misbecoming us, as men of reaſon and judgment. What have we to do but to eat and drink, like horſes or like ſwine; but to ſport and play, like children or apes; but to bicker and ſcuffle about trifles and impertinences, like idiots? what, but ſcrape or ſcramble for uſeleſs pelf; to hunt after empty ſhews and ſhadows of honour, or the vain fancies and dreams of men? what, but to allow or bask in ſordid pleaſures, the which ſoon degenerate into remorſe and bitterneſs? To which ſort of employments were a man confined, what a pitiful thing would he be, and how inconſiderable were his life? Were a man deſigned only, like a flie, to buzz about here for a time, ſucking in the air, and licking the dew, then ſoon to vaniſh back into nothing, or to be transformed into worms; how ſorry and deſpicable a thing were he? And ſuch without Religion we ſhould be. But it ſupplieth us with buſineſs of a moſt worthy nature, and lofty importance; it ſetteth us upon doing things great and noble as can be; it engageth us to free our minds from all fond conceits, and cleanſe our hearts from all corrupt affections; to curb our brutiſh appetites, to tame our wild paſſions, to correct our perverſe inclinations, to conform the diſpoſitions of our ſoul and the actions of our life to the eternal laws of righteouſneſs and goodneſs: it putteth us upon the imitation of God, and aiming at the reſemblance of his perfections; upon obtaining a friendſhip, and maintaining a correſpondence with the High and Holy one; upon fitting our minds for converſation and ſociety with the wiſeſt and pureſt ſpirits above; upon providing for an immortal ſtate, upon the acquiſt of joy and glory everlaſting. It employeth us in the divineſt actions, of promoting virtue, of performing beneficence, of ſerving the publick, and doing good to all: the being exerciſed in which things doth indeed render a man highly conſiderable, and his life excellently valuable.

'Tis an employment moſt proper to us as reaſonable men. For what more proper entertainments can our mind have, than to be purifying and beautifying it ſelf, to be keeping it ſelf and its ſubordinate faculties in order, to be attending upon the management of thoughts, of paſſions, of words, of actions depending upon its governance?

'Tis an employment moſt beneficial to us: in purſuing which we greatly better our ſelves, and improve our condition; we benefit and oblige others; we procure ſound reputation and ſteady friendſhips; we decline many irkſome miſchiefs and annoyances; *we do* not (like thoſe in the Prophet) *ſpend our labour for that which ſatisfieth not, nor ſpend our money for that which is not bread:* for both temporal proſperity and eternal felicity are the wages of the labour which we take herein.

Iſa. 55. 2.

'Tis an employment moſt conſtant, never allowing ſloth or liſtleſneſs to creep in, inceſſantly buſying all our faculties with earneſt contention; according to that profeſſion of St. *Paul*, declaring the nature thereof, *Herein always do I exerciſe my ſelf, to have a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward man.* Whence it is called a *fight*, and a *race*, implying the continual earneſtneſs of attention and activity which is to be ſpent thereon.

Acts 24. 16.

It is withal a ſweet and grateful buſineſs: for it is a Pious man's character, that *he delighteth greatly in God's commandments*; that *the commandments are not grievous to him*; that it is *his meat and drink to do God's will*; that *God's words* (or precepts) *are ſweeter than honey to his taſte*; that *the ways of* religious *wiſdom are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace.* Whereas all other employments are weariſom, and ſoon become loathſom: this, the farther we proceed in it, the more pleaſant and ſatisfactory it groweth. There is perpetual matter of victory over bad inclinations peſtering us within, and ſtrong temptations aſſailing us without: which to combat hath much delight; to maſter, breedeth unexpreſſible content. The ſenſe alſo of God's love, the influences of his grace and comfort communicated in the performances of devotion and all duty, the ſatisfaction of good conſcience, the aſſured hope of reward, the foretaſts of future bliſs, do ſeaſon and ſweeten all the labours taken, and all the difficulties undergone therein.

Pſal. 112. 1. 1 John 5. 3. John 4. 34. Pſ. 119. 103. Prov. 3. 17. *Non poteſt cuiquam ſemper idem placere, niſi rectum.* Sen. 20. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus, munus, ut honeſta magis juvarent:* Quint. 1. 12.

In fine, the bare light of nature hath diſcerned, that were it not for ſuch matters as theſe to ſpend a man's care and pains upon, this would be a lamentable world to live in. There was, for inſtance, an Emperor [illegible] ever did wield ſceptre upon earth, whoſe excellent virtue, [illegible] (inferior, perhaps, to none that any man ever without [illegible] been endowed with)

with) did qualifie him with moſt advantage to examine, and rightly to judge of things here; who, notwithſtanding all the conveniences which his Royal eſtate and well ſettled proſperity might afford, (the which ſurely he had fully taſted and tried,) did yet thus expreſs his thoughts; Τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν, ἢ προνοίας κενῷ; *What doth it concern me to live in a world void of God, or void of Providence?* To govern the greateſt Empire that ever was, in the deepeſt calm; to enjoy the largeſt affluences of wealth, of ſplendor, of reſpect, of pleaſure; to be loved, to be dreaded, to be feared, to be adored by ſo many nations; to have the whole civil world obſequious to his will and nod; all theſe things ſeemed vain and idle, not worthy of a man's regard, affection, or choice, in caſe there were no God to worſhip, no providence to obſerve, no piety to be exerciſed. So litle worth the while common ſenſe hath adjudged it to live without Religion. M. Ant. *II.* 11. & *VI.* 10.

V. It is a conſiderable benefit of Piety, that it affordeth the beſt friendſhips and ſweeteſt ſociety. Man is framed for ſociety, and cannot live well without it: many of his faculties would be uſeleſs, many of his appetites would reſt unſatisfied in ſolitude. To have a friend wiſe and able, honeſt and good, unto whom upon all occaſions we may have recourſe for advice, for aſſiſtance, for conſolation, is a great convenience of life: and this benefit we owe to Religion, which ſupplieth us with various friendſhips of the beſt kind, moſt beneficial and moſt ſweet unto us. *Nullius boni ſine ſocio jucunda poſſeſſio eſt.* Sen. *Ep.* 6. *Ut aliarum rerum nobis innata dulcedo eſt, ſic amicitia.* Sen. *Ep.* 9.

It maketh God our friend, a friend infinitely better than all friends, moſt affectionate and kind, moſt faithful and ſure, moſt able, moſt willing, and ever moſt ready to perform all friendly offices, to yield advice in all our doubts, ſuccour in all our needs, comfort in all our troubles, ſatisfaction to all our deſires. Unto him it miniſtreth a free addreſs upon all occaſions; with him it alloweth us continually a moſt ſweet and pleaſant intercourſe. The Pious man hath always the all-wiſe God to counſel him, to guide his actions and order his ſteps; he hath the Almighty to protect, ſupport and relieve him; he hath the immenſe Goodneſs to commiſerate and comfort him; unto him he is not only encouraged, but obliged to reſort in need: upon him he may, he ought to diſcharge all his cares and burthens. Prov. 12. 2. Pſal. 34. 15. & 33. 18. & 145. 19. & 37. 28. Job 36. 7.

It conſequently doth engage all creatures in the world to be our friends, or inſtruments of good to us, according to their ſeveral capacities, by the direction and diſpoſal of God. All the ſervants of our great Friend will, in compliance to him, be ſerviceable to us. *Thou ſhalt be in league with the ſtones of the field, and the beaſts of the field ſhall be at peace with thee:* So *Job*'s friend promiſeth him upon condition of Piety. And God himſelf confirmeth that promiſe, *In that day* (ſaith he in the prophet) *will I make a covenant for them with the beaſts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground.* And again, *When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee: when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt; neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee.* And, *The ſun ſhall not ſmite thee by day, nor the moon by night. Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon ſhalt thou trample under foot. They ſhall take up ſcorpions; and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them:* (ſo our Lord promiſed to his diſciples.) Not only the heavens ſhall diſpenſe their kindly influences, and the earth yield its plentiful ſtores, and all the elements diſcharge their natural and ordinary good offices; nor only the tame and ſociable creatures ſhall upon this condition faithfully ſerve us; but even the moſt wild, moſt fierce, moſt ravenous, moſt venomous creatures ſhall, if there be need, prove friendly and helpful, or at leaſt harmleſs to us: as were the Ravens to *Elias*, the Lions to *Daniel*, the Viper to S. *Paul*, the Fire to the *three Children*. Job 5. 23. Hoſ. 2. 18. Iſa. 43. 2. Pſal. 121. 6. Pſal. 91. 13. Mark 16. 18. Deut. 28. 12. 1 King 17. 6.

But eſpecially Piety doth procure the friendſhip of the good Angels, that puiſſant hoſt of glorious and happy ſpirits: they all do tenderly love the pious perſon; they are ever ready to ſerve and do him good, to protect him from danger, to aid him in his undertakings, to reſcue him from miſchiefs. What an honour, what a bleſſing is this, to have ſuch an innumerable company of noble friends (the courtiers and favourites of heaven) deeply concerned and conſtantly vigilant for our welfare? Pſal. 34. 7. 91. 11. Heb. 1. 14.

It alſo engageth the bleſſed ſaints in glory, *the ſpirits of juſt men perfected, the Church of the firſt-born*, to bear deareſt affection to us, to further our proſperity with their good wiſhes and earneſt prayers, mightily prevalent with God.

It rendreth all ſorts of men our friends. To good men it uniteth us in holy communion; the communion of brotherly charity and hearty good will, attended with all the good offices they are able to perform; to other men it reconcileth and endeareth us; for that innocent and inoffenſive, courteous and benign, charitable and beneficent demeanour, (ſuch as Piety doth require and produce) are apt to conciliate reſpect and affection from the worſt men. For, *Vincit malos pertinax bonitas*; men hardly can perſiſt enemies to him whom they perceive to be their friend: and ſuch the Pious man in diſpoſition of mind, and in effect when occaſion ſerveth, is toward all men; being ſenſible of his obligation to love all men, and, *as he hath opportunity, to do good to all men.* It aſſureth, and more ſtrictly endeareth our friends to us. For, as it maketh us hearty, faithful, conſtant friends to others; ſo it reciprocally tieth others to us in the like ſincerity and faſtneſs of good will.

Sen. *de Benef.* 7. 21.

Qui ſibi amicus eſt ſcito hunc amicum omnibus eſſe. Sen. *Ep.* 6.

Gal. 6. 1. Οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἑταῖροι ἀλλήλοις. Ariſt. *Eth.* 8. 4.

It reconcileth enemies. For, *when a man's ways do pleaſe the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him.* It hath a natural efficacy to that purpoſe, and Divine bleſſing promoteth it.

Prov. 16. 7.

By it all converſation becometh tolerable, grateful and uſeful. For a Pious man is not eaſily diſturbed with any croſſneſs or perverſeneſs, any infirmity or impertinency of thoſe he converſeth with: he can bear the weakneſſes and the failings of his company; he can by wholeſome reflections upon all occurrences advantage and pleaſe himſelf.

Συνδιάγειν τε ἥτις ἑαυτῷ βέλτιστα, ἡδέως γὰρ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ.—(Ariſt. *Eth.* 9. 4.) ἥ τι γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτερπὲς ἐν μνήμαις, ἢ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδες ἀγαθαί.

In fine, Piety rendreth a man a true friend and a good companion to himſelf; ſatisfied in himſelf, able to converſe freely and pleaſantly with his own thoughts. It is for the want of pious inclinations and diſpoſitions, that ſolitude (a thing which ſometimes cannot be avoided, which often ſhould be embraced) is to moſt men ſo irkſome and tedious; that men do careſully ſhun themſelves, and fly from their own thoughts; that they decline all converſe with their own ſouls, and hardly dare look upon their own hearts and conſciences: whence they become aliens from home, wholly unacquainted with themſelves, moſt ignorant of their own neareſt concernments, no faithful friends or pleaſant companions to themſelves: ſo for refuge and eaſe they unſeaſonably run into idle or lewd converſation, where they diſorder and defile themſelves. But the Pious man is (like *Scipio*) *never leſs alone, than when alone:* his ſolitude and retirement is not only tolerable, but commonly the moſt grateful and fruitful part of his life: he can ever with much pleaſure, and more advantage, converſe with himſelf; digeſting and marſhalling his thoughts, his affections, his purpoſes into good order, ſearching and diſcuſſing his heart, reflecting on his paſt ways, enforcing his former good reſolutions, and framing new ones; enquiring after edifying truths; ſtretching his meditations toward the beſt and ſublimeſt objects, raiſing his hopes and warming his affections toward ſpiritual and heavenly things; asking himſelf pertinent queſtions, and reſolving incident doubts concerning his practice; in fine, converſing with his beſt friend in devotion; with admiration and love contemplating the divine perfections, diſplayed in the works of nature, of providence, of grace; praiſing God for his excellent benefits and mercies; confeſſing his defects and offences; deprecating wrath, and imploring pardon, with grace and ability to amend: praying for the ſupply of all his wants. All which performances yield both unconceivable benefit and unexpreſſible comfort. So that ſolitude (that which is to common nature ſo offenſive, to corrupt nature ſo abominable) is to the Pious man extremely commodious and comfortable: which is a great advantage peculiar to Piety, and the laſt which I ſhall mention.

Quaris quid profecerim? amicus eſſe mihi cœpi. Sen. *Ep.* 6.

Nemo eſt, cui non ſatius ſit cum quolibet eſſe, quàm ſecum. Sen. *Ep.* 25.

Ἔνιοι τὸ ἴδιον βίον, ὡς ἀτερπίστατον διάμετρα, περιδεῖν ὀχ ὑπομένουσιν, &c. Plut. περὶ Πολυπρ. p. 916.

Ζητοῦσιν οἱ μοχθηροὶ μεθ' ὧν συνημερεύωσιν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ φεύγουσιν.—Ariſt. 9. 4.

Nunquam minùs ſolus, quàm cum ſolus.

Acquieſcit ſibi, cogitationibus ſuis traditus. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Sapiens nunquam ſolus eſſe poteſt, habet ſecum omnes qui ſunt, quique unquam fuerunt boni; & animum liberum quocunque vult tranſfert: quod corpore non poteſt, cogitatione complectitur; & ſi hominum inops fuerit, loquitur cum Deo. Nunquam minùs ſolus erit, quàm cum ſolus fuerit. Hier. *adv.* Jovin. 1. 28.

So many, and many more than I can expreſs, [illegible] precious advantages do accrue from Piety; ſo that well may [illegible] with St. *Paul*, that *Godlineſs is profitable for all things.*

It remaineth that, if we be wiſe, we ſhould, [illegible] not ingraffed in us, labour to acquire it; if we have it, that [illegible] endeavour to improve it, by conſtant exerciſe, to the praiſe of God, [illegible] our neighbour, and our

our own comfort. Which that we may effectually perform, Almighty God in mercy vouchſafe, by his grace, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord; to whom for ever be all glory and praiſe. *Amen.*

SERMON IV.

The Reward of Honouring God.

1 SAM. II. 30.

For them that honour me, I will honour.

THE words are in the ſtricteſt ſenſe the word of God, uttered immediately by God himſelf; and may thence command from us an eſpecial attention and regard. The hiſtory of that which occaſion'd them is, I preſume, well known, neither ſhall I make any deſcant or reflection thereon; but do take the words ſeparately, as a propoſition of it ſelf, affording a complete inſtruction, and ample matter of diſcourſe. And as ſuch, they plainly imply two things: a duty required of us to *honour God*; and a reward profered to us, upon performance of that duty, being *honoured by God*. It is natural for us, before we are willing to undertake any work, to conſider the reward or benefit accruing from it; and it is neceſſary, before we can perform any duty, to underſtand the nature thereof. To this our method of action I ſhall ſuit the method of my diſcourſe; firſt endeavouring to eſtimate the reward, then to explain the duty. Afterward I mean to ſhew briefly why in reaſon the duty is injoined; how in effect the reward is conferred.

I. The reward may be conſidered either abſolutely, (as what it is in it ſelf;) or relatively, (as to its riſe, and whence it comes.)

1. For it ſelf, it is Honour; a thing, if valued according to the rate it bears in the common market, of higheſt price among all the objects of human deſire; the chief reward which the greateſt actions and which the beſt actions do pretend unto, or are capable of; that which uſually bears moſt ſway in the hearts, and hath ſtrongeſt influence upon the lives of men; the deſire of obtaining and maintaining which doth commonly overbear other moſt potent inclinations. The love of pleaſure ſtoops thereto: for men, to get or keep reputation, will decline the moſt pleaſant enjoyments, will embrace the hardeſt pains. Yea, it often prevails over the love of life it ſelf, which men do not only frequently expoſe to danger, but ſometimes devote to certain loſs, for its ſake. If we obſerve what is done in the world, we may diſcern it to be the ſource of moſt undertakings therein: that it not only moveth the wheels of publick action, (that not only for it great princes contend, great armies march, great battles are fought;) but that from it moſt private buſineſs derives its life and vigour: that for Honour eſpecially the ſoldier undergoes hardſhip, toil and hazard; the ſcholar plods and beats his brains; the merchant runs about ſo buſily, and adventures ſo far; yea, that for its ſake the meaneſt labourer and artificer doth ſpend his ſweat, and ſtretch his ſinews. The principal drift of all this care and induſtry (the great reaſon of all this ſcuffling for power, this ſearching for knowledge, this ſcraping and ſcrambling for wealth) doth ſeem to be, that men would live in ſome credit, would raiſe themſelves above contempt.

Ἴδοις δ' ἂν κ᾽ τ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν τὰς ἐπιεικεστάτας ψυχὰς ἄλλα μ᾽ ἀδεινὸς ἂν τὸ ζῆν ἀντικαταλλαξαμένας, ψυχὰς δ᾽ τὰ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελούσας. Isocr. *Orat. ad* Philip.

Mors tum æquiſſimo animo appetitur, cùm ſuis ſe laudibus vita occidens conſolari poteſt. Cic. 1. *Tuſc.*

——*Laudis avidi pecuniæ liberales erant, gloriam ingentem divitias honeſtas volebant; hanc ardentiſſimè dilexerunt, propter hanc vivere voluerunt, pro hâc & mori non dubitaverunt. Cæteras cupiditates huius unius ingenti cupiditate preſſerunt.* Aug. *de civ. D.* 5. 12.

Αἱ γὰ δυνατόν κ᾽ ὁ πλοῦτος διὰ τ᾽ τιμὴ ἐστι αἱρετά. Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 3.

Honos alit artes, omneſque incenduntur ad ſtudia gloriâ, &c. Cic. *Tuſc. Qu.* 1.

In

In ſuch requeſt, of ſuch force doth Honour appear to be. If we examine why, we may find more than mere faſhion (or mutual imitation and conſent) to ground the experiment upon. There is one obvious reaſon, why no mean regard ſhould be had thereto, its great convenience and uſefulneſs: for that a man cannot himſelf live ſafely, quietly or pleaſantly, without ſome competent meaſure thereof; cannot well ſerve the publick, perform offices of duty to his relations, of kindneſs to his friends, of charity to his neighbours, but under its protection, and with its aid: it being an engine very requiſite for the managing any buſineſs, for the compaſſing any deſign, at leaſt ſweetly and ſmoothly; it procuring to us many furtherances in our proceedings, removing divers obſtacles out of our way, guarding a man's perſon from offences, adding weight to his words, putting an edge upon his endeavours: for every one allows a favourable ear to his diſcourſe, lends an aſſiſting hand to his attempts, grants a ready credence to his teſtimony, and makes a fair conſtruction of his doings, whom he eſteems and reſpects. So is Honour plainly valuable among the *bona utilia*, as no ſmall accommodation of life; and as ſuch, reaſon approves it to our judgment.

Vide Hier. *Ep. ad* Celant.

Conſcientia nobis neceſſaria eſt, fama proxima. Qui conſcientiæ fidens, famam negligit, crudelis eſt. Aug.

Πρὸς χρείας ἐπιτήδειον ὄργανον ἡ δόξα. Galen.

Nec verò negligenda fama eſt; nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas exiſtimare oportet benevolentiam civium. Cic. *de Amic.*

Vide Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Orat.* 17.

But ſearching farther, we ſhall find the appetite of Honour to have a deeper ground, and that it is rooted even in our nature it ſelf. For we may deſcry it budding forth in mens firſt infancy (before the uſe of reaſon, or ſpeech;) even little children being ambitious to be made much of, maintaining among themſelves petty emulations and competitions, as it were, about punctilios of Honour. We may obſerve it growing with age, waxing bigger and ſtronger together with the encreaſe of wit and knowledge, of civil culture and experience: that the matureſt age doth moſt reſent and reliſh it; that it prevails moſt in civilized nations; that men of the beſt parts, of the higheſt improvements, of the weightieſt employments, do moſt zealouſly affect it and ſtand upon it; that they who moſt ſtruggle with it, do moſt feel its might, how difficult it is to reſiſt or reſtrain it, how impoſſible it is to ſtifle or extinguiſh it. For the philoſopher with all his reaſons and conſiderations cannot diſpute it down, or perſuade it away; the anchoret cannot with all his auſterities ſtarve it, or by his retirement ſhun it: no affliction, no poverty, no wretchedneſs of condition can totally ſuppreſs it. 'Tis a ſpirit that not only haunts our Courts and Palaces, but frequents our Schools and Cloiſters, yea creeps into Cottages, into Hoſpitals, into Priſons, and even doggs men into deſarts and ſolitudes: ſo cloſe it ſticks to our nature. 'Plato ſays it is the laſt coat which a wiſe man doth put off. But I queſtion whether he could ſhew us that wiſe man who had done it, or could tell us where he dwelt, except perhaps in his own *Utopian* Republick. For they who moſt pretend to have done it, (who in their diſcourſe moſt vilifie Honour; who talk like *Chryſipus*, that a wiſe man for Reputation ſake will not ſo much as ſtretch out his finger, or like *Seneca*, that we ſhould do every thing purely for conſcience ſake, without any regard to mens opinion; who make harangues and write volumes againſt Glory,) do yet appear by their practice, ſometimes, by ſo doing, to aim at it: even as men do uſually complain of and eagerly quarrel with that which they moſt affect and woe. *Chryſippus* wrote, as we are *told, above 700 books, moſt of them concerning Logical quirks, and ſuch as one can hardly imagine what other drift he could have in compoſing them, beſides oſtentation of his ſubtilty and ſharpneſs of wit. *Seneca*, if hiſtory do not wrong him, and the face of his actions do not miſrepreſent him, was not in his heart exempt from a ſpice of Ambition. Yea, that excellent Emperour *M. Aurelius*, who would often ſpeak like a *Stoick*, could not but commonly act like a man, more by his practice commending Honour, than he diſparaged it in his words. For ſtory repreſents him very careful and jealous of his credit, very diligent to preſerve it and to repair it. †*Tertullian* calls ſuch Philoſophers *negotiatores famæ*, Merchants for fame: and it is perchance ſome part of their cunning in that trade, which makes them ſtrive to beat down the price of this commodity, that they may more eaſily engroſs it to themſelves. However, experience proves that ſuch words are but words, ſpoken out of affectation and pretence, rather than in good earneſt [illegible] truth;) that endeavours

In ſolitudine ſuis ſubrepit ſuperbia. Hier.

Cic. *de Fin.* 3.

Nihil opinionis causâ, omnia conſcientiæ faciam. Sen. *de V. B.*
Nil ſit illi cum ambitione famâque commune, ſibi placeat. *Epiſt.* 113.
Juſtum eſſe gratis oportet. ib.
Id. de Irâ. 3. 41.

*Laert.

Erat famæ ſuæ curioſiſſimus, & male loquentium dictis vel literis vel ſermone reſpondebat. Capit.

† Tert. *Apol.*

to baniſh or to extirpate this deſire are but fond and fruitleſs attempts. The reaſon why is clear: for 'tis as if one ſhould diſpute againſt eating and drinking, or ſhould labour to free himſelf from hunger and thirſt; the appetite of Honour being indeed, as that of food, innate unto us, ſo as not to be quenched or ſmothered, except by ſome violent diſtemper or indiſpoſition of mind; even by the wiſe Author of our nature originally implanted therein, for very good ends and uſes, reſpecting both the private and publick benefit of men; as an engagement to virtue, and a reſtraint from vice; as an excitement of induſtry, an incentive of courage, a ſupport of conſtancy in the proſecution of worthy enterpriſes; as a ſerviceable inſtrument for the conſtitution, conſervation and improvement of humane ſociety. For did not ſome love of Honour glow in mens breaſts, were that noble ſpark quite extinct, few men probably would ſtudy for honourable qualities, or perform laudable deeds; there would be nothing to keep ſome men within bounds of modeſty and decency, to deterr them from doing odious and ugly things; men, not caring what others thought of them, would not regard what they did themſelves; a barbarous ſloth or brutiſh ſtupidity would overſpread the world, withdrawing from common life moſt of its ornaments, much of its convenience; men generally would, if not altogether ſhun ſociety, yet at leaſt decline the cares and burthens requiſite to the promoting its welfare, for the ſuſtaining which uſually the chief encouragement, the main recompence, is this of Honour. That men therefore have ſo tender and delicate a ſenſe of their Reputation, (ſo that touching it is like pricking a nerve, as ſoon felt, and as ſmartly offenſive,) is an excellent proviſion in nature; in regard whereto Honour may paſs among the *bona naturalia*, as a good neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of nature, and for ſecuring the accompliſhment of its beſt deſigns.

Ut quidam morbo aliquo & ſenſûs ſtupore ſuavitatem cibi non ſentiunt; ſic libidinoſi, avari, fœnoroſi veræ laudis guſtum non habent. Cic. *Philipp.* 2.

Αἰδὼς δ' οἰχομένη πάντων γενέτειρα καλῶν. Naz. *Carm.* 56.

A moderate regard to Honour is alſo commendable as an inſtance of humanity or good will to men, yea, as an argument of humility, or a ſober conceit of our ſelves. For to deſire another man's eſteem, and conſequently his love, (which in ſome kind or degree is an inſeparable companion of eſteem) doth imply ſomewhat of reciprocal eſteem and affection toward him; and to prize the judgment of other men concerning us, doth ſignifie, that we are not overſatisfied with our own.

Negligere quid de ſe quiſque ſentiat arrogantis eſt & diſſoluti. Cic. *de Offic.* 1.

We might for its farther commendation alledge the authority of the more cool and candid ſort of Philoſophers, (ſuch as grounded their judgment of things upon notions agreeable to common ſenſe and experience; who adapted their rules of practice to the nature of man, ſuch as they found in the world, not ſuch as they framed in their own facies,) who have ranked Honour among the principal of things deſireable, and adorned it with faireſt elogies; terming it a divine thing, the beſt of exterior goods, the moſt honeſt fruit and moſt ample reward of true virtue; adjudging, that to neglect the opinions of men (eſpecially of perſons worthy and laudable) is a ſign of ſtupid baſeneſs, that to contemn them is an effect of unreaſonable haughtineſs; repreſenting the love of Honour (rightly grounded and duly moderated) not only as the parent and guardian (as productive and preſervative) of other virtues, but as a virtue it ſelf, of no ſmall magnitude and luſtre in the conſtellation of virtues, the virtue of generoſity. A virtue which next to the ſpirit of true religion, (next to a hearty reverence toward the ſupreme bleſſed Goodneſs, and that holy charity toward men which ſpringeth thence,) doth lift a man up neareſt to Heaven; doth raiſe his mind above the ſordid deſires, the ſorry cares, the fond humours, the perverſe and froward paſſions, with which men commonly are poſſeſſed and acted: that virtue, which enflames a man with courage, ſo that he dares perform what reaſon and duty require of him, that he diſdains to do what is bad or baſe; which inſpires him with ſincerity, that he values his honeſty before all other intereſts and reſpects, that he abhors to wrong or deceive, to flatter or abuſe any man, that he cannot endure to ſeem otherwiſe than he is, to ſpeak otherwiſe than he means, to act otherwiſe than he promiſes and profeſſes; which endows him with courteſie, that he is ready to yield every man his due reſpect, to afford any man what help and ſuccour he is able: that virtue, which renders a man upright in all his dealings,

Θεόν τι ἡ τιμή. Plat. *de Leg. IV.*

Καλὸν ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὸ φιλότιμόν ἐστι, πρωτιμὰν ἐνδοξίαν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν. *Idem de Rep. XII.*

Μέγιστον γὰρ ὁπλὸς ἀγαθῶν ἡ τιμή. Ariſt. *Eth. IV.* 3.

Levis eſt animi, juſtam gloriam, qui eſt fructus virtutis honeſtiſſimus, repudiare. Cic. *in* Piſ.

Ex omnibus præmiis virtutis ampliſſimum eſt præmium gloria. Idem pro Mil.

dealings, and correſpondent to all his obligations; a loyal ſubject to his prince, and a true lover of his countrey, a candid judge of perſons and things, an earneſt favourer of whatever is good and commendable, a faithful and hearty friend, a beneficial and uſeful neighbour, a grateful reſenter and requiter of courteſies, hoſpitable to the ſtranger, bountiful to the poor, kind and good to all the world: that virtue, in fine, which conſtitutes a man of Honour, who ſurely is the beſt man next to a man of conſcience. Thus may Honour be valued from natural light, and according to common ſenſe.

Trahimur omnes laudis ſtudio, & optimus quiſque maxime gloriâ ducitur. Cic. *pro Arch.*

But beyond all this, the holy Scripture (that moſt certain ſtandard by which we may examine and determine the true worth of things) doth not teach us to ſlight Honour, but rather in its fit order and juſt meaſure to love and prize it. It indeed inſtructs us to ground it well: not upon bad qualities or wicked deeds, that's villainous madneſs; not upon things of a mean and indifferent nature, that's vanity; not upon counterfeit ſhews and pretences, that's hypocriſie; but upon real worth and goodneſs, that may conſiſt with modeſty and ſobriety:) it enjoyns us not to be immoderate in our deſires thereof, or complacences therein, not to be irregular in the purſuit or acquiſt of it; (to be ſo is pride and ambition;) but to affect it calmly, to purchaſe it fairly: it directs us not to make a regard thereto our chief principle, not to propound it as our main end of action: it charges us to bear contentedly the want or loſs thereof, (as of other temporal goods:) yea, in ſome caſes, for conſcience ſake or for God's ſervice, (that is, for a good incomparably better than it,) it obliges us willingly to proſtitute and ſacrifice it, chuſing rather to be infamous than impious, (to be in diſgrace with men, rather than in diſfavour with God:) it, in fine, commands us to ſeek and embrace it only in ſubordination and with final reference to God's honour. Which diſtinctions and cautions being provided, Honour is repreſented in holy Scripture, as a thing conſiderably good, which may be regarded without blame, which ſometimes in duty muſt be regarded. It is there preferred before other good things, in themſelves not deſpicable. For, *A good name is better than precious ointment*; yea, *A good name is rather to be choſen than great riches*, (ſaith the *Wiſeman*.) 'Tis called a gift of God: for, *There is a man* (ſaith the *Preacher*) *to whom God hath given riches and honour*. Yea, not only a ſimple gift, but a bleſſing, conferr'd in kindneſs, as a reward and encouragement of goodneſs: for, *By humility and the fear of the Lord*, ſaith he again, *are riches and honour*. Whence it is to be acknowledged as an eſpecial benefit, and a fit ground of thankſgiving; as is practiſed by the Pſalmiſt in his royal hymn: *Honour* (ſaith he) *and majeſty haſt thou laid upon him*. Wiſdom alſo is deſcribed unto us bearing *in her left hand riches and honour:* and wiſdom ſurely will not take into any hand of hers, or hold therein, what is worth nothing. No, we are therefore moved to procure her becauſe, *exalting her, ſhe ſhall promote us. ——She ſhall give unto our head an ornament of grace, a crown of glory ſhall ſhe deliver to us.* We are alſo enjoyned to render Honour as the beſt expreſſion of good will and gratitude toward them who beſt deſerve in themſelves, or moſt deſerve of us; to our prince, to our parents, to our prieſts, eſpecially to ſuch of them *as govern and teach well*, to all good men, (*Have ſuch in reputation*, ſays the Apoſtle.) And were not Honour a good thing, ſuch injunctions would be unreaſonable. Yea, becauſe we are obliged to bear good will toward all men, S. *Peter* bids us to *honour all men*. From hence alſo, that we are eſpecially bound to render Honour unto God himſelf, we may well infer with *Ariſtotle*, that *Honour is the beſt thing in our power to offer*. To theſe conſiderations may be added, that we are commanded to walk εὐσχημόνως, (*decently*, or ſpeciouſly, which implies a regard to mens opinion;) to *provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men*, (τὰ καλὰ, that is, not only things good in ſubſtance, but goodly in appearance;) to *have our converſation honeſt before the Gentiles*, (καλὴν, again, that is, fair, or comely, and plauſible, ſuch as may commend us and our profeſſion to the judgment of them who obſerve us.) S. *Paul* alſo exhorts us to *mind*, not only *what things are true, are juſt, are pure*; but alſo ὅσα σεμνὰ, (*whatever things are venerable*, or apt to beget reſpect,) ὅσα προσφιλῆ, (*whatever things are lovely*, or gracious in mens eyes and eſteem,) ὅσα εὔφημα, (*whatever things are well reported*, or *well reputed of*.) He requires us not only, *if there be any virtue*, (any thing very good in it ſelf,) but, *if there be any praiſe*, (any thing much approved in common eſteem,) that we ſhould *mind ſuch things*. Laſtly, the bleſſed ſtate hereafter (the higheſt inſtance

Non vis eſſe juſtus ſine gloria? at mehercule ſæpe juſtus eſſe debes cum infamia. Sen. *Epiſt.* 113.

Eccleſ. 7. 1. Prov. 22. 1.

Eccleſ. 6. 2.

Prov. 22. 4.

Pſal. 21. 5.

Prov. 3. 16.

Prov. 4. 8, 9.

1 Pet. 2. 17. 1 Tim. 5. 3, 17.

Phil. 2. 29.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

Ariſtot. *Eth.* IV. 3.

Rom. 13. 13.

Rom. 12. 17.

1 Pet. 2. 12.

Phil. 4. 8.

Οἱ χαρίεντες καὶ πρακτικοὶ, plauſible and active men do (*ſaith* Ariſtot.) *place Happineſs in Honour.* (*Eth.* I. 4.)

ſtance of Divine bounty, the complete reward of goodneſs) is repreſented and recommended to us as a ſtate of Honour and Glory; to be ambitious whereof is the character of a good man. *To every man* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *ſhall God render according to his works: to them who by patient continuance in well doing ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life.* Rom. 2. 7.

Such is the reward propounded to us in it ſelf; no vile or contemptible thing, but upon various accompts much valuable; that which the common apprehenſions of men, plain dictates of reaſon, a predominant inſtinct of nature, the judgments of very wiſe men, and divine atteſtation it ſelf conſpire to commend unto us as very conſiderable and precious. Such a reward our Text preſcribes us the certain, the only way of attaining.

2. Such a benefit is here tendred to us (that which yet more highly commends it, and exceedingly enhances its worth) by God himſelf: *I* (ſaith he) *will honour.* 'Tis ſanctified by coming from his holy hand; 'tis dignified by following his moſt wiſe and juſt diſpoſal; 'tis fortified and aſſured by depending on his unqueſtionable word, and uncontroulable power: who as he is the prime author of all good, ſo he is in eſpecial manner the ſovereign diſpenſer of Honour. *The King* (we ſay) *is the fountain of honour.* What any King, as the repreſentative and delegate of God, is in his particular kingdom, that is Almighty God abſolutely and independently, in all the world. *Both riches and honour* (ſaid good King *David*) *come of thee, for thou ruleſt over all: in thine hand is power and might; in thine hand it is to make great, and to give ſtrength unto all.* 1 Chron. 29. 12. He whoſe grants are in effect only ſure and valid, whoſe favours only do in the end turn to good account, he freely offers us moſt deſirable preferment: he doth himſelf graciouſly hold forth moſt authentick patents, by virtue of which we may all become *right honourable*, and *perſons of quality* indeed; having not only the names and titles, the outward enſigns and badges of dignity, (ſuch as earthly Princes confer,) but the ſubſtantial reality, the aſſured enjoyment thereof. (For man can only impoſe law upon tongues and geſtures; God alone commandeth and inclineth hearts, wherein Honour chiefly reſideth.) He offers it, I ſay, moſt freely indeed, yet not abſolutely: he doth not go to ſell it for a price, yet he propounds it under a condition; as a moſt juſt and equal, ſo a very gentle and eaſie condition. 'Tis but an exchange of Honour for Honour; of Honour from God, which is a free gift, for honour from us, which is a juſt duty; of honour from him our ſovereign Lord, for honour from us his poor vaſſals; of honour from the moſt high majeſty of Heaven, for honour from us vile worms creeping upon the earth. Such an overture one would think it not only reaſonable to accept, but impoſſible to refuſe. For can any man dare not to honour invincible power, infallible wiſdom, inflexible juſtice? will any man forbear to honour immenſe goodneſs and bounty? yes, it ſeems there are men ſo mad as to reject ſo fair an offer; ſo bad as to neglect ſo equal a duty. Let us therefore conſider what it is that is here required of us, or wherein this honouring of God conſiſts, that we may thereby diſcern when we perform this duty, when we are deficient therein.

II. There are ſeveral ways of honouring God, or ſeveral parts and degrees of this Duty: all which we may refer to two ſorts, conceiving the Duty as a compound made up of two main ingredients, (correſpondent to thoſe two parts in which they reſide, and of which our nature conſiſts; which diſtinction S. *Paul* ſuggeſteth, when he ſaith, *glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are God's,*) one of them being, as it were, the form and ſoul, the other as the matter and body of the Duty. 1 Cor. 6. 20.

1. The Soul of that Honour which is required of us toward God, is that internal eſteem and reverence which we ſhould bear in our hearts towards him; importing that we have impreſſed upon our minds ſuch conceptions about him as are worthy of him, ſuitable to the perfection of his nature, to the eminency of his ſtate, to the juſt quality of his works and actions: that we apprehend him to be, what he really is, in his nature, ſuperlatively good, wiſe, powerful, holy and juſt: that we aſcribe unto him the production and conſervation of all beings, together with an entire ſuperintendency over and abſolute diſpoſal of all events: that we conceive our ſelves obliged to ſubmit unto and acquieſce in all his diſpenſations of providence, as moſt wiſe and moſt righteous; to rely upon the declarations of his mind, (whether in way of aſſertion, or promiſe,) as infallibly true and certain. In ſuch

acts of mind the honouring God doth primarily consist. In acts, I say: not in speculative Opinions concerning the divine excellencies, (such as all men have, who are not downright Atheists or Infidels,) floating in the fancy, or dormant in the mind; but in continually-present, lively, effectual acts of apprehension and judgment, sinking down into the heart and affections, and quickning them to a congruous, real performance. Such an apprehension of God's power, as shall make us to dread his irresistible hand, shall cause us to despair of prospering in bad courses, shall dispose us to confide in him, as able to perform whatever he wills us to expect from him: such an opinion of his Wisdom, as shall keep us from questioning whether that is best which God declares to be so: as shall hinder us from presuming (in compliance with our own shallow reason, or vain fancy) to do any thing against God's judgment and advice: such a conceit of God's justice, as shall render us careful to perform what his law promises to reward, and fearful to commit what it threatens to punish: such a persuasion concerning God's goodness, as shall kindle in us an hearty affection toward him, shall make us very sensible of his bounty, and ready to yield returns of duty and gratitude unto him; as shall preserve us from being distrustful of his Providence, or doubtful in our need and distress of finding relief from him: such a vigorous and fruitful esteem of God in all respects, as shall produce in us dispositions of mind, and actions of life, agreeable to our various relations and obligations to him; becoming us as his creatures and children, as his subjects and servants. This is indeed the Soul of the duty, which being absent, all exterior (how specious soever) either professions or performances are but as pictures, having in them somewhat of resemblance in shape and colour, nothing of life: yea rather, as carcases, not only dead and senseless, but rotten and filthy in
Matt. 15. 8. God's sight. *This people* (saith God) *do honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Such honour is indeed no honour at all, but impudent abuse and prophane mockery: for what can be more abominably vain, than for a man to court and cajoul him who knows his whole heart, who sees that he either minds not, or means not what he says? It behoves us therefore by all proper means (by contemplating the works and actions of God, (his admirable works of nature, the wise proceedings of his providence, the glorious dispensations of his grace) by meditating on his word, by praying for his grace, by observing his law and will) to raise up in our hearts, to foment and cherish this internal Reverence, which is the true spring of all Piety, the principle which forms and actuates that other sort, coming next to be touched on, being the body of our due Honour to God; concurring in its order to the integrity thereof, as without which the interior part would be a kind of Ghost, too thin in substance, too remote from sense, too destitute of good fruit and use.

2. This bodily part consists in outward expressions and performances, whereby we declare our esteem and reverence of God, and produce or promote the like in others. For our thus honouring God respects those two ends and effects, the uttering our own, the exciting in others a reverence toward him. And it we may first view in the general, or gross bulk thereof; then survey its principal Members.

First, in general, God is honoured by a willing and careful practice of all Piety and Virtue for conscience sake, or in avowed obedience to his holy will. This is the most natural expression of our reverence toward him, and the most effectual way of promoting the same in others. A subject cannot better demonstrate the reverence he bears toward his Prince, than by (with a chearful diligence) observing his laws: for by so doing he declares that he acknowledgeth the Authority, and revereth the majesty which enacted them; that he approves the wisdom which devised them, and the goodness which designed them for publick benefit; that he dreads his prince's power, which can maintain them, and his justice, which will vindicate them; that he relies upon his fidelity, in making good what of protection or of recompence he propounds to the observers of them. No less pregnant a signification of our reverence toward God, do we yield in our gladly and strictly obeying his laws; thereby evidencing our submission to God's sovereign authority, our esteem of his wisdom and goodness, our awful regard to his power and justice, our confidence in him, and dependence upon his word. As also the practice of wholesom laws, visibly producing good fruits, (peace and prosperity in the common-wealth,) doth conciliate respect unto the prince, he thereby appearing wise and good, able to discern, and willing to chuse what confers to publick benefit: so

actions

actions conformable to the divine law, being (by God's wiſe and gracious diſpoſal) both in themſelves comely and lovely, and in effect (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *good and profitable to men*, conducing indeed not only to private, but alſo to publick welfare, to the rendring human ſociety comfortable, to the ſettling and ſecuring common tranquillity, the performance of them muſt needs bring great commendation to the author and ordainer of them. By obſerving them we ſhall (as S. *Peter* ſpeaks) *ſet forth the virtues of him that called us* to ſuch a practice. The light and luſtre of good works, done in regard to divine command, will cauſe men to ſee clearly the excellencies of our moſt wiſe and gracious Lord; will conſequently induce and excite them *to glorifie our father which is in heaven*. *In this* (ſaith our Saviour) *is my father glorified, if you bear much fruit*. The goodlineſs to the ſight, the pleaſantneſs to the taſte, which is ever perceptible in thoſe fruits which genuine piety beareth, the beauty men ſee in a calm mind and a ſober converſation, the ſweetneſs they taſte from works of juſtice and charity, will certainly produce veneration to the doctrine which teacheth ſuch things, and to the authority which enjoyns them. It is an aggravation of impiety, often inſiſted upon in Scripture, that it ſlurs (as it were) and defames God, brings reproach and obloquy upon him, cauſes his name to be prophaned, to be curſed, to be blaſphemed: and 'tis anſwerably a commendation of piety, that by the practice thereof we (not only procure many great advantages to our ſelves, many bleſſings and comforts here, all joys and felicities hereafter; but do alſo thereby) beget eſteem to God himſelf, and ſanctifie his ever-bleſſed name; cauſe him to be regarded and reverenced, his name to be praiſed and bleſſed among men. It is by exemplary piety, by **providing things honeſt in the ſight of all men*, by doing things honourable and laudable, (ſuch are all things which God hath been pleaſed to command us,) that we ſhall be ſure to fulfil that precept of S. *Paul*, of *doing all things to the glory of God*; which is the body of that duty we ſpeak of.

Tit. 3. 8. Neh. 9. 13. Deut. 10. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Mat. 5. 16. Joh. 15. 8. Rom. 2. 23. Tit. 2. 5. 2 Sam. 12. 14. Iſa. 52. 5. Ezek. 36. 20. Eph. 4. 1. Phil. 1. 27. Col. 1. 10. 1 Theſ. 2. 12. * Rom. 12. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 31.

Secondly, But there are, deſerving a particular inſpection, ſome members thereof, which in a peculiar and eminent manner do conſtitute this Honour; ſome acts which more ſignally conduce to the illuſtration of God's glory. Such are,

1. The frequent and conſtant performance (in a ſerious and reverent manner) of all religious duties, or devotions immediately addreſſed to God, or converſant about him: that which the Pſalmiſt ſtyles, *Giving the Lord the honour due to his name, worſhipping the Lord in the beauty of holineſs*. Pſal. 29. 2.

2. Uſing all things peculiarly related unto God, his holy name, his holy word, his holy places, (the places *where his honour dwelleth*) his holy times, (religious faſts and feſtivities) with eſpecial reſpect. Pſal. 26. 8. Iſa. 58. 13.

3. Yielding due obſervance to the deputies and miniſters of God (both civil and eccleſiaſtical) as ſuch, or becauſe of their relation to God: the doing of which God declares that he interprets and accepts as done unto himſelf. Rom. 13. 4. Mal. 2. 7. 1 Sam. 8. 7. Mat. 10. 40. Joh. 13. 20.

4. Freely ſpending what God hath given us (out of reſpect unto him) in works of piety, charity and mercy; that which the *Wiſeman* calls *Honouring the Lord with our ſubſtance*. 2 Cor. 9. 13. Prov. 3. 9. 14. 31.

5. All penitential acts, by which we ſubmit unto God, and humble our ſelves before him. (As *Achan*, by confeſſing of his ſin, is ſaid to *give glory to the Lord God of Iſrael*.) Joſh. 7. 19. Apoc. 16. 9.

6. Chearful undergoing afflictions, loſſes, diſgraces, for the profeſſion of God's truth, or for obedience to God's commands. (As S. *Peter* is ſaid *by his death*, ſuffered upon ſuch accompts, *to glorifie God*.) Joh. 21. 19.

Theſe ſignal inſtances of this duty (repreſented as ſuch in holy Scripture) for brevity's ſake I paſs over; craving leave only to conſider one, moſt pertinent to our preſent buſineſs, and indeed a very comprehenſive one; which is this:

7. We ſhall eſpecially honour God, by diſcharging faithfully thoſe offices which God hath intruſted us with; by improving diligently thoſe talents which God hath committed to us; by uſing carefully thoſe means and opportunities, which God hath vouchſafed us, of doing him ſervice, and promoting his glory. Thus he to whom God hath given wealth, if he expend it (not to the nouriſhment of pride and luxury, not only to the gratifying his own pleaſure or humour, but) to the furtherance of God's honour, or to the ſuccour of his indigent neighbour, (in any pious or charitable way,) he doth thereby in eſpecial manner honour God. He alſo on whom God hath beſtowed wit and parts, if he employ them (not ſo much in con-

triving projects to advance his own petty intereſts, or in procuring vain applauſe to himſelf, as) in advantageouſly ſetting forth God's praiſe, handſomly recommending goodneſs, dexterouſly engaging men in ways of virtue, (doing which things is true wit and excellent policy indeed,) he doth thereby remarkably honour God. He likewiſe that hath honour conferr'd upon him, if he ſubordinate it to God's honour, if he uſe his own credit as an inſtrument of bringing credit to goodneſs, thereby adorning and illuſtrating piety, he by ſo doing doth eminently practiſe this duty. The like may be ſaid of any other good quality, and capacity or advantage of doing good; by the right uſe thereof we honour God: for that men, beholding the worth of ſuch good gifts, and feeling the benefit emergent from them, will be apt to bleſs the donour of them; as did they in the Goſpel, who, ſeeing our Saviour cure the paralitick man, did preſently *glorifie God, who had given ſuch power unto men.* But eſpecially they to whom power and authority is committed, as they have the chief capacity, ſo they are under an eſpecial obligation thus to honour God: they are particularly concerned to hear and obſerve that royal proclamation, *Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord glory and ſtrength; Give unto the Lord the honour due unto his name.* When ſuch perſons (like King *Nebuchadnezzar* returned to his right ſenſes) do ſeriouſly acknowledge their power and eminency derived from God alone; when they profeſs ſubjection unto him, and expreſs it in their practice, not only driving others by their power, but drawing them by their example, to piety and goodneſs; when they cauſe God's name to be duly worſhipped, and his laws to be ſtrictly obſerved; when they favour and encourage virtue, diſcourage and chaſtiſe wickedneſs; when they take care that juſtice be impartially adminiſtred, innocence protected, neceſſity relieved, all iniquity and oppreſſion, all violence and diſorder, yea, (ſo much as may be) all affliction and wretchedneſs be prevented, or removed; when they by all means ſtrive to promote both the ſervice of God, and the happineſs of men; (*diſpenſing* equally and benignly, to the family over which their Lord hath ſet them, *their meat in due ſeaſon*; providing that men under them *may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godlineſs and honeſty*; doing which is the buſineſs allotted to them, the intereſt (as it were) of God, which he declares himſelf concernedly to tender, and by their miniſtry to proſecute:) when they carefully do ſuch things, then do they indeed approve themſelves worthy honourers of their high maſter, and heavenly King; then do they truly act God's part, and repreſent his perſon decently. When the actions of theſe viſible Gods are ſo divinely good and beneficial, men will be eaſily induced, yea, can hardly forbear to reverence and magnifie the inviſible Founder of their authority. By ſo doing, as they will ſet before mens eyes the beſt pattern of loyalty; as they will impreſs upon mens hearts the ſtrongeſt argument for obedience and reſpect toward themſelves; as they ſhall both more plainly inform, and more effectually perſuade people to the performance of their duty unto them, than by all the law and all the force in the world; as they will thereby conſequently beſt ſecure and maintain their own honour, and their own welfare: (for men will never be heartily loyal and ſubmiſſive to authority, till they become really good; nor will they ever be very good, till they ſee their leaders ſuch:) ſo they will together greatly advance the praiſe and glory of him in whoſe name they rule, to whoſe favour they owe their power and dignity; *in whoſe hand* (as the Prophet ſaith) *is their breath, and whoſe are all their ways.* For all men will be ready moſt awfully to dread him, unto whom they ſee Princes themſelves humbly to ſtoop and bow: no man will be aſhamed or unwilling to ſerve him, whom he ſhall obſerve that his Lords and Governours do concern themſelves to worſhip: the world cannot but have a good opinion of him, a participation of whoſe power and majeſty yields ſuch excellent fruits; it will not fail to adore him, whoſe ſhadows and images are ſo venerable. 'Tis a moſt notorious thing, both to reaſon and in experience, what extreme advantage great perſons have, eſpecially by the influence of their practice, to bring God himſelf, as it were, into credit: how much it is in their power eaſily to render piety a thing in faſhion and requeſt. For in what they do, they never are alone, or are ill attended; whither they go, they carry the world along with them: they lead crowds of people after them, as well when they go in the right way, as when they run aſtray. The cuſtom of living well, no leſs than other modes and garbs, will be ſoon convey'd and propagated from the court; the city and countrey will readily

Mat. 9. 8.

Pſal. 29. 1, 2.

Dan. 4. 34. *I bleſſed the moſt High, and praiſed and honoured him, &c.*

Mat. 24. 45. 1 Tim. 2. 2.

Dan. 5. 23.

readily draw good manners thence, (good manners truly ſo called, not only ſuperficial forms of civility, but real practices of goodneſs.) For the main body of men goeth not *quâ eundum, ſed quâ itur*, not according to rules and reaſons, but after examples and authorities; eſpecially of great perſons, who are like ſtars, ſhining in high and conſpicuous places, by which men ſteer their courſe: their actions are to be reckon'd not as ſingle or ſolitary ones, but are, like their perſons; of a publick and repreſentative nature, involving the practice of others, who are by them awed, or ſhamed into compliance. Their good example eſpecially hath this advantage, that men can find no excuſe, can have no pretence why they ſhould not follow it. Piety is not only beautified, but fortified by their dignity; it not only ſhines in them with a clear luſtre, but with a mightier force and influence: a word, a look (the leaſt intimation) from them will do more good, than others beſt eloquence, cleareſt reaſon, moſt earneſt endeavours. For it is in them, if they would apply themſelves to it, as the wiſeſt Prince implies, to *ſcatter iniquity with their eyes*. A ſmile of theirs were able to enliven virtue, and diffuſe it all about; a frown might ſuffice to mortifie and diſſipate wickedneſs. Such apparently is their power of honouring God; and in proportion thereto ſurely great is their obligation to do it: of them peculiarly God expects it, and all equity exacts it. What the meaner rank of ſervants (who are employ'd in baſer drudgeries, whoſe fare is more courſe, whoſe wages are more ſcant, who ſtand at greater diſtance from their Lord, and receive no ſuch ample or expreſs marks of his favour, what theſe) do is of ſome conſequence indeed, but doth not import ſo much to the maſter's reputation; their good word concerning him, their good carriage toward him doth not credit him ſo much. But thoſe whom he employs in matters of higheſt truſt, and importance to his affairs, whom he places in the neareſt degree to himſelf, (ſets even in his own throne, upon his own tribunal,) whom he feeds plentifully and daintily, maintains in a handſome garb, allows largely, as their deportment doth much reflect on their Lord's eſteem, as they are highly capable of advancing his repute; ſo all the rules of ingenuity and gratitude, all the laws of juſtice and equity do oblige them earneſtly to endeavour it. And it is indeed no leſs their concernment to do ſo. For if there be diſorders, prejudicial to the maſter's honour and intereſt, frequently committed in the family, 'tis thoſe ſervants muſt be reſponſible: if due order be there kept to his glory and advantage, they ſhall chiefly be commended, and peculiarly hear the *Euge, bone ſerve*. They muſt be loaded with other mens faults, or crowned for other mens virtues, as their behaviour hath reſpectively contributed to them. Thoſe univerſal rules of equity, propoſed in the Goſpel, will, in God's reckoning with and requiting men, be punctually obſerved: *To whomſoever much is given, of him much ſhall be required:* anſwerable to the improvement of what is delivered in truſt, ſhall the acceptance be.

Prov. 20. 8.

Matt. 25. 23.

Luke 12. 48.

I have inſiſted ſomewhat more largely on this point, becauſe our Text hath a particular aſpect thereon; the words being uttered upon occaſion of *Eli*, then Judge in *Iſrael*, his not uſing authority to theſe purpoſes; his forbearing to redreſs a grievous abuſe, committed by his own ſons, to the diſſervice and diſhonour of God. Whence to perſons of his rank is this law eſpecially directed; upon them is this duty chiefly incumbent; on them aſſuredly, (as ſure as God is true) if they will obſerve the duty, the reward ſhall be conferred. God will certainly not only preſerve the honour they have already, but will accumulate more Honours on them.

Theſe are general truths; the particular application of them is ours. God, I pray, vouchſafe his grace and bleſſing, that it may be made to our benefit and comfort.

III. I ſhould now ſhew why the duty is required of us, or how reaſonable it is. I muſt not (and the matter is ſo palpable that I need not) ſpend many words on that. God ſurely doth not exact honour from us becauſe he needs it, becauſe he is the better for it, becauſe he (for its ſelf) delights therein. For (beſide that he cannot want any thing without himſelf, that he cannot anywiſe need mortal breath to praiſe him, or hands of fleſh to ſerve him, who hath millions of better creatures than we abſolutely at his devotion, and can with a word create millions of millions more fitter than we to honour him) the beſt eſtima-

Ἀνέφικτος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ ὑστέρησις ἔστι, πάντως ἐστὶν προσθεῖναι· οἱ δ' αἰνοῦντες αὐτὸν λαμπρότεροι γίνονται. Chryſ. *in Pſal.* 144. *& vide in Pſ.* 103.

eſtimation we can have of him is much below him; the beſt expreſſion we can make is very unworthy of him. He is infinitely excellent beyond what we can imagine or declare: his *Name is exalted above all bleſſing and praiſe*; *his glory is above the earth and heaven.* So that all our endeavours to honour him are, in compariſon to what is due, but defects, and in a manner diſparagements to him. 'Tis only then (which ſhould affect our ingenuity to conſider) his pure goodneſs, that moves him, for our benefit and advantage, to demand it of us.

Nehem. 9. 5. Pſal. 148. 13. Ecclus. 43. 30.

1. For that to honour God is the moſt proper work of reaſon; that for which primarily we were deſign'd and framed: (for as other things were made to afford the matter and occaſion, ſo man was deſigned to exerciſe the act of glorifying God:) whence the performance thereof doth preſerve and perfect our nature; to neglect it being unnatural and monſtrous.

Sen. *Ep.* 76.

2. For that alſo it is a moſt pleaſant duty. He is not a man (hath loſt all natural ingenuity and humanity) who doth not delight to make ſome returns thither, where he hath found much good will, whence he hath felt great kindneſs. Since then all the good we have, we have received from God's favour, it cannot but be very pleaſant to render ſomewhat of requital (as it were) unto him; and we can render no other but this. We cannot make God more rich, more joyful, more happy than he is: all that we can do is, to expreſs our reverence toward him.

3. For that likewiſe our honouring God diſpoſes us to the imitation of him, (for what we do reverence we would reſemble) that is, to the doing thoſe things wherein our chief perfection and happineſs conſiſts, whence our beſt content and joy doth ſpring.

4. In fine, for that the practice of this duty is moſt profitable and beneficial to us; unto it by an eternal rule of juſtice our final welfare and proſperity being annexed: whence God hath declared it to be the way and condition of our attaining that thing which we ſo like and prize, honour to our ſelves; the which by promiſe he hath engaged himſelf to confer on thoſe who honour him. And,

IV. This promiſe he makes good ſeveral ways: Some of them I ſhall briefly ſuggeſt.

1. The honouring God is of it ſelf an honourable thing; the employment which ennobles Heaven it ſelf, wherein the higheſt Angels do rejoyce and glory. 'Tis the greateſt honour of a ſervant to bring credit to his maſter, of a ſubject to ſpread his prince's renown, and (upon grounds vaſtly more obliging) of a creature to glorifie his Maker: that we may do ſo is an honour we ſhould be glad, may be proud of.

2. By honouring God we are immediately inſtated in great honour; we enter into moſt noble relations, acquire moſt illuſtrious titles, enjoy moſt glorious privileges: we become the friends and favourites of Heaven, are adopted into God's family, and are ſtyled his children; do obtain a free acceſs unto him, a ſure protection under him, a ready aſſiſtance from him in all our needs. And what honour can exceed, can equal this?

Γίνα τῦ πλησίον τιμιώτερ@· ἀπ τῦ φαυλῶτ κρησότερ@·, &c. Naz. *Orat. de Paup.*

Is gloriâ maximè excellit, qui virtute plurimùm præſtat. Cic.

Καθ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόν@ τιμητός. Ariſtot. *Eth.* 4. 3.

3. God hath ſo ordered it, that honour is naturally conſequent upon the honouring him. God hath made goodneſs a noble and a ſtately thing; hath impreſſed upon it that beauty and majeſty which commands an univerſal love and veneration, which ſtrikes preſently both a kindly and an awful reſpect into the minds of all men. * *The righteous is* (not only in himſelf, but in common eſteem) *more excellent than his neighbour.* Power may be dreaded, riches may be courted, wit and knowledge may be admired; but only goodneſs is truly eſteemed and honoured. Not only men of goodneſs and diſcretion, but even the vulgar ſort of men (yea, as *Plato* hath well obſerved, the worſt men) do paſs this judgment, do prefer true goodneſs above all things.

* Prov. 12. 26.

Adeo gratioſa virtus eſt, ut inſitum ſit etiam malis probare meliora. Sen. *de Benef.* 4. 17.

Θεῖόν τι κ) ἰσχυρὸν ἐϛι κ) τοῖς κακοῖς· ὥϛε πάμπολλοι τ ὀφθέντ@ κακῶν εὖ τοῖς λόγοις κ) ταῖς δόξαις διαιρῶ) τὰς ἀμείνους τ ἀνδρῶπων, κ) τὰς χείρους. Plat. *de Repub. XII.*

4. God by his extraordinary providence, as there is reaſon and occaſion, doth interpoſe, ſo as to procure honour to them, to maintain and further their reputation, who honour him. God *faſhioneth the hearts of men: The hearts* of the greateſt men *are in his hand*; *he turneth them as the rivers of waters, whitherſoever he will:* he conſequently raiſeth or depreſſeth us, as he pleaſes, in the judgments and affections of men. *When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord,*

Pſal. 33. 15. Prov. 21. 1. Prov. 16. 7.

Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him, ſaith the *Wiſeman*; that is, he diſpoſeth the moſt averſe minds to love and honour him. No envy can ſupplant, no ſlander can deface the credit of ſuch a perſon; ſince God hath taken it into his charge and care, ſince he hath ſaid it, that *he will bring forth his righteouſneſs as the light, and his judgments as the noon-day*. God alſo by ſecret methods, and undiſcernible trains, ordereth all events, managing our thoughts and deſigns, our enterprizes and actions ſo, that the reſult of them ſhall be matter of benefit, comfort and reputation, or of diſaſter, regret and diſgrace, as he thinks good. Victory and ſucceſs he abſolutely diſpoſeth of, and conſequently of the honour that follows them; and they do uſually attend the honourers of God: for (as it is in the Pſalm) *A good ſucceſs have they who keep his commandments*. Many are the inſtances of perſons (ſuch as *Abraham*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, *David*, *Job* and *Daniel*) who, for their ſignal honouring of God, from a baſe and obſcure, or from an afflicted and forlorn condition, have, in ways ſtrange and wonderful, been advanced to eminent dignity, have been rendred moſt illuſtrious, by the providence of him, who *raiſeth the poor out of the duſt, and lifteth the beggar out of the dunghill, to ſet them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory*. He doth it in an evident manner, and eminent degree, to ſome; he doth it in a convenient way, and competent meaſure, to all that honour him.

Pſal. 37. 6. Pſal. 30. 7. *and* 90. 17. Pſ. 111. 10. Prov. 3. 4. 1 Sam. 2. 8. Pſ. 107. 41.

5. Whereas men are naturally inclined to bear much regard to the judgment of poſterity concerning them, are deſirous to leave a good name behind them, and to have their memory retained in eſteem: God ſo diſpoſes things, that *the memory of the juſt ſhall bleſſed*; that *his righteouſneſs ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance*; that *his light ſhall rejoyce*, (or burn clearly and pleaſantly, even when his life is put out here.) No ſpices can ſo embalm a man, no monument can ſo preſerve his name and memory, as a pious converſation, whereby God hath been honoured, and men benefited. • The fame of ſuch a perſon is, in the beſt judgments, far more precious and truly glorious, than is the fame of thoſe who have excelled in any other deeds or qualities. For what ſober man doth not in his thoughts afford a more high and hearty reſpect to thoſe poor fiſhermen, who by their heroical activity and patience did honour God in the propagation of his heavenly truth, than to all thoſe *Hectors* in chivalry, thoſe conquerors and atchievers of mighty exploits, (thoſe *Alexanders* and *Cæſars*) who have been renowned for doing things which ſeemed great, rather than for performing what was truly good? To the honour of thoſe excellent poor men, conſpicuous monuments have been erected every where; anniverſary memorials of their names and virtues are celebrated; they are never mentioned or thought of without reſpect; their commendations are interwoven with the praiſes of their great Lord and Maker, whom they honoured.

Cic. *Tuſc.* 1. Prov. 10. 7. Pſal. 112. 6. Prov. 13. 9.

Ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἔοικε, μέλειν ἡμῖν καὶ τῶν ὕστατα χρήσιμα· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυγχάνουσι καλά τινα φύσιν, οἱ μὲ ἀνδραποδωδέσταιοι, ἀδὲν φροντίζοντες αὐτῶ. οἱ δ' ἐπιμελέσταιοι, πᾶν ποιοῦντες ὅπως ἂν εἰς τ ὕστατα χρήσιμοι τὸ ἀκόσιτο. Plat. *Epiſt.* 2.

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ κρέατα καὶ τὰ σώματα λαμπρὰ, καὶ ἡμέρας καλαφανεῖς, ἐορτὴν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποιοῦσαι, &c. Chryſ. *in* 2 *Cor. Or.* 27.

6. Laſtly, to thoſe who honour God here, God hath reſerved an honour infinitely great and excellent, in compariſon whereto all honours here are but dreams, the loudeſt acclamations of mortal men are but empty ſounds, the brighteſt glories of this world are but duskiſh and fleeting ſhadows; an honour moſt ſolid, moſt durable; *an eternal weight of glory*. They ſhall in the face of all the world be approved by the moſt righteous judge his unqueſtionable ſentence; they ſhall be eſteemed in the unanimous opinion of angels and ſaints; they ſhall be applauded by the general voice and atteſtation of Heaven; they ſhall then be ſeated upon unmovable thrones, their heads encircled with unfading crowns, their faces ſhining with rays of unconceivable glory and majeſty. The leſs of honour they have received here, in this tranſitory moment of life, the more thereof they ſhall enjoy in that future eternal ſtate: where, with him who, through the whole courſe of his life, *ſought not his own honour, but the honour of him that ſent him*; who, *for the ſuffering of death, was crowned with glory and honour*; who, *for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet at the right hand of God*; with thoſe who conſecrated all their endeavours, and who ſacrificed their lives to the promoting of God's honour, they ſhall poſſeſs everlaſting glory. Which, together with them, God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant unto us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord; to whom, with God the Father, and God the Holy Ghoſt, be for ever all Honour and Praiſe. *Amen.*

2 Cor. 4. 17. Joh. 8. 49, 50. Heb. 2. 9. 12. 2.

SER-

SERMON V.

Upright walking Sure walking.

PROV. X. 9.

He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.

THE world is much addicted to the politicks; the heads of men are very buſie in contrivance, and their mouths are full of talk about the ways of conſulting our ſafety, and ſecuring our intereſts. May we not therefore preſume, that an infallible maxim of policy, propoſing the moſt expedient and certain method of ſecurity in all our tranſactions, will be entertained with acceptance? Such an one the greateſt politician and wiſeſt man for buſineſs (if we may take God's own word for it) that ever was or will be, doth here ſuggeſt to us. For the practice couched in our Text he otherwhere voucheth for a point of policy, telling us, that *A man of underſtanding walketh uprightly:* and here he recommendeth it as a method of ſecurity, *He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.*

1 Kings 3. 12.

Prov. 15. 21.

Treating upon which *Aphoriſm*, I ſhall, by God's help, endeavour, firſt, in way of explication, briefly to deſcribe the practice it ſelf; then, in way of Proof, by ſome conſiderations to declare, that ſecurity doth attend it.

For explication. *To walk* (as well in the ſtyle of holy ſcripture, as in other writings, and even in common ſpeech) doth ſignifie our uſual courſe of dealing, or the conſtant tenour of our practice.

בתום *Uprightly*, according to the original, might be rendred, *in perfection*, or, *with integrity:* and by the *Greek* tranſlators in ſeveral places is ſuppoſed chiefly to denote ſincerity and purity of intention.

He that walketh in his uprightneſs, feareth the Lord. Prov. 14. 2.

In effect, the phraſe, *He that walketh uprightly*, doth import, one who is conſtantly diſpoſed in his deſigns and dealings to bear a principal regard to the rules of his duty, and the dictates of his conſcience; who in every caſe emergent is ready to perform that, which upon good deliberation doth appear moſt juſt and fit, in conformity to God's law and ſound reaſon, without being ſwayed by any appetite, any paſſion, any ſiniſter reſpect to his own private intereſt of profit, credit, or pleaſure, to the commiſſion of any unlawful, irregular, unworthy, or baſe act; who generally doth act out of good principles; (namely, reverence to God, charity to men, ſober regard to his own true welfare;) who doth aim at good ends, that is, at God's honour, publick benefit, his own ſalvation, other good things ſubordinate to thoſe, or well conſiſtent with them; who doth proſecute his deſigns by lawful means, in fair ways, ſuch as honeſt providence and induſtry, veracity and fidelity, dependence upon God's help, and prayer for his bleſſing: In ſhort, one who never adviſedly doth undertake any bad thing, nor any good thing to ill purpoſes; nor doth uſe any foul means to compaſs his intents.

For Proof. That ſuch an one doth ever proceed with much ſecurity, from the following conſiderations may appear.

I. An upright walker is ſecure of eaſily finding his way. For it commonly requireth no reach of wit or depth of judgment, no laborious diligence of enquiry, no curious intentneſs of obſervation, no ſolicitous care, or plodding ſtudy, to diſcern in any caſe what is juſt; we need not much trouble our heads about it, for we can hardly be to ſeek for it. If we will but open our eyes, it lieth in view before us, being the plain, ſtreight, obvious road, which common reaſon prompteth, or which ordinary inſtruction pointeth out to us: ſo that uſually that direction of *Solomon* is ſufficient, *Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look ſtreight before thee——Turn not to the right hand, nor to the left.*

Prov. 4. 25. 27. & 17. 24. & 14. 6.

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The ways of iniquity and vanity, (if we may call them *ways*, which indeed are but exorbitances and ſeductions from the way,) ill deſigns and bad means of executing deſigns, are very unintelligible, very obſcure, abſtruſe and intricate; being infinitely various, and utterly uncertain: ſo that out of them to pick and fix on this or that, may puzzle our heads, and perplex our hearts; as to purſue any of them, may involve us in great difficulty and trouble. But the ways of truth, of right, of virtue, are ſo very ſimple and uniform, ſo fixed and permanent, ſo clear and notorious, that we can hardly miſs them, or (except wilfully) ſwerve from them. For they by divine wiſdom, were chalked out, not only for ingenious and ſubtle perſons, (men of great parts, of refined wits, of long experience,) but rather for the vulgar community of men, the great body of God's ſubjects, conſiſting in perſons of meaneſt capacity, and ſmalleſt improvement: being deſigned to *make wiſe the ſimple*, to *give the young man knowledge and diſcretion*; to direct all ſorts of people in their duty, toward their happineſs; according to that in the prophet, *A high way ſhall be there, and it ſhall be called the way of holineſs—the way-faring men, though fools, ſhall not err therein.*

Pſal. 19. 7. & 119. 130. Prov. 8. 5. 1. 4. Pſal. 119. 9. Iſa. 35. 8. Ὁδὸς ἁγιωτικὴ. LXX.

They are in very legible characters graven by the finger of God upon our hearts and conſciences, ſo that by any conſiderate reflection inwards we may eaſily read them: or they are extant in God's word, there written as with a Sun-beam, ſo perſpicuouſly expreſſed, ſo frequently inculcated, that without groſs negligence or ſtrange dulneſs we cannot but deſcry them. For who with half an eye may not ſee, that the practice of pious love and reverence toward God, of entire juſtice and charity toward our neighbour, of ſober temperance and purity toward our ſelves, is approved by reaſon, is preſcribed by God to us?

Rom. 2. 15. Iſa. 30. 21. Pſal. 37. 31.

Hence in the holy ſcriptures, as bad ways are called dark, crooked, rough, ſlippery ways; ſo the good ways are ſaid to be * clear, plain, direct, even ways. † *The path of the juſt* (ſay they) *is as a ſhining light. All the words of my mouth are plain to him that underſtandeth*, (or, *that conſidereth* them.) *My foot ſtandeth in an even place. The law of his God is in his heart: none of his ſteps ſhall ſlide.*

Prov. 4. 19. & 2. 13, 15. John 8. 12. Pſal. 82. 5. & 125. 5. & 35. 6. & 73. 18. Jer. 23. 12.
* Heb. 12. 13. Pſal. 5. 8. Luke 3. 5. Prov. 3. 23. Deut. 5. 32. & 28. 14.
† Prov. 4. 18. Prov. 8. 8, 9. & 14. 6. Πάντα εὐθύτομα τοῖς συνιοῦσι, LXX. Pſal. 26. 12. & 37. 31. & 26. 1. & 17. 5. & 18. 36.

Hence it is affirmed, that an upright man doth hardly need any conduct beſide his own honeſty. For, *the integrity*, (ſaith *Solomon*) *of the upright ſhall guide them*; and, *The righteouſneſs of the perfect ſhall direct his way.*

Prov. 11. 3, 5.

But in caſe ſuch an one ſhould ever be at a ſtand or at a loſs, in doubt of his courſe, he hath always at hand a moſt ſure guide to conduct or direct him. It is but asking the way of him, or ſaying, with the Pſalmiſt, *Shew me thy ways, O Lord, teach me thy paths*; *Teach me to do thy will*, and, *lead me in the way everlaſting*; *O let me not wander from thy commandments:* and then * *his ears* (as the prophet ſaith) *ſhall hear a word behind him ſaying, This is the way, walk ye in it*; then the words of the Pſalmiſt ſhall be verified, *What man is he that feareth the Lord? him ſhall he teach in the way that he ſhall chuſe. The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek he will teach his way.*

Pſal. 25. 4. & 16. 11. & 17. 5. Pſal. 143. 10. & 139. 24. & 119. 27. Pſal. 119. 10, 27, 33, 35, &c. * Iſa. 30. 21. Pſal. 25. 9, 12. & 37. 23.

Hence is the upright man happily ſecured from tiring pains in the ſearch, from racking anxieties in the choice, from grating ſcruples and galling regrets in the purſuit of his way.

II. The upright walker doth tread upon firm ground. He doth build his practice, not upon the perillous bogs, the treacherous quagmires, the devouring quick-ſands of uncouth, bold, impious paradoxes, (ſuch as have been vented by *Epicurus*, by *Machiavel*, by others more lately, whoſe infamous names are too well known, as the effects of their peſtilent notions are too much felt;) but upon ſolid, ſafe, approved, and well tried principles; *viz.* theſe, and the like coherent with them: That there is an eternal God, incomprehenſibly powerful, wiſe, juſt and good; who is always preſent with us, and ever intent upon us; viewing not only all our external actions, (open and ſecret,) but our inmoſt cogitations, deſires and intentions, by the which our actions chiefly are to be eſtimated: That he, as governour of the world, and judge of men, doth concern himſelf in all human affairs, diſpoſing and managing all events according to his righteous pleaſure; exacting punctual obedience to his laws, and diſpenſing recompences anſwerable thereto; with impartial juſtice rewarding each man according to the purpoſes of his heart, and the

(Prov. 12. 5.)

practices of his life: That all our good and happineſs doth abſolutely depend on God's favour; ſo that to pleaſe him can only be true wiſdom, and to offend him the great folly: That virtue is incomparably the beſt endowment whereof we are capable, and ſin the worſt miſchief to which we are liable: That no worldly good or evil is conſiderable in compariſon with goods or evils ſpiritual: That nothing can be really profitable or advantageous, to us, which doth not conſiſt with our duty to God, doth not ſomewiſe conduce to our ſpiritual intereſt, and eternal welfare: yea, that every thing not ſerviceable to thoſe purpoſes is either a frivolous trifle, or a dangerous ſnare, or a notable damage, or a woful bane to us: That content of mind, ſpringing from innocence of life, from the faithful diſcharge of our duty, from ſatisfaction of conſcience, from a good hope in regard to God and our future ſtate, is in our eſteem and choice much to be preferred before all the delights which any temporal poſſeſſion or fruition can afford; and, that a bad mind is the ſoreſt adverſity which can befal us. Such are the grounds of upright practice, more firm than any rock, more unſhakable than the foundations of heaven and earth; the which are aſſured by the ſacred oracles, and atteſted by many remarkable providences; have ever been avowed by the wiſer ſort, and admitted by the general conſent of men, as for their truth, moſt agreeable to reaſon, and for their uſefulneſs, approved by conſtant experience. The belief of them having apparently moſt wholſome influence upon all the concerns of life, both publick and private; indeed, being abſolutely needful for upholding government, and preſerving human ſociety; no obligation, no faith or confidence between men, no friendſhip or peace being able to ſubſiſt without it. Whence the practice built on ſuch foundations muſt be very ſecure. And if God ſhall not ceaſe to be, if he will not let go the reigns, if his word cannot deceive, if the wiſeſt men are not infatuated, if the common ſenſe of mankind do not prove extravagant, if the main props of life and pillars of ſociety do not fail; he that walketh uprightly, doth proceed on ſure grounds.

III. The upright perſon doth walk ſteddily, maintaining his principal reſolutions, and holding his main courſe, through all occaſions, without flinching or wavering, or deſultory inconſiſtence and fickleneſs; his integrity being an excellent ballaſt, holding him tight and well poiſed in his deportment; ſo that waves of temptation daſhing on him do not make him roll in uncertainty, or topple over into unworthy practices.

Luſt, paſſion, humour, intereſt, are things very mutable, as depending upon temper of body, caſualties of time, the winds and tides of this vertiginous world: whence he that is guided or moved by them muſt needs be *many-minded*, and *unſtable in all his ways*; will *reel to and fro like a drunken man, and be at his wits end*; never enjoying any ſettled reſt of mind, or obſerving a ſmooth tenour of action. But good conſcience is very ſtable, and perſiſteth unvaried through all circumſtances of time, in all viciſſitudes of fortune. For it ſteereth by immovable pole-ſtars, the inviolable rules of duty; it aimeth at marks which no force can ſtir out of their place; its objects of mind and affection are not tranſitory; its hopes and confidences are fixed on the *rock of ages*. Whence an upright perſon, in all caſes, and all conditions, (proſperous or adverſe,) is the ſame man, and goeth the ſame way. Contingences of affairs do not unhinge his mind from its good purpoſes, or divert his foot from the right courſe. Let the weather be fair or foul, let the world ſmile or frown, let him get or loſe by it, let him be favored or croſſed, commended or reproached, (*by honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report,*) he will do what his duty requireth: the external ſtate of things muſt not alter the moral reaſon of things with him. This is that which the Pſalmiſt obſerveth of him; *He ſhall not be afraid of evil tidings, for his heart ſtandeth faſt, and believeth in the Lord. His heart is ſtabliſhed, and will not ſhrink.* And this the *wiſe man* promiſeth to him; *commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts ſhall be eſtabliſhed.*

Jam. 1. 8. Pſal. 107. 27.

Τελεύγων. *Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum, &c.* Hor.

2 Cor 6. 8.

Pſal. 112. 7, 8. Prov. 3. 25.

Prov. 16. 3.

Hence a man is ſecured from diffidence in himſelf, and diſtraction in his mind, from frequently being off the hooks, from leading an unequal life, claſhing with it ſelf, from deluding and diſappointing thoſe with whom he converſeth or dealeth, and conſequently from the inconveniences iſſuing thence.

IV. The way of uprightneſs is the ſureſt for diſpatch, and the ſhorteſt cut toward the execution or attainment of any good purpoſe: ſecuring a man from irk-

ſome

ſome expectations and tedious delays, the which (as the *Wiſe man* ſaith) *do make the heart ſick.* Prov. 13. 12. Luke 3. 5.

It in Scripture is called *the ſtreight and the plain way.* And as in geometry, of all lines or ſurfaces contained within the ſame bounds, the ſtreight line and the plain ſurface are the ſhorteſt: ſo it is alſo in morality: by the right line of juſtice, upon the plain ground of virtue, a man ſooneſt will arrive to any well-choſen end.

In this way there are no bewildring intrigues and mazes, no crooked windings and turnings, no occaſions forcing men to dance hither and thither, to skip backward and forward, to do and undo; which courſes do protract buſineſs, and commonly do hinder from ever diſpatching it. But a man acting juſtly and fairly, doth continually proceed on in the direct open road, without retreat, excurſion, or deflection; *not turning aſide* (as the phraſe is in holy writ) *to the right hand, or to the left.* Prov. 4. 27. Deut. 5. 32. & 28. 14.

To clamber over fences of duty, to break through hedges of right, to treſpaſs upon hallowed encloſures, may ſeem the moſt ſhort and compendious ways of getting thither where one would be: But doth not a man venture breaking his neck, or ſcratching his face, incurring miſchief and trouble thereby? Is he not liable to the fate to which the preacher doometh him, *He that diggeth a pit ſhall fall into it: and whoſo breaketh a hedge, a ſerpent ſhall bite him?* For inſtance, to grow rich, fraud, extortion, corruption, oppreſſion, over-reaching and ſupplanting may ſeem the readieſt and moſt expedite ways; but in truth they are the fartheſt ways about, or rather no ways at all: for that which is got by thoſe means is not our own; nor is the poſſeſſion of it truly wealth, but uſurpation, or detention of ſpoil and rapine, which we ought to diſgorge. And however, to the getting it there are often mighty difficulties occurring from men, there are commonly inſuperable obſtacles interpoſed by God; who hath expreſſly condemned and curſed thoſe ways, declaring, that *Wealth gotten by vanity* (or couzenage) *ſhall be diminiſhed*; that *he that oppreſſeth to increaſe his riches, ſhall ſurely come to want*; that *he who* (thus) *haſteth to be rich, hath an evil eye, and conſidereth not that poverty ſhall come upon him*; that *as the partridge ſitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not: ſo he that getteth riches, and not by right, ſhall leave them in the midſt of his days, and at his end ſhall be a fool.* Whereas the plain way of honeſt harmleſs induſtry, (joyned with a pious regard to him who is the diſpenſer of all good things) how ſlow ſoever it may ſeem, is the moſt ſpeedy, becauſe the only ſafe way to thrive; having, beſide all ſecondary advantages, the ſecurity of thoſe oracles: *The hand of the diligent ſhall make rich: He that gathereth by labour, ſhall increaſe: By humility and the fear of the Lord are riches, and honour, and life.* Ecclef. 10. 8. (Prov. 23. 10, 11.) Prov. 13. 11. & 22. 16. & 28. 22. 20. & 13. 11. & 21. 6. Jer. 17. 11. Prov. 10. 4. & 28. 19. & 13. 11. & 22. 4.

V. The way of uprightneſs is in it ſelf very ſafe, free of danger, tending to no miſchief; according to thoſe ſayings of the *Wiſe man*; *There ſhall no evil happen to the juſt: In the way of righteouſneſs is life*; *and in the path thereof there is no death.* Pſal. 112. 3. Prov. 28. 18. & 16. 17. & 13. 6. & 10. 29. & 12. 21, 28.

He who deſigneth only that which is juſt and reaſonable, who innocently and fairly proſecuteth his intent, can run no great hazard, cannot fall into any extreme diſaſter, cannot irrecoverably ſink into miſerable diſappointment. Pſal. 37. 24.

He probably will not receive much harm from men, or trouble from the world: for, as he meaneth innocently, as he dealeth inoffenſively, (not violently aſſailing, not fraudulently circumventing, not any wiſe injuriouſly or maliciouſly abuſing any man,) as he doth yield no juſt provocation or urgent temptation to oppoſe him; ſo he is not very likely to meet with obſtructions or croſſes thwarting his deſigns. He can hardly raiſe up adverſaries; at leaſt ſuch as will prove very formidable, or very fierce and implacable toward him.

He may be ſure that few wiſe men, and no good men will trouble him; but that ſuch rather will afford their countenance and furtherance to his undertakings.

But aſſuredly he ſhall have the favourable protection of Almighty God, who throughly knowing his heart, and obſerving the righteouſneſs of his intentions and proceedings, will not ſuffer him to incur any notable, deſtructive, remedileſs calamity. His prayer, dictated by good conſcience, *Let integrity and uprightneſs preſerve me*, will certainly be heard; God having paſſed his word for it in numberleſs

Pſal. 25. 21. (Prov. 13. 6. & 11. 6.) Prov. 2. 7. & 18. 10. & 28. 18. & 29. 25. Pſal. 18. 2, 30, 35. & 23. 4. & 24. 4, 5. Job 11. 14, 15.

Iſa. 33. 15, 16. berleſs places of Scripture; particularly in thoſe remarkable words of *Iſaiah*: *He that walketh righteouſly and ſpeaketh uprightly, he that deſpiſeth the gain of oppreſſions, that ſhaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that ſtoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and ſhutteth his eyes from ſeeing evil; he ſhall dwell on high, his place of defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, his bread ſhall be given him, his water ſhall be ſure.* That is, a man who is conſtantly upright in his dealings, ſhall by the divine providence be infallibly and impregnably preſerved from any grievous miſchief, from any ſore want, from any extreme diſtreſs.

The way of uprightneſs is ever guarded with Angels, ready to promote the affairs of the honeſt perſon, or at leaſt to protect him from evil. He may hopefully Gen. 24. 40. ſay to himſelf, as *Abraham* did to his ſervant, *The Lord, before whom I walk, will ſend his Angel with thee, and proſper thy way:* or he confidently may apPſal. 91. 11, 12. ply to himſelf that of the Pſalmiſt, *He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: They ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.*

However, the ſequel will be tolerable: whatever the ſucceſs of his undertaking be, it can be no ruin, no ſlurr, no heart-breaking to him. His conſcience is ſafe, his credit is entire, his hopes are good; he is perfectly ſecure from being tainted with foul guilt, from being expoſed to due reproach, from being ſtung with vexatious remorſe, from being plunged into a gulf of deſperation or diſconſolateneſs. For,

VI. The way of uprightneſs is fair and pleaſant. He that walketh in it hath good weather, and a clear ſky about him; a hopeful confidence and a chearful ſatisfacProv. 21. 15. tion do ever wait upon him. *It is joy* (as the *Wiſe man* ſaith) *to the juſt to do judgment.*

(Prov. 23. 17, 18.) Being conſcious to himſelf of an honeſt meaning, and a due courſe of proſecuting it, he feeleth no check or ſtrugling of mind, no regret or ſting of heart; being throughly ſatisfied and pleaſed with what he is about, his judgment approving, and his will acquieſcing in his procedure, as worthy of himſelf, agreeable to reaſon, and conformable to his duty.

He therefore briskly moveth forward with alacrity and courage; there being within him nothing to control or countermand him, to pull him back, to make him halt, to diſtract or diſturb him.

Nor hardly can any thing abroad diſmay or diſcourage him. For he may reaſonably hope for the good will of men, and cannot hugely dread their oppoſition. He may ſtrongly preſume upon the propitious aſpect and favourable ſuccour of Prov. 11. 20. Heaven, which always ſmileth and caſteth benign influences on honeſt undertakings.

Jer. 32. 19. Prov. 24. 14. Heb. 4. 16. He that hath choſen a good way, may with aſſurance commend his way to God's providence; he may depend upon God for his concurrent benediction; he with an humble boldneſs may addreſs prayers to God for his protection and aid. He ſo doing hath intereſt in divers clear declarations and expreſs promiſes of good Pſal. 37. 5. & 55. 22. Prov. 16. 3. Eccluſ 2. 10. Pſal. 34. 22. & 26. 1. & 33. 21. ſucceſs; ſuch as thoſe; *Commit thy way unto the Lord, truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs. The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him in truth: he will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him; he will hear their cry, and will ſave them.*

Prov. 10. 24. Pſal. 145. 18, 19. & 34. 15. & 26. 11. He may dare to refer his caſe to the ſevereſt examination, ſaying with *Job, let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity*; and with the Pſalmiſt, *Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteouſneſs, and according to mine integrity, that is in me.*

Job 22. 27. Job 31. 6. Pſal. 7. 8. & 26. 1. 2 Kings 20. 3. Prov. 10. 28. He with an humble confidence can appeal to God, borrowing the words of *Hezekiah, I beſeech thee, O Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy ſight.*

Hence, *The hope of the righteous* (as the *Wiſe man* telleth us) *is gladneſs.* He conſidering the goodneſs, the juſtice, the fidelity of God, whereof his integrity doth render him capable and a proper object, cannot but conceive a comfortable hope of a good iſſue.

And obtaining ſucceſs, he doth not only enjoy the material pleaſure thereof, but the formal ſatisfaction that it is indeed good ſucceſs, or a bleſſing indulged to him Pſal. 18. 20, 21. by ſpecial favour of God; enabling him to ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *The Lord rewarded*

warded me according to my righteouſneſs; according to the cleanneſs of my hands hath he recompenſed me. For I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God.

However, an upright dealer hath this comfortable reſerve, that whatever doth befal him, however the buſineſs goeth, he ſhall not condemn, and puniſh himſelf with remorſe; he ſhall not want a conſolation able to ſupport and to erect his mind. He ſhall triumph, if not in the felicity of his ſucceſs, yet in the integrity of his heart, and the innocence of his deportment; even as bleſſed *Job* did under all the preſſures of his adverſity: for, *Till I die*, (ſaid he) *I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt, and will not let it go: my heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live.* (Prov. 24. 16.) Job 27. 5, 6.

So true it is upon all accompts, that, according to that aſſertion in the Pſalm, *Light is ſown for the righteous, and joyful gladneſs for the upright in heart.* Pſal. 97. 11.

VII. He that walketh uprightly is ſecure as to his honour and credit. He is ſure not to come off diſgracefully, either at home in his own apprehenſions, or abroad in the eſtimations of men. He doth not bluſh at what he is doing, nor doth reproach himſelf for what he hath done. No blemiſh or blame can ſtick upon his proceeding.

By pure integrity a man firſt maintaineth a due reſpect and eſteem for himſelf, then preſerveth an entire reputation with others: he reflecteth on his own heart with complacence, and looketh upon the world with confidence. He hath no fear of being detected, or care to ſmother his intents. He is content that his thoughts ſhould be ſounded, and his actions ſifted to the bottom. He could even wiſh, that his breaſt had windows, that his heart were tranſparent, that all the world might ſee through him, and deſcry the clearneſs of his intentions. The more curiouſly his ways are marked, the more exactly his dealings are ſcann'd, the more throughly his deſigns are penetrated and known; the greater approbation he is ſure to receive.

The iſſue of things aſſuredly will be creditable to him; and when the day-light hath ſcattered all miſts, hath cleared all miſpriſions and miſtakes, his reputation will ſhine moſt brightly: the event declaring, that he had no corrupt ends; the courſe of his proceedings being juſtified by the very light of things.

God himſelf will be concerned to vindicate his reputation, not ſuffering him to be conſiderably defamed; according to that promiſe, *He ſhall bring forth thy righteouſneſs as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day.* That in *Job* will be made good to him, *Then ſhalt thou lift up thy face without ſpot:* and he may confidently averr with the Pſalmiſt, *Then ſhall I not be aſhamed, when I have reſpect to all thy commandments.* Pſal. 37. 6, 19. & 34. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 6. Job 11. 15. Pſal. 119. 6, 39, 46.

If he findeth good ſucceſs; it will not be invidious, appearing well deſerved, and fairly procured: it will be truly honourable as a fruit and recompence of virtue, as a mark and pledge of the divine favour toward him. Pſal. 91. 15.

If he ſeemeth diſappointed, yet he will not be diſparaged: wiſe and candid men will excuſe him; good men will patronize his cauſe; no man of ſenſe and ingenuity will inſult on his misfortune. *He ſhall not* (as the Pſalmiſt aſſureth) *be aſhamed in an evil time.* Yea, often his repute from under a cloud will ſhine, if not with ſo glaring ſplendour, yet with a pleaſant luſtre; uprightneſs diſpoſing him to bear adverſe events with a graceful decency. Pſal. 37. 19.

VIII. The particular methods of acting which uprightneſs diſpoſeth to obſerve, do yield great ſecurity from troubles and croſſes in their tranſactions.

What is the conduct of the upright man? he is clear, frank, candid, harmleſs, conſiſtent in all his behaviour, his diſcourſe, his dealing. His heart commonly may be ſeen in his face, his mind doth ever ſuit with his ſpeech, his deeds have a juſt correſpondence with his profeſſions: he never faileth to perform what he doth promiſe, and to ſatisfie the expectations which he hath raiſed. Prov. 13. 5. Pſal. 36. 3, 4. & 34. 13. & 15. 2.

He doth not wrap himſelf in clouds, that none may ſee where he is, or know how to find him; may diſcern what he is about, or whither he tendeth.

He diſguiſeth not his intents with fallacious pretences of conſcience, of publick good, of ſpecial friendſhip and reſpect. Prov. 10. 18.

He doth uſe no diſingenuous, ſpiteful, unjuſt tricks or ſleights to ſerve the preſent turn.

He

He layeth no baits or ſnares *to catch men*, alluring them into miſchief or inconvenience.

Jer. 5. 26. (Pſal. 64. 5. & 56. 6. & 9. 15. & 7. 15. & 10. 2. & 57. 6. & 35. 7. & 140. 5. Prov. 26. 27. Eccleſ. 10. 8.) Pſal. 10. 7. & 55. 21. & 64. 6. & 10. 9, 10. & 56. 5. Rom. 16. 18. Ecclus. 19. 26. 2 Sam. 15. 5. Prov. 11. 9. & 26. 25.

As he doth not affect any poor baſe ends, ſo he will not defile his fair intentions by ſordid means of compaſſing them; ſuch as are illuſive ſimulations and ſubdolous artifices, treacherous colluſions, ſly inſinuations and ſycophantick detractions, verſatile whifflings and dodgings, flattering colloguings and glozings, ſervile crouchings and fawnings, and the like.

He hath little of the ſerpent, (none of its lurking inſidiouſneſs, of its ſurprizing violence, of its rancorous venom, of its keen mordacity,) but much of the dove, (all its ſimplicity, its gentleneſs, its fidelity, its innocence,) in his converſation and commerce.

Jam. 3. 17. His wiſdom is ever tempered with ſincerity, and ſeaſoned with humanity, with meekneſs, with charity; being *the wiſdom which is from above, firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſie.*

Prov. 14. 33. & 29. 11. & 13. 16. & 13. 3. & 21. 23. & 12. 23. Ecclus. 20. 7. He ſometime may prudently reſerve his mind, not venting it by fooliſh loquacity: but his words do never claſh with his meaning, ſo as to deceive or diſappoint any man.

Prov. 22. 3. & 27. 12. & 14. 8. & 14. 15, 16. He may warily prevent harm and decline perils: but it is without hurtful countermining, or deriving miſchief on his neighbour.

Eccleſ. 8. 5. Prov. 12. 16. 19. 11. He may diſcreetly pick out ſeaſons and embrace opportunities of righting or benefitting himſelf: but he never will ſeek or lay hold of advantages to prejudice others.

He ſometimes may repreſs inſurrections of anger or diſguſt: but he never doth allow them to bake into rancour or malice.

He may be apt to uſe courteous, affable, obliging demeanour, ſerving to breed friendſhips, and to ſtifle enmities: but he never thereby meaneth to gull, inveigle and entrap men; or to procure inſtruments and aids of any perverſe deſign.

He is no enemy to himſelf, but (according to the obligations of reaſon and conſcience) he hath always a regard to the good of others; nor is ever ſo ſelfiſh, as to be unjuſt or uncharitable to any man.

The principal engines he doth employ for atchieving his enterprizes are, a careful and cautious providence in contriving, a ſedulous and ſteddy diligence in acting, a circumſpect heedfulneſs not to provoke any man by offenſive carriage, by injury, by diſcourteſie, to obſtruct him, but rather by kind demonſtrations and real beneficence to engage men to further him in his proceedings: but eſpecially his main inſtrument, wherein he moſt confideth, is devout ſupplication to God for his ſuccour and bleſſing.

Now is not this conduct the moſt ſecure that can be? doth it not afford many great commodities and advantages? doth it not exempt from manifold fears, and cares, and croſſes, and ſlaveries?

Prov. 12. 22. (Prov. 12. 19.) It cannot but derive bleſſings from the God of truth, the great friend of ſimplicity and ſincerity, the hater of falſhood and guile.

And humanely regarding things, he that uſeth theſe methods, doth from them obtain many conveniences. He doth not lie under perpetual conſtraint, engaged to keep a conſtant guard upon himſelf, to watch his memory, to curb his tongue, to manage his very looks and geſtures, leſt they betray his intentions, and diſcloſe his plots. He is not at the trouble of ſtopping holes, of mending flaws, of patching up repugnances in his actions, that his mind do not break through them. He is not afraid of the diſappointment and ſhame which attend the detection of unworthy deſigns. He is not at pains to obviate the jealouſies, the ſurmiſes, the diffidences, the counterplots, the preventive oppoſitions and aſſaults, which gloomy cloſeneſs and crafty diſſimulation ever do raiſe againſt the practiſers of them. In fine, men do not ſhun the converſation and the commerce of an upright perſon, but gladly do conſort and deal with him; do ſeek his acquaintance and alliance: they are not apt to diſtruſt him, to ſuſpect him, to be ſhy and reſerved in their intercourſe with him; but readily do place an entire confidence in him, and uſe a clear frankneſs toward him. No man doth fear him as dangerous, or will croſs him as an adverſary. Whence as he ſeldom hath cauſe to fear, or occaſion to conteſt

Prov. 26. 25. 10. 18. 21. 6. Pſal. 26. 4.

with

with others; ſo he doth undiſturbedly enjoy the benefits of ſociety with great ſafety, eaſe and comfort.

IX. Laſtly, An upright walker hath perfect ſecurity, as to the final reſult of affairs, that he ſhall not be quite baffled in his expectations and deſires. And if proſperity doth conſiſt in a ſatisfaction of mind concerning events, he cannot fail of moſt proſperous ſucceſs. *Whatſoever he doeth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt of him) *it ſhall proſper.* How is that? Doth he, if he warreth, always get the victory? is he perpetually, when he tradeth, a conſiderable gainer? will he certainly after ſowing reap a plentiful crop? Probably yes; and perhaps no: Yet aſſuredly he ſhall proſper, in the true notion of proſperity, explained by thoſe Divine ſayings; *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace. The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effect of righteouſneſs quietneſs and aſſurance for ever. Surely I know it ſhall be well with them that fear God.* Pſal. 1. 3. Prov. 12. 21. Pſal. 37. 37. Iſa. 32. 17. Eccleſ. 8. 12.

He cannot be much defeated in his purpoſes: for, as to his general, principal, abſolute deſigns, (that is, his deſign of pleaſing God, and procuring his favour; his deſign of ſatisfying himſelf, and diſcharging his conſcience; his deſign of promoting his own ſpiritual intereſt, and ſaving his ſoul; his deſign of doing good, of exerciſing charity to his neighbour, of ſerving the publick, of obliging the world by virtuous example, and by real beneficence) theſe he cannot fail thoroughly to accompliſh; nothing can obſtruct him in the proſecution, nothing can debar him from the execution of theſe undertakings; in ſpite of all the world, by the ſuccour of that Divine grace which ever doth favour and further ſuch deſigns, he moſt happily will atchieve them. And for other inferior deſigns, he can hardly be croſſed in regard to them: for it is an eſſential part of integrity, not otherwiſe to affect or aim at private ſecular intereſts, than under condition, and with a reſervation, if it be God's pleaſure, if it ſeem good to Divine wiſdom. He knoweth that his pains employed on any honeſt purpoſe, in a fair way, (be it to procure ſome worldly advantage for himſelf, for his relations, for his friend,) are not loſt, if they have the fruit of ſubmiſſion to God's will, and acquieſcence in the event diſpoſed by him. He is aſſured that it is good luck to have his project blaſted, and that miſſing is better than getting, when by ſovereign wiſdom it is ſo determined. He therefore could not ſo fix his heart, or engage his affection in any ſuch concern, that his mind is ſurpriſed, or his paſſions diſcompoſed by a ſeeming adverſeneſs of events to his endeavours. So that in effect he can have no bad ſucceſs. For how can that occurrence be deemed bad, which plain reaſon dictateth in certain judgment to be moſt expedient for him; about which he ever was very indifferent, and with which at preſent he is not heartily diſpleaſed? How can it be taken for diſappointment and misfortune, which one was prepared to embrace with ſatisfaction and complacence?

Yea, to a perſon ſo diſpoſed, that ſucceſs which ſeemeth moſt adverſe, juſtly may be reputed the beſt and moſt happy, as promoting ends incomparably more excellent than any worldly gain; as producing fruits exceedingly more wholeſome and more ſavoury than any temporal commodity; as exerciſing and improving the divineſt virtues, (humility, patience, meekneſs, moderation, contentedneſs) a grain whereof is worth all the wealth, all the preferment, all that is deſirable in the world.

Wherefore let the worſt that can arrive, (or that which humane blindneſs and fondneſs do count the worſt,) yet upright perſons do not come off ill, or ſo (matters being rightly ſtated) as to be loſers upon the foot of the accompt.

If this do not ſatisfie groſſer apprehenſions, we may add, that even in theſe meaner concerns Almighty God is pleaſed commonly to reward and encourage upright perſons by the beſt ſucceſs. For he hath as it were a natural inclination to gratifie thoſe who deſire to pleaſe him; and (as the Pſalmiſt expreſſeth it) *hath pleaſure in the proſperity of his ſervants.* He may ſeem concerned in honour to countenance thoſe who have regard to his will, and who repoſe confidence in his aid; diſcriminating them from ſuch as preſume to act againſt or without him, in defiance to his will, with no deference to his Providence. As they do render him his due reſpect, by ſubmitting to his authority, and avowing his power; ſo he will acknowledge them by ſignally favouring their concerns. Pſal. 35. 27. Prov. 11. 20. 15. 9. Prov. 14. 2.

Even

Deut. 28. 2, &c. & 30. 9. Pſ. 128. 1, 2. & 91. 1. — & 34. 9, 10. & 84. 11. Matt. 6. 33. Eccleſ. 8. 5. Prov. 28. 10. 20. & 10. 6. (Prov. 11. 18.) Rom. 2. 16. 1 Cor. 3. 13. 1 Cor. 4. 5. 1 Tim. 1. 17.

Even his truth and fidelity are engaged in their behalf; ſeeing he very often hath declared and promiſed, that in all matters, and upon all occaſions, he will be ready to bleſs them.

X. To conclude; It is an infinite advantage of upright dealing, that at the laſt iſſue, when all things ſhall be moſt accurately tried and impartially decided, a man is aſſured to be fully juſtified in it, and plentifully rewarded for it. As then all the deceits, which now paſs under ſpecious masks, ſhall be laid bare; all varniſh of pretence ſhall be wiped off; all perverſe intrigues ſhall be unravelled; all wicked and baſe intentions ſhall be quite ſtripp'd of the veils which now enfold them; all ſhrewd contrivers and engineers of miſchief, all practiſers of unjuſt and malicious guile, ſhall be expoſed to ſhame, *ſhall lie down in ſorrow:* So then, *The righteous man ſhall ſtand in great boldneſs*; his caſe will be rightly ſtated, and fully cleared from ſlanderous aſperſions, from odious ſurmiſes, from unlucky prejudices and miſtakes: what he hath done, ſhall be approved; what he hath ſuffered, ſhall be repaired. So that it then evidently will appear; that upright ſimplicity is the deepeſt wiſdom, and perverſe craft the meereſt ſhallowneſs: that he who is true and juſt to others, is moſt faithful and friendly to himſelf: that who-ever doth abuſe his neighbour, is his own greateſt cheater and foe. For, *In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt, every man's work ſhall be made manifeſt. The Lord will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of the hearts; and then ſhall every man have praiſe of God.* Unto which our upright judge, *the King eternal, immortal, inviſible, the only wiſe God, be honour and glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

SERMON VI.

Of the Duty of Prayer.

1 THESS. V. 17.

Pray without ceaſing.

IT is the manner of St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles, after that he hath diſcuſſed ſome main points of doctrine or diſcipline, (which occaſion required that he ſhould clear and ſettle,) to propoſe ſeveral good advices and rules, in the obſervance whereof the life of chriſtian practice doth conſiſt. So that he thereby hath furniſhed us with ſo rich a variety of moral and ſpiritual precepts, concerning ſpecial matters, ſubordinate to the general laws of piety and virtue; that out of them might well be compiled a body of ethicks, or ſyſtem of precepts *de officiis*, in truth and in compleatneſs far excelling thoſe which any philoſophy hath been able to deviſe, or deliver. Theſe he rangeth not in any formal method, nor linketh together with ſtrict connexion, but freely ſcattereth them ſo as from his mind (as out of a fertile ſoil, impregnated with all ſeeds of wiſdom and goodneſs) they did haply ſpring up, or as they were ſuggeſted by that Holy Spirit which continually guided and governed him.

Among divers ſuch delivered here, this is one, which ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe; the which, having no other plain coherence (except by affinity of matter) with the reſt encloſing it, I ſhall conſider abſolutely by it ſelf, endeavouring ſomewhat to explain it, and to urge its practice.

Pray without ceaſing. For underſtanding theſe words, let us firſt conſider what is meant by the act enjoyned, *praying*; then, what the qualification or circumſtance adjoined, *without ceaſing*, doth import.

1. The

1. The word *prayer* doth in its uſual latitude of acception comprehend all ſorts of devotion, or all that part of religious practice wherein we do immediately addreſs our ſelves to God, having by ſpeech (oral or mental) a kind of intercourſe and converſation with him. So it includeth that praiſe which we ſhould yield to God, implying our due eſteem of his moſt excellent perfections, moſt glorious works, moſt juſt and wiſe diſpenſations of providence and Grace; that thankſgiving whereby we ſhould expreſs an affectionate reſentment of our obligation to him for the numberleſs great benefits we receive from him; that acknowledgment of our entire dependence upon him, or our total ſubjection to his power and pleaſure; together with that profeſſion of faith in him, and avowing of ſervice to him, which we do owe as his natural creatures and ſubjects; that humble confeſſion of our infirmity, our vileneſs, our guilt, our miſery, (joined with deprecation of wrath and vengeance) which is due from us as wretched men, and grievous ſinners; that petition of things needful or convenient for us, (of ſupply in our wants, of ſuccour and comfort in our diſtreſſes, of direction and aſſiſtance in our undertakings, of mercy and pardon for our offences) which our natural ſtate (our poor, weak, ſad and ſinful ſtate) doth engage us to ſeek; that interceſſion for others, which general charity, or ſpecial relation do require from us, as concerned or obliged to deſire and promote their good. All theſe religious performances prayer in its larger notion doth compriſe; according whereto in common uſe the whole body of divine ſervice, containing all ſuch acts, is termed *prayer*; and temples, conſecrated to the performance of all holy duties, are ſtyled *houſes of prayer*; and that brief directory, or pregnant form of all devotion, which our Lord dictated, is called *his prayer:* and in numberleſs places of ſcripture it is ſo taken.

In a ſtricter ſenſe, it doth only ſignifie one particular act among thoſe, the petition of things needful or uſeful for us.

But according to the former more comprehenſive meaning I chuſe to underſtand it here; both becauſe it is moſt commonly ſo uſed, (then, eſpecially, when no diſtinctive limitation is annexed, or the nature of the ſubject matter doth not reſtrain it) and becauſe general reaſons do equally oblige to performance of all theſe duties in the manner here preſcribed: nor is there any ground to exclude any part of devotion from continual uſe; we being obliged no leſs inceſſantly to praiſe God for his excellences, and thank him for his benefits, to avow his ſovereign majeſty and authority, to confeſs our infirmities and miſcarriages, than to beg help and mercy from God. All devotion therefore, all ſorts of proper and due addreſs to God (that πᾶσα προσευχὴ, *all prayer and ſupplication*, which St. *Paul* otherwhere ſpeaketh of) are here enjoyned, according to the manner adjoyned, *without ceaſing*, ἀδιαλείπτως, that is, indefinently, or continually. Eph. 6. 18.

2. For the meaning of which expreſſion, we muſt ſuppoſe, that it muſt not be underſtood as if we were obliged in every inſtant or ſingular point of time actually to apply our minds to this practice; for to do thus is in it ſelf impoſſible, and therefore can be no matter of duty; it is inconſiſtent with other duties, and therefore muſt not be practiſed; yea, will not conſiſt with it ſelf; for, that we may pray, we muſt live; that we may live, we muſt eat; that we may eat, we muſt work; and muſt therefore attend other matters: ſo that actual devotion neither muſt, nor can ſwallow up all our time and care. The deliberate operations of our mind are ſometimes interrupted by ſleep, ſometimes will be taken up in ſatisfying our natural appetites, ſometimes muſt be ſpent in attendance upon other reaſonable employments, commanded or allowed by God; whence there can be no obligation to this practice according to that unlimited interpretation. This precept therefore (as divers others of a like general purport and expreſſion) muſt be underſtood, not in a natural, but moral ſenſe, according as the exigence of things permitteth, or as the reaſon of the caſe requireth; ſo far as it is conveniently practicable, or as it is reaſonably compatible with other duties and needs. But we muſt not ſo reſtrain it as to wrong it, by pinching it within too narrow bounds. How then it may be underſtood, and how far it ſhould extend, we ſhall endeavour to declare by propounding divers ſenſes whereof it is capable, grounded upon plain teſtimonies of ſcripture, and enforcible by good reaſon; according to which ſenſes we ſhall together preſs the obſervance thereof. *Adero Scripturæ plenitudinem.* Tertull.

1. Firſt then, *praying inceſſantly*, may import the maintaining in our ſouls a ready diſpoſition or habitual inclination to devotion; that which in ſcripture is termed

Zech. 12. 10. *the ſpirit of ſupplication.* This in moral eſteem, and according to current language, derived thence, amounteth to a continual practice; a man being reckoned and ſaid to do that, to which he is ever prompt and propenſe: as it is ſaid of the righteous man, that *he is ever merciful, and lendeth*, becauſe he is conſtantly diſpoſed to ſupply his neighbour with needful relief; although he doth not ever actually diſpenſe alms, or furniſh his neighbour with ſupplies for his neceſſity. The words may ſignifie this; they do at leaſt by conſequence imply ſo much: for if we do not in this, we can hardly perform the duty in any ſenſe; without a good temper fitting, and a good appetite prompting to devotion, we ſcarce can, or will ever apply our ſelves thereto. If there be not in our heart a root of devotion, whence ſhould it ſpring? how can it live, or thrive? If the organs of Prayer are out of kelter, or out of tune, how can we pray? If we be not *accincti*, have not *the loins of our mind girt*, and *our feet ſhod in preparation* to the ſervice, when ſhall we ſet forward thereto? *My heart* (ſaid *David*) *is fixed, I will ſing and give praiſe: fixed*, that is, readily prepared, and ſteddily inclined to devotion. So ſhould ours conſtantly be. As a true friend is ever ready to entertain his friend with a frank courteſie and complacency; as he ever is apt upon occaſion for advice and aſſiſtance to have recourſe to him: ſo ſhould we be always diſpoſed chearfully and decently to converſe with God, when he freely cometh to us, or we have need to apply our ſelves to him. If there be (from ſtupidity of mind, from coldneſs of affection, from ſluggiſhneſs of ſpirit, from worldly diſtraction) any indiſpoſition or averſeneſs thereto, we ſhould by ſerious conſideration and induſtrious care labour to remove them; rouſing our ſpirits, and kindling in our affections ſome fervency of deſire toward ſpiritual things: otherwiſe we ſhall be apt to ſhun, or to ſlip the opportunities inviting to devotion; our hearts will be ſo reſty, or liſtleſs, that hardly we ſhall be induced to perform it, when it is moſt neceſſary or uſeful for us.

Pſal. 37. 26. *Ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen æquè eſt, &c.* Hor.

1 Pet. 1. 13. Luke 12. 35. Eph. 6. 14. Pſal. 108. 1. (2 Chron. 30. 19. Ezr. 7. 10.)

II. *Praying inceſſantly* may denote a vigilant attendance (with earneſt regard, and firm purpoſe) employed upon devotion: ſuch attendance as men uſually beſtow on their affairs, whereof although the actual proſecution ſometime doth ſtick, yet the deſign continually proceedeth; the mind ever ſo directing its eye toward them, as quickly to eſpy, and readily to ſnatch any advantages of promoting them. This is a kind of continuance in practice, and is commonly ſo termed: as we ſay that ſuch an one is building a houſe, is writing a book, is occupying ſuch land, although he be at preſent ſleeping, or eating, or following any other buſineſs; becauſe his main deſign never ſleepeth, and his purpoſe continues uninterrupted. This is that which is ſo often injoyned under the phraſe of *watching* about Prayer. *Watch ye therefore, and pray always*, ſaith our Lord. *Continue in prayer, and watch in the ſame*, ſaith S. *Paul*. *Be ye ſober, and watch unto prayer*, ſaith S. *Peter*. Which expreſſions import a moſt conſtant and careful attendance upon this duty: that we do not make it a παρεργον, or by-buſineſs in our life, (a matter of ſmall conſideration or indifference, of curioſity, of chance,) to be tranſacted drowzily or faintly, with a deſultorious and ſlight endeavour, by fits, as the humour taketh us; but that, accounting it a buſineſs of the choiceſt nature and weightieſt moment, we do adhere thereto with unmoveable purpoſe, regard it with undiſtracted attention, purſue it with unwearied diligence, being always upon the guard, wakeful and expedite, intent upon and apt to cloſe with any occaſion ſuggeſting matter thereof. That we ſhould do thus reaſon alſo doth oblige: for that, as in truth no buſineſs doth better deſerve our utmoſt reſolution and care, ſo none doth more need them; nature being ſo backward, and occaſion ſo ſlippery, that if we do not ever mind it, we ſhall ſeldom practiſe it.

Luke 21. 36. Col. 4. 2. Eph. 6. 18. 1 Pet. 4. 7. Mat. 24. 42. 25. 13.

2 Pet. 1. 12. ἀεὶ ὑπομιμν. Gal. 4. 18. παντοτε ζηλοῦσθε.

III. *Praying inceſſantly* may ſignifie, that we do actually embrace all fit ſeaſons, and emergent occaſions of devotion. This in moral computation doth paſs for continual performance: as a tree is ſaid to bear that fruit, which it produceth in ſeaſon; and a man is accounted to work in that trade, which he exerciſeth whenever he is called thereto. This ſenſe is in ſeveral precepts parallel to that in hand plainly expreſſed. *Pray* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *with all prayer and ſupplication* ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ· and, *Watch* (ſaith our Lord) ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι, *praying in every ſeaſon*, or upon every opportunity. Devotion indeed is rarely unſeaſonable, or impertinent: we may offer it εὐκαίρως, ἀκαίρως, *in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*; that is, not only taking opportunities preſented for it, or urgently requiring it, but catching at them and creating them to our ſelves, when there is no ſuch apparent and preſſing need

Eph. 6. 18. Luke 21. 36.

2 Tim. 4.

of

of it. But there are ſome ſpecial occaſions, which more importunately and indiſpenſably do exact it: ſome ſeaſons there are (either miniſtred by extrinſical accidents, or ſpringing from internal diſpoſitions) when, without both great blame and much damage to our ſelves, we cannot neglect it: times there be moſt proper, and acceptable, when we do eſpecially need to pray, and when we are likely to ſpeed well therein. *Every one* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *that is godly will pray unto thee in a time when thou mayeſt be found:* and *my prayer* (ſaith he again) *is unto thee in an acceptable time.* Pſal. 32. 6. Pſal. 69. 13. 2 Cor. 6. 2. Iſa. 49. 8.

Thus, when we have received any ſingular bleſſing or notable favour from God, when proſperous ſucceſs hath attended our honeſt enterpriſes, when we have been happily reſcued from imminent dangers, when we have been ſupported in difficulties, or relieved in wants and ſtraits; then it is ſeaſonable to render ſacrifices of thankſgiving and praiſe to the God of victory, help and mercy; to admire and celebrate him, who is our *ſtrength, and* our *deliverer*, our *faithful refuge in trouble*, our *fortreſs, and the rock of* our *ſalvation.* To omit this piece of devotion then, is vile ingratitude, or ſtupid negligence and ſloth. Pſal. 18. 1, 2. & 71. 3, &c.

When any rare object or remarkable occurrence doth upon this theatre of the world preſent it ſelf to our view, in ſurveying the glorious works of nature, or the ſtrange events of providence; then is a proper occaſion ſuggeſted to ſend up hymns of Praiſe to the power, the wiſdom, the goodneſs of the world's great creator and governour.

When we undertake any buſineſs of ſpecial moment and difficulty; then it is expedient (wiſdom prompting it) to ſue for God's aid, to commit our affairs into his hand, to recommend our endeavours to the bleſſing of him, by whoſe guidance all things are ordered, without whoſe concourſe nothing can be effected, upon whoſe arbitrary diſpoſal all ſucceſs dependeth. Δεῖ πάσης πρόξεως πρηγόρου πρόσοχου. Marc. Erem.

The beginning of any deſign or buſineſs (although ordinary, if conſiderable) is a proper ſeaſon of prayer unto him, to whoſe bounty and favour we owe our ability to act, ſupport in our proceedings, any comfortable iſſue of what we do: (for *all our ſufficiency is of him: without him we can do nothing.*) Whence we can never apply our ſelves to any buſineſs or work, not go to eat, to ſleep, to travel, to trade, to ſtudy, with any true content, and reaſonable ſecurity, any ſatisfactory hope, if we do not firſt humbly implore the favourable protection, guidance and aſſiſtance of God. 2 Cor. 3. 5. John 15. 5.

When we do fall into doubts, or darkneſſes, (in the courſe either of our ſpiritual or ſecular affairs,) not knowing what courſe to ſteer, or which way to turn our ſelves; (a caſe which to ſo blind and ſilly creatures, as we are, muſt often happen;) then doth the time bid us to conſult the great oracle of truth, *the mighty counſeller, the father of lights*, ſeeking reſolution and ſatisfaction, light and wiſdom from him; ſaying with the Pſalmiſt, *Shew me thy ways, O Lord, lead me in thy truth, and teach me; for thou art the God of my ſalvation: Order my ſteps in thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me*; following the advice of S. *James, If any man lack wiſdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it ſhall be given him.* Jer. 10. 23. Prov. 20. 24. 16. 9. Iſa. 9. 6. Jam. 1. 17. Pſal. 25. 4, 5, 8. & 27. 11. & 86. 11. & 143. 10. & 32. 8. & 119. 125. Pſal. 119. 133. Jam. 1. 5. Prov. 2. 6. Iſa. 30. 1.

When any ſtorm of danger bluſtereth about us, perilouſly threatning, or furiouſly aſſailing us with miſchief, (ſo that hardly by our own ſtrength or wit we can hope to evade) then with the wings of ardent devotion we ſhould fly unto God for ſhelter, and for relief.

When any anxious care diſtracteth, or any heavy burthen preſſeth our minds, we ſhould by Prayer eaſe our ſelves of them, and diſcharge them upon God, committing the matter of them to his care and providence; according to that direction of S. *Paul, Be careful for nothing: but in every thing by prayer and ſupplication with thankſgiving, let your requeſts be made known to God.* Pſal. 56. 3. & 34. 4. & 18. 3. Phil. 4. 6.

When we do lie under any irkſome trouble, or ſore diſtreſs, (of want, pain, diſgrace;) then, for ſuccour and ſupport, for eaſe and comfort, we ſhould have recourſe to *the father of pities, and God of all conſolation*; who *is nigh to all that call upon him, will alſo hear their cry, and will ſave them*; who, when *the righteous cry, doth hear them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles*; who is ſo often ſtyled *the hiding-place from troubles, the help and ſtrength, the ſhield and buckler, the rock, the fortreſs, the high-tower, the horn of ſalvation,* to all good and diſtreſſed people. To him we ſhould in ſuch a condition have recourſe, 2 Cor. 1. 3. Pſal. 145. 18, 19. & 147. 3. Pſal. 34. 17. Pſal. 18. 1, 2. & 56. 3. & 84. 9. & 32. 7. & 33. 20. & 71. 3.

Pſal. 77. 2. & 18. 6. & 142. 2. & 118. 5.

course, imitating the pious Pſalmiſt, whoſe practice was this: *In the day of my trouble I ſought the Lord: I poured out my complaint before him, I ſhewed before him my trouble: I called unto the Lord in my diſtreſs: the Lord anſwered me, and ſet me in a large place.*

When any ſtrong temptation doth invade us, with which by our own ſtrength we cannot grapple, but are like to ſink and faulter under it; then is it opportune and needful that we ſhould ſeek to God for a ſupply of ſpiritual forces, and the

2 Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9.

ſuccour of his almighty grace, as S. *Paul* did: when *there was given to him a thorn in the fleſh, a meſſenger of Satan to buffet him*; then *he beſought the Lord thrice that it might depart from him*: and he had this return from God, *My Grace is ſufficient for thee.*

When alſo (from ignorance, or miſtake, from inadvertency, negligence, or raſhneſs, from weakneſs, from wantonneſs, from preſumption) we have tranſgreſſed our duty, and incurred ſinful guilt; then, (for avoiding the conſequent danger and vengeance, for unloading our conſciences of the burthen and diſcomfort thereof,) with humble confeſſion in our mouths, and ſerious contrition in our hearts, we ſhould apply our ſelves to the God of mercy, deprecating his wrath, and imploring pardon

1 Joh. 1. 9.

from him; remembring that promiſe of S. *John*, *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all iniquity*; and that

Prov. 28. 13. Pſal. 32. 5. & 51. 1, &c. Job 7. 20.

declaration of the *Wiſe man*, *He that covereth his ſins ſhall not proſper: but he that confeſſeth and forſaketh them ſhall have mercy.*

In theſe and the like caſes God by our neceſſities doth invite and ſummon us to come unto him; and no leſs fooliſh than impious we are, if we do then ſlink away, or fly from him. Then we ſhould (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* exhorteth)

Heb. 4. 16. * πρὸς εὔκαιρον βοήθειαν.

come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need, (or, * for ſeaſonable relief.)

And beſide thoſe outwardly prompting and urging us, there be other opportunities, ſpringing from within us, which we are no leſs obliged and concerned to embrace. When God by his gentle whiſpers calleth us, or by his ſoft impulſes draw-

Jer. 35. 15. Prov. 1. 24. Iſa. 50. 2. & 65. 12. & 66. 4.

eth us into his preſence; we ſhould then take heed of ſtopping our ears, or turning our hearts from him, refuſing to hearken, or to comply. We muſt not any wiſe quench or damp any ſparks of devout affection kindled in us by the divine ſpirit; we muſt not repel or reſiſt any of his kindly ſuggeſtions or motions.

Whenever we find our ſelves well affected to, or well framed for devotion; that we have a lively ſenſe of, and a coming appetite to ſpiritual things; that our ſpirits are brisk and pure, our fancy calm and clear, our hearts tender and ſupple, our affections warm and nimble; then a fair ſeaſon offereth it ſelf; and when the iron is ſo hot, we ſhould ſtrike.

If at any time we feel any forward inclinations or good diſpoſitions to the practice of this duty, we ſhould never check or curb them, but rather ſhould promote and advance them; puſhing our ſelves forward in this hopeful career; letting out the ſtream of our affections into this right channel, that it may run freely therein, that it may overflow and diffuſe it ſelf in exuberance of devotion. Farther,

IV. *Praying inceſſantly* may ſignifie, that we ſhould with aſſiduous urgency drive on the intent of our Prayers, never quitting it, or deſiſting, till our requeſts are granted, or our deſires are accompliſhed. Thus doing we may be ſaid to pray continually: as he that goeth forward in his journey, (although he ſometime doth bait, ſometime doth reſt and repoſe himſelf,) is ſaid yet to be in travel; or as he that doth not wave the proſecution of his cauſe, (although ſome demurrs intervene) is deemed ſtill to be in ſuit. This is that which our Lord did in the goſpel preſcribe and per-

Luke 18. 1.

ſuade, where 'tis recorded of him, that *He ſpake a parable unto them, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* That *praying always* the enſuing diſ-

Luke 18. 1. Col. 1. 9. Eph. 1. 16. Rom. 12. 12. Col. 4. 2, 12. 1 Tim. 5. 5. Eph. 6. 18.

courſe ſheweth to import reſtleſs importunity, and perſeverance in Prayer: the ſame which ſo often is commended to us by the phraſes of μὴ ἐκκακεῖν, *not to faint* or *faulter*; μὴ παύεσθαι, *not to ceaſe*, or give over; προσκαρτερεῖν, *to continue inſtant*, or hold out ſtoutly; ἀγωνίζεσθαι, *to ſtrive earneſtly*, or conteſt and ſtruggle *in prayers*; προσμένειν ταῖς δεήσεσι, *to abide at ſupplications*; ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει, *to watch with all perſeverance.* That which alſo is implied by thoſe terms, which in ſcriptural ſtyle do commonly expreſs devotion:

* Pſal. 10. 4. & 9. 10. & 14. 2. & 24. 6. & 63. 1. & 69. 6, 32. & 70. 4. & 83. 16. Job 8. 5. Deut. 4. 29. Prov. 8. 17. Pſal. 77. 6.

by **ſeeking God*: which implieth, that God doth not preſently,

upon

upon any ſlight addreſs, diſcover himſelf in beneficial effects anſwerable to our deſires, but after a careful and painful continuance in our applications to him: by **waiting upon God*; which ſignifieth, that if God do not preſently appear, granting our requeſts, we ſhould patiently ſtay, expecting till he be pleaſed to do it in his own beſt time, according to that in in the Pſalm, *Our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us:* by *knocking*; which intimateth, that the door of grace doth not ever ſtand open, or that we can have an effectual acceſs to God, until he, warned and (as it were) excited by our earneſt importunity, pleaſeth to liſten, to diſcloſe himſelf, to come forth unto us.

* Pſal. 123. 2. & 69. 3. & 130. 5. & 37. 7. & 25. 5. & 27. 14. & 37. 34. & 25. 21. & 52. 9. & 59. 9. & 145. 15. Iſa. 8. 17. & 40. 31. & 49. 23. Hoſ. 12. 6. Lam. 3. 25, 26. Prov. 20. 22.

Pſal. 123. 2. Luke 12. 36. Mat. 7. 7.

And this practice reaſon alſo doth enforce. For there are ſome good things abſolutely neceſſary for our ſpiritual life and welfare, (ſuch as are freedom from bad inclinations, diſorderly affections, vicious habits, and noxious errors; the ſanctifying preſence and influence of God's holy ſpirit, with the bleſſed graces and ſweet fruits thereof; growth in virtue, delight in ſpiritual things, the ſenſe of God's love and favour, with the like,) which good reaſon engageth us ſo perſeveringly to ſeek, as never to reſt, or be ſatisfied, till we have acquired them in perfect degree; ſince we cannot ever do well without them, or ever get enough of them. In begging other inferior things, it may become us to be reſerved, indifferent and modeſt; but about theſe matters (wherein all our felicity is extreamly concerned) it were a folly to be ſlack or timorous: as we cannot be ſaid immoderately to deſire them, ſo we cannot be ſuppoſed immodeſtly to ſeek them there, where only they can be found, in God's preſence and hand. The caſe doth bear, yea, doth require, that we ſhould be eager and hot, reſolute and ſtiff, free and bold, yea, in a manner peremptory and impudent ſolicitours with God for them. So our Saviour intimateth, where, comparing the manner of God's proceeding with that of men, he repreſenteth one friend yielding needful ſuccour to another, not barely upon the ſcore of friendſhip, but διὰ τὴν ἀναίδειαν, *for his impudence*; that is, for his confident and continued urgency, admitting no refuſal or excuſe. So doth God in ſuch caſes allow, and oblige us to deal with him, being inſtant and pertinacious in our requeſts, *giving him no reſt*, (as the phraſe is in the Prophet;) not enduring to be put off, or brooking any repulſe: never being diſcouraged, or caſt into deſpair, by any delay or ſemblance of neglect. We may *wreſtle with God*, like *Jacob*, and with *Jacob* may ſay, *I will not let thee go, except thou bleſs me.* Thus God ſuffereth himſelf to be prevailed upon, and is willingly overcome: Thus omnipotence may be maſtered, and a happy victory may be gained over invincibility it ſelf. Heaven ſometime may be forced by ſtorm; (or by the aſſaults of extremely-fervent Prayer;) it aſſuredly will yield to a long ſiege. God will not ever hold out againſt the attempts of an obſtinate ſuppliant. So *the kingdom of heaven ſuffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.* We read in S. *John*'s goſpel of a man, that, being thirty eight years diſeaſed, did wait at the pool of *Bethesda* ſeeking relief: him our Lord pitied and helped, crowning his patience with miraculous relief, and propoſing it for an example to us of perſeverance. It is ſaid of the Patriarch *Iſaac*, that *he intreated the Lord for his wife, becauſe ſhe was barren; and the Lord was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived.* Whereupon S. **Chryſoſtom* doth obſerve, that he had perſevered twenty years in that petition.

Vid. Chryſ. *Tom. 6. Orat. 8. ad Theod. 2.*

Αἰδὼς ἐκ ἀγαθῆς καρδίας ἀιδέα παρίκτης.

Luke 11. 8.

Iſa. 62. 7.

Gen. 32. 26.

Mat. 11. 12.

Joh. 5. 5.

Vid. Chryſ. *Tom. 5. Orat. 40. & in Joh. Or. 36.*

Gen. 25. 21.

* *Vid. Tom. 5. Orat. 68.*

Of good ſucceſs to this practice we have many aſſurances in holy Scripture. *The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the ſoul that ſeeketh him. Bleſſed are all they that wait for him. None that wait on him ſhall be aſhamed.* **They that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength, they ſhall mount up with wings as eagles; they ſhall run, and not be weary; they ſhall walk, and not faint.* So hath God aſſured by his word, and engaged himſelf by promiſe, that he will yield unto conſtant and patient devotion: ſo that it ſhall never want good ſucceſs.

Lam. 3. 25. Iſa. 30. 18. & 49. 23. Pſal. 25. 3. & 37. 9. * Iſa. 40. 31. 1 Chr. 28. 9. Ezr. 8. 22. Amos 5. 4. 2 Chr. 15. 12. Pſal. 9. 10. 2. & 10. 4.

Seeking God the periphraſis of a religious man. Pſal. 14. 2. & 24. 6. & 69. 6. & 70. 4. 119.

Without this practice we cannot indeed hope to obtain thoſe precious things; they will not come at an eaſie rate, or be given for a ſong; a lazy wiſh or two cannot fetch them down from heaven. God will not beſtow them at firſt asking, or deal them out in one lump: but it is upon aſſiduous ſoliciting, and by gradual

communication

communication, that he diſpenſeth them. So his wiſe good-will, for many ſpecial reaſons, diſpoſeth him to proceed: that we may (as it becometh and behoveth us) abide under a continual ſenſe of our natural impotency and penury; of our dependence upon God, and obligation to him for the free collation of thoſe beſt gifts: that by ſome difficulty of procuring them we may be minded of their worth, and induced the more to prize them: that by earneſtly ſeeking them we may improve our ſpiritual appetites, and excite holy affections: that by much converſing with heaven, our minds may be raiſed above earthly things, and our hearts purified from ſordid deſires: that we may have a conſtant employment anſwerable to the beſt capacities of our Souls, worthy our care and pain, yielding moſt ſolid profit and pure delight unto us: that, in fine, by our greater endeavour in religious practice we may obtain a more ample reward thereof.

For the ſame reaſon indeed that we pray at all, we ſhould pray thus, with continued inſtance. We do not pray to inſtruct or adviſe God; not to tell him news, or inform him of our wants: (*He knows them*, as our Saviour telleth us, *before we ask:*) nor do we pray by dint of argument to perſuade God, and bring him to our bent; nor that by fair ſpeech we may cajoul him, or move his affections toward us by pathetical orations: not for any ſuch purpoſe are we obliged to pray. But for that it becometh, and behoveth us ſo to do; becauſe it is a proper inſtrument of bettering, ennobling and perfecting our Souls; becauſe it breedeth moſt holy affections, and pure ſatisfactions, and worthy reſolutions; becauſe it fitteth us for the enjoyment of happineſs, and leadeth us thither: for ſuch ends devotion is preſcribed; and conſtant perſeverance therein being needful to thoſe purpoſes, (praying by fits and ſtarts not ſufficing to accompliſh them,) therefore ſuch perſeverance is required of us. Farther,

Mat. 6. 8.

V. *Praying inceſſantly* may import, that we do with all our occupations and all occurrences interlace devout ejaculations of Prayer and Praiſe; lifting up our hearts to God, and breathing forth expreſſions of devotion, ſuitable to the objects and occaſions which preſent themſelves. This as it nearly doth approach to the punctual accompliſhment of what our Text preſcribeth; ſo it ſeemeth required by S. *Paul*, when he biddeth us *pray always* ἐν πνεύματι, *in ſpirit*, and to ſing, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, *in the heart:* that is, with very frequent elevations of ſpirit in holy thoughts, and deſires toward Heaven; with opportune reſentments of heart, directing thanks and praiſe to God. We cannot ever be framing or venting long Prayers with our lips, but almoſt ever our mind can throw pious glances, our heart may dart good wiſhes upwards; ſo that hardly any moment (any conſiderable ſpace of time) ſhall paſs without ſome lightſome flaſhes of devotion. As bodily reſpiration, without intermiſſion or impediment, doth concurr with all our actions: ſo may that breathing of ſoul, which preſerveth our ſpiritual life, and ventilateth that holy flame within us, well conſpire with all other occupations. For devotion is of a nature ſo ſpiritual, ſo ſubtile and penetrant, that no matter can exclude or obſtruct it. Our minds are ſo exceedingly nimble and active, that no buſineſs can hold pace with them, or exhauſt their attention and activity. We can never be ſo fully poſſeſſed by any employment, but that divers vacuities of time do intercurr, wherein our thoughts and affections will be diverted to other matters. As a covetous man, whatever beſide he is doing, will be carking about his bags and treaſures: an ambitious man will be deviſing on his plots and projects; a voluptuous man will have his mind in his diſhes; a laſcivious man will be doting on his amours; a ſtudious man will be muſing on his notions; every man according to his particular inclination, will lard his buſineſs, and beſprinkle all his actions with cares and wiſhes tending to the enjoyment of what he moſt eſteemeth and affecteth: ſo may a good chriſtian, thro' all his undertakings, wind in devout reflexions and pious motions of ſoul toward the chief object of his mind and affection. Moſt buſineſſes have wide gaps, all have ſome chinks, at which devotion may ſlip in. Be we never ſo urgently ſet, or cloſely intent upon any work, (be we feeding, be we travelling, be we trading, be we ſtudying,) nothing yet can forbid, but that we may together wedge in a thought concerning God's goodneſs, and bolt forth a word of Praiſe for it; but that we may reflect on our ſins, and ſpend a penitential ſigh on them; but that we

Eph. 6. 18. & 5. 19. Col. 3. 16.

Sed non ſatis perſpiciunt quantum natura humani ingenii valeat, quæ ità eſt agilis & velox, ſic in omnem partem, (ut ità dixerim) ſpectat, ut nè poſſit quidem aliquid agere tantùm unum; in plura verò non eodem die modo, ſed eodem temporis momento, vim ſuam impendat. Quint. *l.* 12.

Μυημονεύσίον γὰρ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναπνοῆς· καὶ οὐ οἷόν τε τοῦτο ἐκπεῖν, μηδὲ ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο προσκείσον. Naz. *Or.* 33.

Vid. Chryſ. *Orat.* 5. *in Annam. Tom.* V. *p.* 78, 79.

we may deſcry our need of God's help, and diſpatch a brief petition for it: a *God be praiſed*, a *Lord have mercy*, a *God bleſs*, or *God help me*, will no wiſe interrupt or diſturb our proceedings. As worldly cares and deſires do often intrude and creep into our devotions, diſtracting and defiling them: ſo may ſpiritual thoughts and holy affections inſinuate themſelves into, and hallow our ſecular tranſactions. This practice is very poſſible, and it is no leſs expedient: for that if our employments be not thus ſeaſoned, they can have no true life or ſavour in them; they will in themſelves be dead and putrid, they will be foul and noiſome, or at leaſt flat and inſipid unto us.

Εἰπὲ καὶ διάνοιαν, Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἀπέρτισαί σου ἡ ἐυχή. Chryſ. *ibid.*

There are ſome other good meanings of this Precept, according to which holy Scripture, (back'd with good reaſon) obligeth us to obſerve it: but thoſe (together with the general inducements to the practice of this duty,) that I may not farther now treſpaſs on your patience, I ſhall reſerve to another opportunity.

SERMON VII.

Of the Duty of Prayer.

1 THES. V. 17.

Pray without ceaſing.

WHAT the *Prayer* here enjoyned by S. *Paul* doth import, and how by it univerſally all ſorts of devotion ſhould be underſtood, we did formerly diſcourſe. How alſo according to divers ſenſes (grounded in holy Scripture, and enforced by good reaſon) we may perform this duty *inceſſantly*, we did then declare; five ſuch ſenſes we did mention and proſecute: I ſhall now add two or three more, and preſs them.

VI. *Praying* then *inceſſantly* may imply, that we do appoint certain times conveniently diſtant for the practice of devotion, and carefully obſerve them. To keep the *Jews* in a conſtant exerciſe of divine worſhip, God did conſtitute a ſacrifice, which was called *Tamidh*, (ἡ διαπαντὸς θυσία) *the continual ſacrifice*. And as that ſacrifice being conſtantly offered at ſet times, was thence denominated *continual*; ſo may we, by punctually obſerving fit returns of devotion, be ſaid to pray *inceſſantly*.

Dan. 8. 11. Heb. 13. 5. Neh. 10. 33.

And great reaſon there is that we ſhould do ſo. For we know that all perſons who would not lead a loſe and flattering life, but deſign with good aſſurance and advantage to proſecute an orderly courſe of action, are wont to diſtribute their time into ſeveral parcels; aſſigning ſome part thereof to the neceſſary refection of their bodies, ſome to the convenient relaxation of their minds, ſome to the diſpatch of their ordinary affairs, ſome alſo to familiar converſation, and interchanging good offices with their friends; conſidering, that otherwiſe they ſhall be uncertain, and *unſtable in all their ways*. And in this diſtribution of time devotion ſurely ſhould not lack its ſhare: it rather juſtly claimeth the choiceſt portion to be allotted thereto; as being incomparably the nobleſt part of our duty, and manifeſt concernment of our lives. The feeding our ſouls and nouriſhing our ſpiritual life, the refreſhing our ſpirits with thoſe no leſs pleaſant than wholeſome exerciſes, the driving on our correſpondence and commerce with heaven, the improving our friendſhip and intereſt with God, are affairs which above all others do beſt deſerve, and moſt need being ſecured. They muſt not therefore be left at random, to be done by the by, as it hitteth by chance; or as the fancy taketh us. If we do not depute vacant ſeaſons, and fix periodical returns for devotion, engaging our ſelves by firm reſolution, and inuring our minds by conſtant uſage to the ſtrict obſervance of them, ſe-

Cur ipſi aliquid forenſibus negotiis, aliquid deſideriis ami corum, aliquid rationibus domeſticis, aliquid cura corporis, nonnihil voluptati quotidie damus? Quint. l. 12.

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cluding from them, as from ſacred encloſures, all other buſineſſes; we ſhall often be dangerouſly tempted to neglect, we ſhall be commonly liſtleſs to it, prone to defer it, eaſily ſeduced from it by the encroachment of other affairs, or enticement of other pleaſures. It is requiſite that our ſouls alſo (no leſs than our bodies) ſhould have their meals, ſettled at ſuch intervals as the maintenance of their life, their health, their ſtrength and vigour do require; that they may not periſh or languiſh for want of timely repaſts; that a good appetite may duly ſpring up, prompting and inſtigating to them; that a ſound temper and robuſt conſtitution of ſoul may be preſerved by them.

Prayers are the bulwarks of piety and good conſcience, the which ought to be placed ſo as to flank and relieve one another, together with the interjacent ſpaces
Heb. 12. 1. of our life; that the enemy (*the ſin which doth ſo eaſily beſet us*) may not come on between, or at any time aſſault us, without a force ſufficiently near to reach and repel him.

In determining theſe ſeaſons and meaſures of time according to juſt proportion, honeſt prudence (weighing the ſeveral conditions, capacities and circumſtances of each perſon) muſt arbitrate. For ſome difference is to be made between a merchant and a monk; between thoſe who follow a court, and thoſe who reſide in a cloiſter or a college. Some men having great encumbrances of buſineſs and duty, by neceſſity impoſed on them, which conſume much of their time, and engage their thoughts; of them in reaſon, neither ſo frequent recourſes to, nor ſo long continuance in Prayer can be demanded, as from thoſe who enjoy more abundant leiſure, and free ſcope of thoughts. But ſome fit times all may, and muſt allow, which no avocation of buſineſs, no diſtraction of care ſhould purloin from them.

Certain ſeaſons and periods of this kind nature it ſelf (in correſpondence to her unalterable revolutions) doth ſeem to define and preſcribe: thoſe which the royal
Pſal. 92. 1. Prophet recommendeth, when he ſaith, *It is a good thing to give thanks unto the*
55. 17. *Lord, and to ſing praiſes unto thy name, O thou moſt high: To ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs every morning, and thy faithfulneſs every night.* Every day we do recover and receive a new life from God; every morning we do commence buſineſs or revive it; from our bed of reſt and ſecurity we then iſſue forth, expoſing our ſelves to the cares and toils, to the dangers, troubles and temptations of the world: then eſpecially therefore it is reaſonable, that we ſhould ſacrifice thanks to the gracious preſerver of our life, and the faithful reſtorer of its ſupports and comforts; that we ſhould crave his direction and help in the purſuit of our honeſt undertakings; that to his protection from ſin and miſchief we ſhould recommend our ſelves and our affairs; that by offering up to him the firſt-fruits of our diurnal labours, we ſhould conſecrate and conſign them all to his bleſſing; that as we are then wont to ſalute all the world, ſo then chiefly with humble obeiſance we ſhould accoſt him, who is ever preſent with us, and continually watchful over us. Then alſo peculiarly devotion is moſt ſeaſonable, becauſe then our minds being leſs prepoſſeſſed and peſtered with other cares, our fancies becoming lively and gay, our memories freſh and prompt, our ſpirits copious and brisk, we are better diſpoſed for it.

Every night alſo reaſon calleth for theſe duties; requiring that we ſhould cloſe our buſineſs, and wind up all our cares in devotion; that we ſhould then bleſs God for his gracious preſervation of us from the manifold hazards and the ſins to which we ſtood obnoxious; that we ſhould implore his mercy for the manifold neglects and tranſgreſſions of our duty, which through the day paſt we have incurred; that our minds being then ſo tired with ſtudy and care, our ſpirits ſo waſted with labour and toil, that we cannot any longer ſuſtain our ſelves, but do of our own accord ſink down into a poſture of death; we ſhould, as dying men, reſign our ſouls into God's hand, depoſiting our ſelves and our concernments into his cuſtody, who alone *doth never ſleep nor ſlumber*; praying that he would guard us from all the dangers and diſturbances incident to us in that ſtate of forgetfulneſs, and *interregnum* of our reaſon; that he would grant us a happy reſurrection in ſafety and health, with a good and chearful mind, enabling us thereafter comfortably to enjoy our ſelves, and delightfully to ſerve him.

Thus if we do conſtantly bound and circumſcribe our days, dedicating thoſe moſt remarkable breaks of time unto God's ſervice, ſince beginning and end do comprehend the whole, ſeeing in the computation and ſtyle of *Moſes*, *evening and morning*

ing do conſtitute a day; we may with ſome good congruity be ſaid to pray inceſſantly.

Eſpecially if at the middle diſtance between thoſe extremes we are wont to interpoſe ſomewhat of devotion. For as then uſually our ſpirits, being ſomewhat ſhattered and ſpent, do need a recruit, enabling us to paſs through the reſidue of the day with its incumbent buſineſs: ſo then it would do well, and may be requiſite, in a meal of devotion to refreſh our Souls with ſpiritual ſuſtenance, drawn from the never-failing ſtore-houſe of divine grace; which may ſo fortifie us, that with due vigour and alacrity we may perform the enſuing duties to God's honour, and our own comfort. Thus to practiſe was the reſolution of the Pſalmiſt, that great maſter of devotion; *evening* (ſaid he) *and morning, and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud.* And this was the cuſtom of the noble *Daniel*, from which no occaſion could divert, no hazard could deter him: *He kneeled*, ſaid the ſtory, *upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God.* Pſal. 55. 17. Dan. 6. 10.

Theſe are times which it is neceſſary, or very expedient, that all men (even perſons of higheſt rank, and greateſt employment) ſhould obſerve. Theſe even of old were the practices of religious perſons, not expreſſly preſcribed by God's law, but aſſumed by themſelves; good reaſon ſuggeſting them to the firſt practiſers, and the conſenting example of pious men afterward enforcing them.

God indeed did himſelf in his law, or by his prophets, appoint publick and ſolemn celebrations of worſhip to himſelf, in ſacrifices (involving prayer, and accompanied therewith) conſtantly to be offered every morning and evening; religious princes alſo did inſtitute ſervices of thankſgiving and praiſe to be performed at thoſe times: but there doth not appear any direct inſtitution of private devotion, or its circumſtances; but the practice thereof ſeemeth originally to have been purely voluntary, managed and meaſured according to the reaſon, by the choice of each perſon: yet ſo, that the practice of eminently good men leading, and others following, it grew into a kind of common law, or ſtanding rule, (ſeeming to carry an obligation with it,) to obſerve the times ſpecified. 2 Chron. 2. 4. 1 Chron. 16. 40, 41. & 23. 30. Ezr. 3. 3.

Beſides thoſe three times, there were farther other middle times obſerved by devout people, who had leiſure, and diſpoſition of mind thereto; once between morning and noon, and once between noon and evening were ſequeſtred to that purpoſe: whence in the *Acts* the ninth hour of the day (that is, the middle interval between noon and evening) is called *the hour of prayer.* Yea, ſome did impoſe on themſelves the obſervation of two other times, one between evening and midnight, the other between midnight and morn. To which practice thoſe places in the *Pſalms* do ſeem to allude; *My mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyful lips, when I remember thee on my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches. I prevented the dawning of the morning, and cried: Mine eyes prevent the night-watches, that I may meditate on thy word.* And plainly the whole number of thoſe times, which the Pſalmiſt obſerved, is expreſſed in thoſe words, *Seven times a day will I praiſe thee, becauſe of thy righteous judgments.* Which examples whoever ſhall chuſe to follow, (in any meaſure) he ſhall do wiſely and commendably; he ſhall certainly have no cauſe to repent; he will find it richly worth his while; great benefit and comfort will thence accrue unto him. Acts 3. 1. Pſal. 63. 5, 6. Pſ. 119. 147, 148. Pſ. 119. 164.

If indeed *Jews* were ſo liberal in aſſigning, ſo punctual in affording ſuch portions of time for yielding praiſe and offering ſupplications unto God; how much more free and ready, more careful and diligent ſhould we be in this way of practice? we who have a religion ſo far more ſpiritual, and exempt from corporeal incumbrances; precepts ſo much more expreſs and clear; ſo much higher obligations and ſtronger encouragements to this duty; whom God in eſpecial manner ſo graciouſly doth invite, ſo powerfully doth attract unto himſelf? But farther,

VII. More eſpecially this precept may be ſuppoſed to exact from us a compliance in carefully obſerving the times of devotion ordained by publick authority, or ſettled by general cuſtom. This in a popular and legal ſenſe is doing a thing indefinently, when we perform it ſo often as is required by law or cuſtom. So the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſaith of *the prieſts*, that *they went always into the tabernacle, accompliſhing the ſervice of God: always*, that is, at all the ſolemn times appointed. And thus of the Apoſtles it is affirmed by S. *Luke*, that *they were continually in the temple, bleſſing and praiſing God*; that is, they conſtantly reſorted thither at the ſtated times of concourſe for Prayer. This good reaſon Levit. 19. 20. & 26. 2. *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Heb. 9. 6. Luke 24. 53.

alſo plainly doth injoin: For that the neglecting it is not only a diſorderly behaviour in a matter of high conſequence; a criminal diſregard and diſobedience to authority; a ſcandalous contempt of our neighbours, from whoſe laudable faſhion we diſcoſt; a wrongful deſerting the publick, to whoſe good, mainly promoted by the publick worſhip of God, we do owe the contribution of our endeavour: but a heinous affront to Almighty God, who thereby is plainly diſhonoured, and in a manner openly diſavowed; a huge prejudice to religion, the credit and power whereof, without viſible profeſſion, exemplary compliance, mutual conſent and encouragement, cannot be upheld. Were there times by law or cuſtom defined, (as in ſome places indeed there are,) when all men ſhould be required in perſon ſolemnly to attend on their prince, for profeſſing their allegiance, or deferring any homage to him; would not thoſe who ſhould wilfully refuſe or decline appearance, be juſtly chargeable as guilty of diſhonouring and wronging him? would not ſuch their defailance paſs for ſufficient proof, that they do not acknowledge him, that at leaſt they do not much regard or value him? So by not joining at ſtated times in celebration of divine worſhip, we may be well conceived wholly to diſclaim God, or greatly to diſeſteem him; to ſlight religion, as a thing inſignificant and unprofitable. Do we not indeed thereby more than intimate, that we little believe God to be our ſovereign Lord and governor; that we ſtand in no great awe or dread of him; that we are not much ſenſible of his benefits and mercies; that we repoſe ſmall truſt or hope in him; that we do not take our ſelves much to want his protection, his guidance, his aſſiſtance, his favour and mercy? Are we not in effect like unto thoſe in *Job*, who *ſay unto God, depart from us, for we deſire not the knowledge of thy ways? What is the almighty, that we ſhould ſerve him? or what profit ſhall we have, if we pray unto him*? Thus the ſtanders by commonly (ſome ſo as to be much offended at, others ſo as to be corrupted by our bad example) will interpret this neglect: and ſo aſſuredly God himſelf will take it from us, and accordingly deal with us. As he claimeth this publick attendance on him for his due: (*Give*, proclaimeth he by the mouth of one of his great Heralds, *Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord glory and ſtrength: Give unto the Lord the glory due to his name: worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſs:*) ſo if we to his wrong and diſgrace refuſe to yield it, we ſhall certainly find anſwerable reſentment and recompence from him; that as we are careleſs to ſerve him, ſo he will be unmindful to bleſs us; as we are backward to avow and glorifie him, ſo he will not be forward to own and grace us; as we do ſo *deny him before men*, ſo *he will deny us before them alſo*. What other meaſure indeed can we imagine, or expect to receive? Will God, think we, be ſo partial and fond to us, ſo diſregardful and injurious toward himſelf, that he will vouchſafe to appear in favour to us, when we deign not to appear in reſpect to him? that he will openly tender our repute, when we apparently diſregard his honour? that he will employ his wiſdom, or exert his power in our behalf, when we ſcarce will think a thought, or ſtir a ſtep for his ſervice? Can we hope that he will freely diſpenſe proſperous ſucceſs to our enterpriſes, when we either care not, or ſcorn to implore his help? that he will reach forth undeſerved bleſſings to us, when we ſubtract due praiſes from him? that he will any wiſe ſhew himſelf bountiful and merciful toward us, when we ſo palpably are injuſt and ingrateful toward him? No, *ſurely he ſcorneth the ſcorners*; and, *whoſoever deſpiſeth him, ſhall be lightly eſteemed:* ſo he expreſſly hath threatned; and ſeeing he is both infallibly true, and invincibly able, we may reaſonably preſume that he will accompliſh his word.

Job. 21. 14, 15.

Pſal. 29. 1, 2. 66. 2.

2 Tim. 2. 12. Mat. 10. 33. Luke 9. 26. 12. 9.

Prov. 3. 34. 1 Sam. 2. 30.

VIII. Laſtly, *Praying inceſſantly* may import at large a frequency in devotion. This the words at leaſt do exact or neceſſarily imply, however expounded. For doing *inceſſantly* cannot imply leſs than doing *frequently:* in no tolerable ſenſe can we be ſaid to do that continually, which we do ſeldom; but it is an ordinary ſcheme of ſpeech to ſay that a man doth that always, which he is wont to do, and performeth often. As of the pious ſoldier *Cornelius* it is ſaid, that he *gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always*; and of *Anna* the Propheteſs, that ſhe *departed not from the temple, but ſerved God with prayers and faſtings night and day*; that is, ſhe frequently reſorted to the temple, and ſerved God with an aſſiduous conſtancy. As the words may bear, and do involve this ſenſe, ſo doth the reaſon of the caſe inforce it: for very juſt, very fit, very needful it is to practiſe thus. There is ever at hand abundant reaſon for, and appoſite matter of devo-

Acts 10. 2.

Luke 2. 37.

tion;

tion; therefore no longer ſpace of time ſhould paſs without it: there be perpetually depending many cauſes thereof; whence there is not to be allowed any long vacation from it. As every moment we from God's mercy and bounty partake great favours: ſo ſhould we often render thanks and praiſe for them: for perpetually to receive courteſies, and rarely to return acknowledgments, is notorious ingratitude and iniquity. We frequently (and in a manner continually) do fall into ſins; often therefore we are obliged to confeſs ſins, we are concerned to deprecate wrath, and beg mercy; otherwiſe we muſt long crouch under the ſore burthen of guilt, the ſad dread of puniſhment, the bitter pangs of remorſe, or the deſperate hazard of ſtupid obduration. Whatever we deſign or undertake, toward the good management and happy ſucceſs thereof we (being ignorant and impotent creatures) do need the guidance, the aſſiſtance and the bleſſing of God: ſo often therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould be ſeeking and ſuing for them: if not, we do not only tranſgreſs our duties, but fondly neglect, or foully betray our own concernments. The cauſes therefore of devotion being ſo conſtant, the effects in ſome correſpondence ſhould be frequent.

Such frequency is indeed neceſſary for the breeding, the nouriſhment, the growth and improvement of all piety. Devotion is that holy and heavenly fire, which darteth into our minds the light of ſpiritual knowledge, which kindleth in our hearts the warmth of holy deſires: if therefore we do continue long abſent from it, a night of darkneſs will over-ſpread our minds, a deadning coldneſs will ſeize upon our affections. It is the beſt food of our ſouls, which preſerveth their life and health, which repaireth their ſtrength and vigor, which rendreth them luſty and active: if we therefore long abſtain from it, we ſhall ſtarve, or pine away; we ſhall be faint and feeble in all religious performances; we ſhall have none at all, or a very languid and meager piety.

To maintain in us a conſtant and ſteddy diſpoſition to obedience, to correct our perverſe inclinations, to curb our unruly paſſions, to ſtrengthen us againſt temptations, to comfort us in anxieties and diſtreſſes, we do need continual ſupplies of grace from God; the which ordinarily are communicated in devotion, as the channel which conveyeth, or the inſtrument which helpeth to procure it, or the condition upon which it is granted. Faith, hope, love, ſpiritual comfort and joy, all divine graces are chiefly elicited, expreſſed, exerciſed therein and thereby: it is therefore needful that it ſhould frequently be uſed; ſeeing otherwiſe we ſhall be in danger to fail in diſcharging our chief duties, and to want the beſt Graces.

It is frequency of devotion alſo which maintaineth that friendſhip with God, which is the ſoul of piety. As familiar converſation (wherein men do expreſs their minds and affections mutually) breedeth acquaintance, and cheriſheth good-will of men to one another; but long forbearance thereof diſſolveth, or ſlackneth the bonds of amity, breaking their intimacy, and cooling their kindneſs: ſo is it in reſpect to God; it is frequent converſe with him which begetteth a particular acquaintance with him, a mindful regard of him, a hearty liking to him, a delightful taſte of his goodneſs, and conſequently a ſincere and ſolid good-will toward him; but intermiſſion thereof produceth eſtrangement, or enmity toward him. If we ſeldom come at God, we ſhall little know him, not much care for him, ſcarce remember him, reſt inſenſible of his love, and regardleſs of his favour; a coldneſs, a ſhyneſs, a diſtaſte, an antipathy toward him will by degrees creep upon us. Abſtinence from his company and preſence will caſt us into converſations deſtructive, or prejudicial to our friendſhip with him; wherein ſoon we ſhall contract familiarity and friendſhip with his enemies, (the world and the fleſh,) which are inconſiſtent with love to him, which will diſpoſe us to forget him, or to diſlike and loath him.

It is, in fine the frequency of devotion which alone can ſecure any practice thereof, at leaſt any practice thereof duly qualified; ſo hearty, ſo eaſy, ſo ſweet and delightful as it ſhould be. We have all a natural averſeneſs or indiſpoſition thereto, as requiring an abſtraction of thoughts and affections from ſenſible things, and a faſtning them upon objects purely ſpiritual; a rearing our heavy ſpirits above their common pitch; a ſtaying and ſettling our roving fancies; a compoſing our vain hearts in a ſober and ſteddy frame, agreeable to devotion: to effect which things is a matter of no ſmall difficulty and pain; which therefore without much uſe and exerciſe cannot be accompliſhed; but with it, may; ſo that by frequent practice

the bent of our heart being turned, the ſtrangeneſs of the thing ceaſing, the difficulty of the work being ſurmounted, we ſhall obtain a good propenſion to the duty, and a great ſatisfaction therein.

This will render the way into God's preſence ſmooth and paſſable; removing, as all other obſtacles, ſo particularly thoſe of fear and doubt in reſpect to God, which may deterr or diſcourage us from approaching to him. God being moſt holy, and pure, moſt great and glorious, we, ſenſible of our corruption and vileneſs, may be fearful and ſhy of coming near unto him. But when, coming into his preſence, Pſal. 34. 8. we do find, that *ſuch as his majeſty is, ſuch is his mercy*; when we do *taſte and* Pſal. 16. 11. *ſee that the Lord is good*; when by experience we feel, that *in his preſence there* Pſal. 36. 8. *is fulneſs of joy*; being *abundantly ſatisfied with the fatneſs of his houſe*; having 63. 5. our ſouls there *ſatisfied as with marrow and fatneſs*; finding, that *a day in his* 84. 10. *courts is better than a thouſand* ſpent other-where; perceiving that he biddeth us welcome, that he treateth us kindly, that he ſendeth us away refreſhed with ſweeteſt comforts, and rewarded with moſt excellent benefits: this will not only reconcile our hearts to devotion, but draw us into a cordial liking, and earneſt deſire 84. 2. thereof; ſuch as the Pſalmiſt expreſſeth, when he ſaith, *My ſoul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my fleſh crieth out for the li-* 116. 1. *ving God.* This will engage us into ſtrong reſolutions of conſtantly practiſing 138. 2. it; ſuch as the ſame holy perſon again declareth in thoſe words, *I love the Lord, becauſe he hath heard my voice and my ſupplications: Becauſe he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.* Hence inſtead of a ſuſpicious eſtrangedneſs, a ſervile dread, or an hoſtile diſaffection toward God, there will ſpring up an humble confidence, a kindly reverence, a hearty love toward him; which will upon all occaſions drive us to him, hoping for his friendly ſuccour, longing after his kind embraces. So will the frequency of devotion render it facil and pleaſant. Whereas, on the contrary, diſuſe thereof will make it at any time hard and irkſome; ſtrengthening and increaſing our natural averſeneſs thereto: performing it ſeldom, we ſhall never perform it well; with that attention, that affection, that promptitude, that willingneſs and alacrity, which are due thereto.

According to ſo many ſenſes, in ſo many reſpects, may we, and ſhould we obſerve this precept. From thus praying continually there can be no good exception, or juſt excuſe. The moſt common pleas that will be alledged for the omiſſion thereof, are two; one drawn from external avocations, the other from internal indiſpoſitions obſtructing it: both of which are ſo far from being good, that being ſcanned, they will ſoon appear ſerving rather to aggravate, than to excuſe or abate the neglect.

I. I cannot (ſaith one) now attend to Prayers, becauſe I am not at liberty, or at leiſure, being urgently called away, and otherwiſe engaged by important affairs. How much a ſlam this apology is, we ſhall preſently deſcry, by asking a few queſtions about it.

1. Do we take devotion it ſelf to be no buſineſs, or a buſineſs of no conſideration? Do we conceit, when we pay God his debts, or diſcharge our duties toward him, when we crave his aid or mercy, when we ſolicit the main concernments of our ſoul, (yea of our body alſo, and its eſtate,) that we are idle, or miſemployed? that we laviſh our time, or loſe our pains?

2. What other affairs can we have of greater moment or neceſſity than this? Can there be any obligation more indiſpenſable, than is that of yielding due reſpect and ſervice to our maker, our great patron, our moſt liberal benefactor? Can there be any intereſt more cloſe or weighty than this, of providing for our ſouls eternal health and happineſs? Is not this indeed the great work, *the only neceſ-* Luke 10. 24. *ſary matter*, in compariſon whereto all other occupations are mere trifling, or Job 23. 12. unprofitable fidling about nothing? What will all other buſineſs ſignifie, what will Αἱ τέχναι τῶν πίστεων ἐπ- come of it, if this be neglected? Buſie we may be, we may plod, we may drudge eterἔργειά εἰσιν· nally; but all to no end. All our care is in effect improvidence, all our induſtry may ἔργον δὲ ἡ θεοσέβεια. *Conſt.* be well reckoned idleneſs, if God be not ſerved, if our ſouls are not ſecured. *Apoſt.* 2. 61.

3. If we ſurvey and prize all worldly buſineſſes, which among them will appear ſo importunate as to demand, ſo greedy as to devour, ſo worthy at leaſt as to deſerve all our time, that we cannot ſpare a few minutes for maintaining our moſt pleaſant intercourſe, and moſt gainful commerce with Heaven? What are the great

buſineſſes

buſineſſes of the world? what but ſcraping and ſcrambling for pelf, contriving and compaſſing deſigns of ambition, courting the favour and reſpect of men, making proviſion for carnal pleaſure, gratifying fond curioſity or vain humour? And do any of theſe deſerve to be put into the ſcale againſt, ſhall all of them together be able to ſway down our ſpiritual employments? Shall theſe images, theſe ſhadows of buſineſs ſupplant or cloud our devotion; that which procureth wealth ineſtimably precious, pleaſure infinitely ſatisfactory, honour incomparably noble above all this world can afford? If the expence of time be (as the Philoſopher ſaid) πολυτελέσταον ἀνάλωμα, *the moſt precious expence* that can be; how can it better be laid out, than upon the worthieſt things, ſuch as devotion alone can afford the purchaſe and poſſeſſion of? True virtue, ſound wiſdom, a quiet conſcience, and ſteddy tranquillity of mind, the love and favour of God, a title unto endleſs joy and bliſs, are purely the gifts of Heaven; and thence they will not deſcend of themſelves, but prayer muſt fetch them down. If nothing then in the world be comparable to thoſe things, how can any time be ſo well ſpent as in prayer, which acquireth them; which alſo beſt ſecureth whatever we have, and is the readieſt way to procure whatever we want? Theophr.

4. Should we not farther honeſtly comparing things, eaſily diſcern, that it is no ſuch indiſpenſable buſineſs, but rather indeed ſome baſe dotage on lucre, ſome inveigling bait of pleaſure, ſome bewitching tranſport of fancy, that croſſeth our devotion? Is it not often a complemental viſit, an appointment to tattle or tipple, a match for ſport, a wild ramble in vice or folly, that ſo deeply engageth us to put off our duty.

5. Yea, is it not commonly ſloth rather than activity, an averſeneſs from this rather than an inclination to any other employment, which diverteth us from our prayers? Is not, I ſay, the true reaſon why we pray ſo ſeldom, not becauſe we are very buſie, but becauſe we are extremely idle; ſo idle, that we cannot willingly take the pains to unſcrew our affections from ſenſible things, to reduce our wandring thoughts, to compoſe our hearts into a right frame, to bend our untoward inclinations to a compliance with our duty? Is it not becauſe we do not feel that ſavour and ſatisfaction in theſe, which we do in other trivial and worthleſs employments, nor will be at the trouble to work ſuch diſpoſitions in our Souls? Do we not betake our ſelves to other converſations and commerces merely for refuge, ſhunning this intercourſe with God, and with our ſelves? Theſe, I fear, are oftner the real cauſes of our neglecting devotion, than any ſuch mighty avocations which we pretend.

6. But were there indeed not only a counterfeit or imaginary, but a real competition between devotion and other lawful buſineſs; which, in reaſon, ſhould carry it? in conſcience, which of the two ſhould be forborn or ſuſpended? Is it not evidently better, that the purſuit of our temporal intereſts, what-ever they be, ſhould be a little checked, than that our affairs of everlaſting conſequence ſhould be quite laid aſide? that we ſhould venture a ſmall impairing of our eſtate, than ſurely endamage our ſouls? that we hazard to diſappoint or diſpleaſe a man, than dare to affront and offend the Almighty God?

7. Were it not ſtrangely abſurd and unhandſome to ſay, I cannot wait on God, becauſe I muſt ſpeak with a friend; I cannot go to Church, although God calleth me thither, becauſe I muſt haſte to market; I cannot ſtand to pray, becauſe I am to receive money, or to make up a bargain; I cannot diſcharge my duty to God, becauſe a greater obligation than that doth lie upon me? How unconceivable an honour, how unvaluable a benefit is it, that the incomprehenſibly great and glorious Majeſty of Heaven doth vouchſafe us the liberty to approach ſo near unto him, to converſe ſo freely with him, to demand and derive from his hand the ſupply of all our needs, and ſatisfaction of all our reaſonable deſires? and is it then juſt or ſeemly, by ſuch compariſons to diſparage his favour, by ſuch pretences to baffle with his goodneſs?

Put the caſe our prince ſhould call for us to ſpeak with him about matters nearly touching his ſervice, and our welfare; would it be according unto duty, diſcretion, or decency, to reply, that we are at preſent buſie, and have no leiſure, and muſt therefore hold our ſelves excuſed; but that if he will ſtay a while, at another time, when we have leſs to do, we ſhall be perhaps diſpoſed to wait upon him? The caſe is propounded by our Lord in that parable, wherein God is repre-

Mat. 22. 2, &c. Luke 14. 16, &c. Ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐκ ἔψις ταῦτα ἡ πρόφασις, &c. Chryſ. *in* Joh. *Orat.* 11.

ſented as a great man, that had prepared a feaſt, and invited many gueſts thereto; but they excuſed themſelves: *One ſaid, that he had purchaſed land, and muſt needs go out to ſee it*; *another had bought five yoke of oxen, and muſt go to prove them*; *another had married a wife, and therefore could not come.* Theſe indeed were affairs very conſiderable, as this world hath any: but yet the excuſes did not ſatisfie: for, notwithſtanding, the great perſon was angry, and took the neglect in huge diſdain.

8. Moreover, if we reflect what vaſt portions of time we ſquander away upon our petty matters, upon voluptuous enjoyments, upon fruitleſs paſs-times, upon impertinent talk; how can we ſatisfie our ſelves in not allotting competent time for God's ſervice, our own ſalvation, and the future everlaſting ſtate? Doth not he, who with the continuance of our life beſtoweth on us all our time, deſerve that a pittance of it ſhould be reſerved for himſelf? Can all the world duly claim ſo great an allowance thereof? May not our ſoul (which is far our nobleſt part, which indeed is all our ſelves) juſtly challenge a good ſhare of our time to be expended on it? or ſhall this mortal huſk engroſs it all? Muſt eternity, which comprehendeth all time, have no time belonging to it, or allotted for its concernments?

9. Again, is it not great imprudence ſo to lay our buſineſs, that any other matter ſhall thwart or thruſt out devotion? Eaſily with a little providence may things be ſo ordered, that it, without interfering or juſtling, may well conſiſt with all other, both needful buſineſs, and convenient divertiſement; ſo that it ſhall neither obſtruct them, nor they extrude it: and are we not very culpable, if we do not uſe ſo much providence?

Πρῶτον μὲν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα ἱκανὸν, τὸ κυκλῶσι τοιούτων πραγμάτων πλήθει, καὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς ἅπαν περιτλῶσι μᾶλλον πάντες, ὡς μηδὲ μικρὸν εἰς τὰ πάντων ἀναλωτικώτερα ἄγειν χρόνον. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 1. 14. (*Or.*)

10. In truth, attending upon devotion can be no obſtacle, but will be great furtherance to all other good buſineſs. It is the moſt ſure, moſt pleaſant, moſt advantageous and compendious way of tranſacting affairs, to mix prayers and praiſes with them, it is the beſt oil that can be, to make the wheels of action go on ſmoothly and ſpeedily: it not only ſanctifieth our undertakings, but much promoteth and exceedingly ſweetneth the management of them. For the conſcience of having rendred unto God his due reſpect and ſervice, of having intruſted our affairs to his care, of having conſequently engaged his protection and aſſiſtance for us, will diſpoſe us to do things with a couragious alacrity and comfortable ſatisfaction; will fill us with a good hope of proſpering; will prepare us however to be ſatisfied with the event, what-ever it ſhall be; will in effect procure a bleſſing and happy ſucceſs, ſuch as we may truly rejoyce and triumph in, as conferred by God in favour to us. Whereas neglecting theſe duties, we can have no ſolid content or ſavoury complacence in any thing we undertake: reflecting on ſuch misbehaviour (if we be not downright infidels, or obdurate reprobates in impiety) will quaſh or damp our courage: having thence forfeited all pretence to God's ſuccour, and provoked him to croſs us, we muſt needs ſuſpect diſappointment: as we have no reaſonable ground to hope for ſucceſs; ſo we cannot, if ſucceſs arriveth, be heartily ſatisfied therein, or take it for a bleſſing.

He therefore that is ſuch a niggard of his time, that he grudgeth to withhold any part thereof from his worldly occaſions, deeming all time caſt away, that is laid out in waiting upon God, is really moſt unthrifty and prodigal thereof: by not ſparing a little, he waſteth all his time to no purpoſe; by ſo eagerly purſuing, he effectually ſetteth back his deſigns; by prepoſterouſly affecting to diſpatch his affairs, he rendreth them endleſs, or, which is the ſame, altogether unprofitable.

In fine, we may be ſure that no time is ſpent even ſo prudently and politickly, with ſo great advantage, and ſo real fruit to our ſelves, as that which is employed upon devotion. In ſacrificing his time, his pains, his ſubſtance, any thing he hath or can do, to God's ſervice, no man can be a loſer.

We have alſo many examples plainly demonſtrating the conſiſtency of this practice with all other buſineſs. Who ever had more or greater affairs to manage, and who ever managed them with greater ſucceſs, than *David*; upon whom did lie the burthen of royal eſtate, and the care over a moſt populous nation; the which Pſal. 78. 73. *he fed with a faithful and true heart, and ruled prudently with all his power*; who waged great wars, vanquiſhed mighty enemies, atchieved many glorious exploits, underwent many grievous troubles? Yet could not ſuch engagements diſ-

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ſtract or depreſs his mind from a conſtant attendance on devotion. *I will bleſs the Lord at all times, his praiſe ſhall be continually in my mouth. My mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy righteouſneſs, and thy ſalvation all the day. I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever.* So he declareth his reſolution and his practice. Who is more preſſingly employed than was *Daniel*, firſt preſident over ſo vaſt a kingdom, chief miniſter of ſtate to the greateſt monarch on earth? Yet conſtantly *thrice a day did he pray, and give thanks unto his God.* Who can be more entangled in varieties and intricacies of care, of pains, of trouble, than was he that preſcribeth unto us this rule of praying continually? Upon him did lie *the care of all the Churches*; *Night and day with labour and toil did he work* for the ſuſtenance of his life, *that he might not* (to the diſparagement of the Goſpel) *burthen any man*; perpetually he was engaged in all ſorts of labour and travail, ever conflicting with perils, with wants, with inconveniences numberleſs: yet did he exactly conform his practice to his rule, being no leſs indefatigable and inceſſant in his devotion than he was in his buſineſs. Who ever managed a greater empire than *Conſtantine?* Yet *every day* (as *Euſebius* reporteth) *at ſtated times, ſhutting himſelf up, he alone privately did converſe with his God.* The moſt pious men indeed have never been idle or careleſs men, but always moſt buſie and active, moſt induſtrious in their callings, moſt provident for their families, moſt officious towards their friends, moſt ready to ſerve their countrey, moſt abundant in all good works: yet have they always been moſt conſtant in devotion. So that experience clearly doth evidence, how reconcileable moſt devotion is to much buſineſs; and that conſequently, the proſecution of the one cannot well palliate the neglect of the other.

Pſal. 34. 1. & 71. 6. & 145. 2. & 35. 28. & 61. 4.

Dan. 6. 10.

2 Cor. 11. 28.

2 Theſſ. 3. 8.

Καιρῶν ἰκάνης ἡμέρας τακτοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἰσχνείων, μόνος μόνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ προσωμίλει Θεῷ. Euſeb. *de Vita* Conſt. 4. 22.

II. No better can any man ward himſelf from blame, by imputing the neglect of devotion to ſome indiſpoſition within him thereto. For this is only to cover one fault with another, or to lay on a patch more ugly than the ſore. 'Tis, in effect, to ſay we may ſin, becauſe we have a mind to it, or care not to do otherwiſe. Our indiſpoſition it ſelf is criminal; and, as ſignifying ſomewhat habitual or ſettled, is worſe than a ſingle omiſſion: it ought therefore to be corrected and cured; and the way to do it is, by ſetting preſently upon the practice of the duty, and perſiſting reſolutely therein: otherwiſe how is it poſſible that it ſhould ever be removed? The longer we forbear it, the more ſeldom we perform it, the ſtronger ſurely will our indiſpoſition grow, and the more difficult it will be to remove it. But if (with any degree of ſerioufneſs and good intention) we come indiſpoſed to prayer, we may thereby be formed into better diſpoſition, and by continual attendance thereon, we ſhall (God's grace co-operating, which never is wanting to ſerious and honeſt intentions) grow toward a perfect fitneſs for it: Prayer by degrees will become natural and delightful to us.

4

SERMON VIII.

The Duty of Thankſgiving.

EPHES. V. 20.

Giving thanks always for all things unto God.

THESE words, although (as the very Syntax doth immediately diſcover) they bear a relation to, and have a fit coherence with thoſe that precede, may yet (eſpecially conſidering St. *Paul*'s ſtyle, and manner of expreſſion in the preceptive and exhortative part of his Epiſtles) without any violence, or prejudice on either hand, be ſevered from the context, and conſidered diſtinctly by themſelves. And (to avoid encumbrance by farther compariſon) ſo taking them, we may obſerve, that every ſingle word among them carries with it ſomething of notable emphaſis, and eſpecial ſignificancy. The firſt [*Giving thanks*] expreſſes the ſubſtance of a duty, to which we are exhorted. The next (I mean, in order of conſtruction) [*to God*] denotes the object, or term to which it is directed. The following [*always*] determines the main circumſtance of this and all other duties, the time of performance. The laſt [*for all things*] declares the adequate matter of the duty, and how far it ſhould extend. Theſe particulars I ſhall conſider ſeverally, and in order.

Vid. Rom. 12. Epheſ. 6, &c.

I. Firſt then, concerning the duty it ſelf, *to give thanks*, or rather, *to be thankful*; (for εὐχαριστεῖν doth not only ſignifie *gratias agere, reddere, dicere*, to *give, render*, or *declare thanks*, but alſo *gratias habere, gratè affectum eſſe*, to be *thankfully diſpoſed*, to entertain a grateful affection, ſenſe, or memory: in which more comprehenſive notion I mean to conſider it, as including the whole duty or virtue of gratitude due to Almighty God for all his benefits, favours and mercies:) I ſay, concerning this duty it ſelf, (abſtractedly conſidered) as it involves a reſpect to benefits or good things received; ſo in its employment about them it imports, requires, or ſuppoſes theſe following particulars.

1. It implies a right apprehenſion of, and conſequently a conſiderate attention unto benefits conferred. For he that is either wholly ignorant of his obligations, or miſtakes them, or paſſes them over with a ſlight and ſuperficial view, can no-
Pſal. 107. 43. wiſe be grateful. *Whoſo is wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, even they ſhall*
Pſal. 64. 9. *underſtand the loving-kindneſs of the Lord. Men ſhall fear, and ſhall declare*
Pſal. 111. 2. *the work of God; for they ſhall wiſely conſider of his doings. The works of the*
34. 8. *Lord are great, ſought out of all that have pleaſure therein. O taſte* (firſt, and then) *ſee that the Lord is good.*

This is the method that great maſter of thankſgiving preſcribes; firſt experimental notice, then wiſe conſideration, then grateful ſenſe, then publick acknowledgment. And thoſe we find both by him, and by the Prophet *Iſaias* (in the very
Pſal. 28. 5. ſame words) reprehended, as wickedly ingrateful perſons, who *regarded not the*
Iſa. 5. 12. *work of the Lord, nor conſidered the operation of his hands.* 'Tis part therefore of this duty incumbent on us, to take notice of diligently, and carefully to conſider the divine benefits; not to let them paſs undiſcerned, and unregarded by us, as perſons either wofully blind, or ſtupidly drowzy, or totally unconcerned.

'Tis a general fault, that the moſt common and frequent, the moſt obvious and conſpicuous favours of God, (like the ordinary *Phænomena* of nature, which, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves, though in themſelves moſt admirable, are yet leaſt admired) the conſtant riſing of the ſun upon us, the deſcent of fruitful ſhowers, the recourſe of temperate ſeaſons, the continuance of our life, the enjoyment of health, the providential diſpenſation of wealth, and competent means of livelyhood, the daily

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protection from incident dangers, the helps of improving knowledge, obtaining virtue, becoming happy, and ſuch like moſt excellent benefits, we commonly little mind or regard; and conſequently ſeldom return the thanks due for them. Poſſibly ſome rare accidents of providence, ſome extraordinary judgment, ſome miraculous deliverance may rouze and awaken our attention: (as it is ſaid of the *Iſraelites*, *When he ſlew them, then they ſought him, and remembred that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer:*) but ſuch advertency is not the effect ſo much of gratitude, as of curioſity, or of neceſſity: the notable rarity invites, or ſome powerful impulſe commands our notice. But the truly grateful induſtriouſly deſign, and are ſtudious to know throughly their obligations, that they may be able to render anſwerable returns for them. Pſ. 78. 34, 35.

2. This duty requires a faithful retention of benefits in memory, and conſequently frequent reflections upon them. For, he that is no longer affected with a benefit than it incurs the ſenſe, and ſuffers not it ſelf to be diſregarded, is far from being grateful; nay, if we believe the philoſopher, is ingrateful in the worſt kind, and higheſt degree. For, *Ingratus eſt*, (ſaith he) *qui beneficium accepiſſe ſe negat, quod accepit; ingratus eſt, qui diſſimulat; ingratus, qui non reddit: ingratiſſimus omnium, qui oblitus eſt. He that falſly denies the reception of a benefit, and he that diſſembles it, and he that doth not repay it, is ingrateful; but moſt ingrateful of all is he that forgets it.* It is a ſign the benefit made no deep impreſſion on his mind, ſince it left no diſcernible footſtep there; that he hardly ever thought of making recompence, ſince he hath ſuffered himſelf to become altogether uncapable of doing it: neither is there any hope of his amending the paſt neglect; no ſhame, no repentance, no fair occaſion can redeem him from ingratitude, in whom the very remembrance of his obligation is extinguiſhed. Ἀχάριστος ὅστις εὖ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ. Sen. 3. *de Benef. cap.* 1.

If to be ſenſible of a preſent good turn, deſerved the title of gratitude, all men certainly would be grateful: the *Jews* queſtionleſs were ſo. When Almighty God, by his wonderful power, in extraordinary ways, delivered them from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their prevalent enemies; when he cauſed ſtreams to guſh forth from the bowels of a hard rock, to refreſh their thirſt; when bread deſcended from Heaven in ſhowers, and the winds were winged with fleſh, to ſatisfie their greedy deſires; then ſurely they were not altogether unſenſible of the divine goodneſs; then could they acknowledge his power, and be forward enough to engage themſelves in promiſes of correſpondent obſervance toward him for the future. But the miſchief was, immediately after, as the *Pſalmiſt* complains, *They forgat his works, and the wonders he had ſhewed them: They remembred not his hand, nor the day when he delivered them from the enemy.* They *refuſed to obey, neither were mindful of the wonders that God did among them*; as *Nehemiah* confeſſes in their behalf. *Of the rock that begat them they were unmindful, and forgot the God that formed them*; as it is in *Deuteronomy*. They diſtruſted his promiſes, repined at his dealings, diſobeyed his laws, and treacherouſly apoſtatized from his covenant. Such were the fruits of their ingrateful forgetfulneſs; which therefore that people is ſo often charged with, and ſo ſharply reproved for by the prophets. Pſ. 78. 11, 42. Neh. 9. 17. Deut. 32. 18.

On the contrary, we find that great pattern of gratitude, the royal Prophet *David*, continually revolving in his thoughts, imprinting upon his fancy, ſtudying and meditating upon, recollecting and renewing in his memory the reſults of divine favour. *I will remember*, ſaith, *he, thy wonders of old; I will meditate of all thy works, and talk of thy doings:* and *I remember the days of old; I will meditate on all thy works; I muſe on the works of thy hands:* and, *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits:* and *my mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyful lips, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night-watches, becauſe thou haſt been my help.* No place unfit, it ſeems, no time unſeaſonable, for the practice of this duty; not the place deſigned for reſt, not the time due to ſleep, but, as *David* thought, more due to a wakeful contemplation of the divine goodneſs. Whoſe vigilant gratitude we ſhould ſtrive to imitate, devoting our moſt ſolitary and retired, our moſt ſad and ſerious thoughts (not the ſtudies only of our cloſet, but the conſultations alſo of our pillow) to the preſervation of thoſe bleſſed Ideas; that neither length of time may deface them in our fancy, nor other care thruſt them out thence. *Thy loving kindneſs is ever before mine eyes.* Pſal. 26. 3. & 77. 11, 12. Pſal. 143. 5. 103. 2. 63. 5, 6, 7.

It was a ſatyrical anſwer, (that of *Ariſtotle*) and highly opprobrious to mankind; who being asked, Τί τάχιστον γηράσκει; *What doth the ſooneſt grow old?* replied, Χάρις, *Thanks:* and ſo was that adagial verſe, Ἅμ' ἠλέησε, καὶ τέθνηκεν ἡ χάρις· *No ſooner the courteſie born, than the reſentment thereof dead.* Such reproachful aphoriſms we ſhould labour to confute, eſpecially as they are applicable to the divine favours, by ſo maintaining and cheriſhing our thanks for them, that they neither decay with age, nor prematurely die, nor be buried in oblivion; but may reſemble the pictures and poetical deſcriptions of the graces, thoſe goodly daughters of Heaven, ſmiling always with a never-fading ſerenity of countenance, and flouriſhing in an immortal youth.

The middle, we may obſerve, and the ſafeſt, and the faireſt, and the moſt conſpicuous places in cities are uſually deputed for the erections of ſtatues and monuments dedicated to the memory of worthy men, who have nobly deſerved of their countries. In like manner ſhould we in the heart and centre of our ſoul, in the beſt and higheſt apartments thereof, in the places moſt expoſed to ordinary obſervation, and moſt ſecure from the invaſions of worldly care, erect lively repreſentations of, and laſting memorials unto the divine bounty; conſtantly attending to which we may be diſpoſed to gratitude. Not one bleſſing, not the leaſt favourable paſſage of providence ought to periſh with us, though long ſince paſt, and removed out of the ſphere of preſent ſenſe.

Pſal. 71. 6. We muſt not in our old age forget who formed us in the womb, who brought us into the light, who ſuckled our infancy, who educated our childhood, who governed our youth, who conducted our manhood through the manifold hazards, troubles and diſaſters of life. Nor in our proſperity, our affluence of good things, Deut. 6. 12. 8. 11. our poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, ſhould we be unmindful of him who relieved us in our ſtraits, who ſupplied our wants, ſuſtained our adverſity, who redeemed us from *Egypt*, and led us through the wilderneſs. A ſucceſſion of new and freſh benefits ſhould not (as among ſome ſavages the manner is for the young to make away the old) ſupplant and expunge ancient ones, but make them rather more dear and venerable to us. Time ſhould not weaken or diminiſh, but rather confirm and radicate in us the remembrance of God's goodneſs; to render it, as it doth gold and wine, more precious, and more ſtrong. We have uſually a memory more than enough tenacious of injuries and ill turns done us: let it never be ſaid, to the diſgrace of that noble faculty, that we can hardly forget the diſcourteſies of man, but not eaſily remember the favours of God. But farther,

3. This duty implies a due eſteem and valuation of benefits; that the nature and quality, the meaſure and quantity, the circumſtances and conſequences of them be well expended; elſe the gratitude is like to be none, or very defective. For we commenſurate our thankfulneſs, not ſo much to the intrinſick excellency of things, as to our peculiar eſtimations of them. A *Cynick*, perhaps, would not return more thanks for a diamond, than for a pebble; nor more gratefully receive a talent of gold, than an ounce of copper; becauſe he equally values, or rather alike contemns both.

Wherefore we find our (never-to-be-forgotten) example, the devout thankſgiver *David*, continually declaring the great price he ſet upon the divine favours; admiring and diſplaying their tranſcendent perfections, their wonderful greatneſs, their boundleſs extenſion, their exceſſive multitude, their endleſs duration, their advantageous circumſtances, (the excellent needfulneſs, convenience and ſeaſonableneſs of them; together with the admirable freeneſs, wiſdom and power of the Pſ. 108. 3, 4. benefactor ſhining forth in and by them.) *I will praiſe thee, O Lord,* (ſaith *among the people, I will ſing unto thee among the nations: For thy mer*
Pſ. 105. 5, 7. *great unto the heavens, and thy faithfulneſs reacheth unto the clouds:* and, *member the marvellous works that he hath done, his wonders, and the j ments of his mouth. He is the Lord our God, his judgments are in all*
Pſ. 36. 5, 6, 7. *earth:* and again, *Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens, thy faithfulneſs reacheth unto the clouds. Thy righteouſneſs is like the great mountains; thy judgments are a great deep: O Lord, thou preſerveſt man and beaſt. How excel-*
Pſal. 139. 17, 18. *lent is thy loving kindneſs, O God!* and, *How precious are thy thoughts unto me, O Lord! O how great is the ſum of them! If I ſhould count them, they are*
Pſal. 111. 145. 9. *more in number than the ſand:* and again, *His work is honourable and glorious, his righteouſneſs endureth for ever:* and, *The Lord is good to all, and his tender*

tender mercies are over all his works: and, *Bleſſed be the Lord, who daily load-eth us with his benefits.* Pſal. 68. 19.

In ſuch manner ought we diligently to ſurvey and judiciouſly to eſtimate the effects of divine beneficence, examining every part, and deſcanting upon every circumſtance thereof: like thoſe that contemplate ſome rare beauty, or ſome excellent picture; ſome commending the exact proportions, ſome the graceful features, ſome the lively colours diſcernible therein. There is not the leaſt of divine favours, which, if we conſider the condeſcenſive tenderneſs, the clear intention, the undeſerved frankneſs, the chearful debonairity expreſſed therein, hath not dimenſions larger than our comprehenſion, colours too fair, and lineaments too comely for our weak ſight throughly to diſcern; requiring therefore our higheſt eſteem, and our utmoſt thanks.

'Tis, perhaps, ſomewhat dangerous to affix a determinate value upon any of God's benefits: (for to value them ſeems to undervalue them, they being really ineſtimable:) what then is it to extenuate, to vilifie, to deſpiſe the greateſt? We ſhould eſteem them, as we meaſure the heavens with our eye, as we compute the ſands upon the ſhore, as we would prize inexhauſtible mines of gold, and treaſures of pearl; that is, by confeſſing heartily their worth ſurpaſſes the ſtrength of our imagination to conceive, and of our ſpeech to utter; that they are immenſe, innumerable, unconceivable and unexpreſſible. But ſtill,

4. *Giving thanks* imports, that benefits be received with a willing mind, a hearty ſenſe, a vehement affection. The forementioned particulars are indeed neceſſary properties, inſeparable concomitants, or prerequiſite conditions to; but a chearful and cordial acceptance of benefits is the form (as it were), and ſoul, the life and ſpirit, the principal and moſt eſſential ingredient of this duty.

It was not altogether unreaſonable, though it went for a paradox, that dictate of the *Stoicks*, that *animus ſufficit animo*, and, that *qui libenter accepit, beneficium reddidit:* that he, who with a willing and well-affected mind receives a courteſie, hath fully diſcharged the duty of gratitude; that other endeavours of return and compenſation are rather handſom acceſſions to it, than indiſpenſably requiſite to the completion thereof. For as in the collation, 'tis not the gold or the ſilver, the food or the apparel, in which the benefit conſiſts, but the will and benevolent intention of him that beſtows them; ſo reciprocally 'tis the good acceptance, the ſenſibleneſs of, and acquieſcence in the benefactor's goodneſs, that conſtitutes the gratitude; which who affords, though he be never capable of yielding other ſatisfaction, *voluntate voluntati ſatisfecit*; and *Regum æquavit opes animo* —— 'Tis ingenuity that conſtitutes (reſpectively) both a bountiful giver, and a thankful receiver. A truly noble benefactor purely aimeth at not any material reward, or advantage to himſelf; (it were trading this, not beneficence;) but the good, profit, and content of him to whom he diſpenſeth his favour: of which being aſſured, he reſts ſatisfied, and accounts himſelf royally recompenſed.

Quoties quod propoſuit quis conſequitur, capit operis ſui fructum. Qui beneficium dat, quid proponit ſibi? Beneficii proprium eſt, nihil de reditu cogitare. Senec.

prodeſſe ei cui dat, & ſibi voluptati eſſe: Non ſibi invitem reddi voluit; aut non fuit beneficium, ſed negotiatio.

Nec eſt dubium quin is qui liberalis benignuſque dicitur, officium, non fructum, ſequatur. Cic. *de Leg. I.*

Such a benefactor is almighty God, and ſuch a tribute he requires of us; a ready embracement of, and a joyful complacency in his kindneſs; even ſuch as he expreſſed, who ſaid, *Becauſe thy loving-kindneſs is better than life, my lips ſhall praiſe thee:* and, *my ſoul ſhall be filled as with marrow and fatneſs, and my mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyful lips:* and, *I will praiſe thee with my whole heart; I will be glad and rejoyce in thee:* and, *bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul; and all that is within me, praiſe his holy name.* Pſal. 63. 3. & 104. 33. & 71. 22. & 63. 5. & 9. 1, 2. & 103. 1.

No holocauſt is ſo acceptable to God, as a heart enflamed with the ſenſe of his goodneſs. He loves not only ἱλαρὸν δότην, (*a merry giver*) but ἱλαρὸν δέκτην, (*a chearful receiver*) alſo. He would have us, as to deſire his favour with a greedy appetite, ſo to taſte it with a ſavoury reliſh. He deſigns not only to *fill* our mouths with *food*, but *our hearts* alſo *with gladneſs*. 2 Cor. 9. 7. Acts 14. 17.

We muſt not ſeem to grudge or repine, to murmur or diſdain, that we are neceſſitated to be beholden to him; leſt it happen to us as it did to them of whom 'tis ſaid, *While the meat was yet in their mouths, the wrath of God came upon them,* Pſal. 78. 30, 31.

them, and ſlew the fatteſt of them. Yea, 'tis our duty not to be contented only, but to be delighted, to be tranſported, to be raviſhed with the emanations of his love: to entertain them with ſuch a diſpoſition of mind, as the dry and parched ground imbibes the ſoft dew and gentle ſhowers: as the chill and darkſome air admits the benign influences of heavenly light; as the thirſty ſoul takes in the ſweet and cooling ſtream. He that with a ſullen look, a dead heart; a faint ſenſe, a cold hand, embraces the gifts of heaven, is really unthankful, though with deluges of wine and oil he makes the altars to o'erflow, and clouds the sky with the ſteam of his ſacrifices. But yet farther,

5. This duty requires due acknowledgment of our obligation, ſignifications of our notice, declarations of our eſteem and good acceptance of favours conferr'd. 'Tis the worſt and moſt deteſtable of ingratitudes, that which proceeds from pride and ſcorn: and ſuch is he guilty of, who purpoſely diſſembles a benefit, or diſavows the benefactor; who refuſes to render thoſe moſt manifeſtly due, and moſt †eaſily diſcharged, thoſe neither toilſome, nor expenſive oblations of praiſe and acknowledgment. This part of our duty requires, that we offer to God, not coſtly Hecatombs, but the *calves* only *of our lips*, (as the prophet *Hoſea* ſpeaks;) not the fruit of our lands, but καρπὸν χειλέων only, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſtyles it,) *the fruit of our lips*, **confeſſing to his name:* that we employ ſome few blaſts of the breath he gave us, on the celebration of his goodneſs, and advancement of his repute. *I will praiſe the name of God with a ſong, and will magnifie him with thankſgiving. This ſhall pleaſe the Lord better than an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs*, ſaith *David*.

† Οὐδὲ γὰρ βαρύ τι καὶ ἐπαχθὲς ἐπιζητεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν μόνον τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνεργετείας, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῷ εὐχαριστίας ἀναφέρειν. Chryſ. *Tom. I. pag.* 54.

Hoſ. 14. 2. Heb. 13. 15. *ὁμολογούντων.

Pſal. 69. 30, 31.

And ſurely 'tis the leaſt homage we in gratitude owe, and can pay to Almighty God, to avow our dependence upon and obligation to him for the good things we enjoy, to acknowledge that his favours do deſerve thanks, to publiſh to the world our experience of his goodneſs, to proclaim ſolemnly with the voice of thankſgiving his moſt deſerved praiſe; reſembling him who abounds in ſuch expreſſions as theſe: *I will ſing of the mercies of the Lord for ever, with my mouth will I make known his faithfulneſs to all generations. I will publiſh with the voice of thankſgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works. I will ſpeak of the glorious honour of thy majeſty, and of thy wondrous works. I have not hid thy righteouſneſs in my heart, I have declared thy faithfulneſs and thy ſalvation: I have not concealed thy loving-kindneſs and thy truth from the great congregation.*

Pſal. 89. 1. 26. 7. 145. 5. 40. 10.

Vid. Pſ. 66. 5. *O come hither, and behold the works of God,* &c.

Thus if a grateful affection live in our hearts, it will reſpire through our mouths, and diſcover it ſelf in the motion of our lips. There will be a conſpiracy and faithful correſpondence between our mind and our tongue: if the one be ſenſible, the other will not be ſilent; as if the ſpring works, the wheels will turn about, and the bell not fail to ſpeak. Neither ſhall we content our ſelves in loneſome tunes, and private ſoliloquies, to whiſper out the divine praiſes; but ſhall loudly excite and provoke others to a melodious conſonance with us. We ſhall, with the ſweet ſinger of *Iſrael*, cite and invoke heaven and earth; the celeſtial quire of angels; the ſeveral eſtates and generations of men, the numberleſs company of all the Creatures, to aſſiſt and join in conſort with us, in celebrating the worthy deeds, and magnifying the glorious name of our moſt mighty Creator, of our moſt bountiful benefactor.

Gratitude is of a fruitful and diffuſive nature, of a free and communicative diſpoſition, of an open and ſociable temper: it will be imparting, diſcovering and propagating it ſelf; it affects light, company and liberty; it cannot endure to be ſmothered in privacy and obſcurity. Its beſt inſtrument therefore is ſpeech, that moſt natural, proper and eaſie mean of converſation, of ſignifying our conceptions, of conveying, and, as it were transfunding our thoughts and our paſſions into each other. This therefore *glory of ours*, and beſt *organ* that we have, (as the Pſalmiſt ſeems to call it) our tongue, we ſhould in all reaſon devote to the honour, and conſecrate to the praiſe of him who made it, and who conſerves it ſtill in tune.

Ψυχὴ γὰρ εἶμι ψυχῇ καὶ πνεῦμα πνεύματι σωματοῦμαι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φωνῶ, &c. Clem. Alex. *Strom. I. pag.* 270.

Pſal. 57. 8.

And the farther to provoke us, we may conſider, that it hath been the manner, prompted by nature, and authorized by general practice, for men of all nations, and

and all times, and all ways, by compoſed hymns and panegyrical elogies, to expreſs their gratitude for the gifts of nature, and for the benefits indulged by providence; in their publick ſacrifices and ſolemn feſtivities extolling the excellent qualities of their imaginary deities; and reciting the famous atchievments of their Heroes, and ſuppoſed benefactors: to whoſe favourable help and bleſſing, in their conceit, they owed the fruits of the earth, the comforts of life, the defence and patronage of their countries: being indeed miſtaken in the object, but not tranſgreſſing in the ſubſtance of the duty; paying a due debt, though to falſe creditors. And I wiſh we were as ready to imitate them in the one, as we are, perhaps, prone to blame them for the other. For, certainly, acknowledgments of the divine goodneſs, and ſolemn teſtifications of our thankful ſenſe thereof, (whatever the abuſed world may now imagine) was always, is now, and ever will be the principal and moſt noble part of all religion immediately addreſſed to God. But moreover,

6. This duty requires endeavours of real compenſation, and a ſatisfactory requital of benefits, according to the ability and opportunity of the receiver: that we do not only verbally *dicere*, and *agnoſcere*; but really *agere*, and *referre gratias:* that to him who hath by his beneficence obliged us, we miniſter reciprocal aſſiſtance, comfort and relief, if he need them, and be capable to receive them; however, by evident teſtimonies to diſcover our ready diſpoſition to make ſuch real returns; and withal, to ſuit our actions to his good liking, and in our carriage to comply with his reaſonable deſires. For, as *the earth which drinketh the rain often coming upon it, and* having been by great labour tilled, and manured with expence, *yieldeth* yet no **meet herbage*, or *fruit agreeable to the expectation of him that dreſſeth it*, but is either wholly barren, or *produceth* only *thorns and briars, is* (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* tells us) *to be reprobated, and nigh unto curſing*; that is, deſerves no farther care or culture to be employed on it, and is to be reputed deſperately worthleſs: ſo is he, (that we may apply an *Apodoſis* to the Apoſtle's compariſon) who, daily partaking the influences of divine providence and bounty, affords no anſwerable return, to be accounted execrably unthankful, and unworthy of any farther favour to be ſhewed toward him.

1 Sam. 12. 24. *Only fear the Lord, and ſerve him in truth, with all your heart: for conſider how great things he hath done for you.*

Heb. 6. 7, 8.

* εὔθετον βοτάνην.

'Tis true, our *righteouſneſs* (or *beneficence*, ſo the word there ſignifies) *doth not extend unto God:* His benefits exceed all poſſibility of any proportionable requital: He doth not need, nor can ever immediately receive any advantage from us: we cannot enrich him with our gifts, who by unqueſtionable right, and in unalterable poſſeſſion, is Lord and Maſter of all things that do actually, or can poſſibly exiſt; nor advance him by our weak commendations, who already enjoyeth the ſupreme pitch of glory; nor any way contribute to his in it ſelf compleat and indefectible beatitude. Yet we may by appoſite ſignifications declare our willingneſs to ſerve and exalt him: we may by our obſequious demeanor highly pleaſe and content him: we may, by our charity and benignity to thoſe whoſe good he tenders, yield (though not an adequate, yet) an acceptable return to his benefits. *What ſhall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?* ſaith *David*, in way of counſel and deliberation: and thereupon reſolves, *I will take the cup of ſalvation, and call upon the name of the Lord: I will pay my vows unto the Lord.* Seaſonable benedictions, officious addreſſes, and faithful performances of vows, he intimates to bear ſome ſhadow at leaſt, ſome reſemblance of compenſation. And ſo did his wiſe ſon likewiſe, when he thus adviſed, *Honour the Lord with thy ſubſtance, and with the firſt fruits of thy increaſe.*

Pſal. 16. 2.

Pſal. 116. 12.

Ver. 13, 14.

Prov. 3. 9.

Almighty God though he really doth, and cannot otherwiſe do, yet will not ſeem to beſtow his favours altogether *gratis*, but to expect ſome competent return, ſome ſmall uſe and income from them. He will aſſert his rightful title, and be acknowledged the chief proprietary, by ſignal expreſſions of our fealty, and the payment of ſome, though inconſiderable, quit-rent, for our poſſeſſions derived from him: he will rather himſelf be ſeemingly indigent, than permit us to be really ingrateful. For knowing well that our performance of duty and reſpect toward him greatly conduceth to our comfort and happineſs, he requireth of us ſuch demonſtrations of them, as we conveniently are able to exhibit; he appoints ſervices expreſſive of thankfulneſs, exacts tributes and cuſtoms, demands loans and benevolences, encourages and accepts free-will-offerings

Ἀκόρεστον γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ οἰκία καὶ ἀνενδεὴς ὄσα, ἰδίους ἐτίμα προσδεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ αἰνοῦντες αὐτὸν, αὐτοὶ λαμπρότεροι γίνονται. S. Chryſ. *in Pſal.* 144. *p.* 885. Savil.

Exod. 23. 15. offerings from us. *Thou ſhalt not appear empty before the Lord*, was a ſtatute to the *Jews*, qualified and moderated by certain meaſures: The firſt-fruits of their lands, the firſt-born of their cattle and of themſelves, the tenths of their annual increaſe, and a certain allotment from the ſpoils acquired in wars, did God challenge to himſelf, as fitting recompences due for his bounty to and care over them.

Neither did the Gentiles conceive themſelves exempted from the like obligation. For the ἀκροθίνια, the *top* or *chief of their coru-heaps*, they were wont to conſecrate unto him who had bleſſed their fields with encreaſe; and the ἀκρόλια, *the firſt* and *beſt of the prey*, they dedicated to the adornment of his temple by whoſe favourable diſpoſal they had obtained the victory. Neither would they ſooner begin their meal, and partake of their neceſſary refreſhment, than, by pouring forth their gratulatory libation, they had performed ſome homage to heaven for it.

Hom. *Il.* ζ. *ad finem.*

——————ἀδὲ τις ἔτλη
Πρὶν πιέειν, πρὶν λεῖψαι ὑπεσσομένει Κρονίωνι,

was the cuſtom, it ſeems, in *Homer*'s time. I ſhall not inſiſt upon their ἀναθήματα, their anniverſary or their caſual ſacrifices; but only obſerve, (what, if ſeaſonable, might by many ſufficient teſtimonies be evinced,) that thoſe men (at leaſt the moſt intelligent of them) were not ſo ſenſeleſs as to imagine, that the Gods to whom they performed thoſe ſervices, and devoted thoſe oblations, did any wiſe need, or were truly benefited by them; but that they eſteemed it a comely thing, by the moſt ſignificant means they could invent, to declare their grateful ſenſe of the divine goodneſs and indulgence toward them.

Vid. Platonis *Alcib.* II. pag. 459. Οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τοιαύτην ἴσι τὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὥστε ὑπὸ δώρων ἀνθρώπων δωροδόκους, οἷον κακὸν τοξότην, &c.

And though we are, perhaps, diſobliged now from the circumſtantial manner, yet are we no wiſe freed from (but rather more ſtrongly engaged to) the ſubſtantial performance of this ſort of gratitude. We are to offer ſtill, not dead *bulls and goats*, but (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *our own bodies, living ſacrifices, holy and acceptable to God.* We are excuſed from material, but are yet bound to yield πνευματικὰς θυσίας, *ſpiritual ſacrifices* unto God, as S. *Peter* tells us. We muſt burn incenſe ſtill, that of frequent devotion; and ſend up continually to heaven θυσίαν τῆς αἰνέσεως, that *thank-offering of praiſe*, which the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* mentions. We muſt conſecrate the firſt-born of our ſouls, (pure and holy thoughts) and the firſt-fruits of our ſtrength, (our moſt active endeavours,) to God's ſervice. We muſt ſlay our impure deſires, mortifie our corrupt affections, and abandon our ſelfiſh reſpects for his ſake. We muſt give him our hearts, and preſent our wills entirely to his diſpoſal. We muſt vow to him, and pay the daily oblation of ſincere obedience. We muſt officiouſly attend his pleaſure, and labour to content him by an innocent and unblemiſhed converſation. With theſe things Almighty God is effectually gratified; he approves of and accepts theſe, as real teſtimonies of our thankfulneſs, and competent returns of his benefits.

Rom. 12. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 5.

Heb. 13. 15.

Μία ἀμοιβὴ κυριωτάτη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ταῦτα δεξιὰ ἄπειρ ἀρεστὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. *p.* 511.

Eſpecially our charity and beneficence, our exhibiting love and reſpect to good men, (his faithful ſervants and near relations,) our affording help and ſuccour to perſons in need and diſtreſs, he accounts a ſuitable retaliation of his kindneſs, acknowledges to be an obligation laid upon himſelf, and hath by ſettled rules and indiſpenſable promiſes obliged himſelf to requite them. For, *He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, he will pay him again:* and, *God is not unrighteous, to forget your work, and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed toward his name, in that ye have miniſtred to the ſaints, and do miniſter:* and, *To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed:* and *I deſire fruit* (ſaith S. *Paul* to the *Phi ans*) *that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound; I am having received of Epaphroditus the things which were ſent from you, an odo a ſweet ſmell, a ſacrifice acceptable, well-pleaſing to God.* And, *Inaſmuch have done it to* (that is, fed, and clothed, and comforted) *the leaſt of theſe my thren, ye have done it unto me*, ſaith our ſaviour; manifeſtly declaring, that the good we do, and the reſpect we ſhew unto good and needy men, God reckons it done unto himſelf.

Prov. 19. 17.

Heb. 6. 10.

Heb. 13. 16.

Phil. 4. 17, 18.

Mat. 25. 40.

And this point I ſhall conclude with the ſayings of the wiſe *Hebrew* Philoſopher *Ben-Sirach*, *He that keepeth the law, bringeth offerings enough: He that taketh heed to the commandment, offereth a peace offering. He that requiteth a*

Eccluſ 35. 1, 2, 3.

good

good turn, offereth fine flower: and he that giveth alms, ſacrificeth praiſe. To depart from wickedneſs, is a thing pleaſing to the Lord: and to forſake unrighteouſneſs, is a propitiation. To theſe I ſhall only add this one particular.

7. That true gratitude for benefits is always attended with the eſteem, veneration and love of the benefactor. Beneficence is a royal and God-like thing, an argument of eminent goodneſs and power conſpiring; and neceſſarily therefore, as in them that perceive, and duly conſider it, it begets reſpect and reverence, ſo peculiarly in thoſe that feel its benign influence, it produces love and affection: like the heavenly light, which to all that behold it appears glorious; but more powerfully warms thoſe that are directly ſubject to its rays, and is by them more vigorouſly reflected.

And as to thoſe that are immediately concerned therein, it imports more particular regard and good-will; ſo, if they be duly ſenſible thereof, it engages them in mutual correſpondence, to an extraordinary eſteem and benevolence: ſuch as *David* upon this account profeſſes to have been in himſelf toward God, and frequently excites others to. *I will love thee, O Lord my ſtrength. I will call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praiſed. The Lord liveth, and bleſſed be my rock; and let the God of my ſalvation be exalted. I love the Lord, becauſe he hath heard my voice, and my ſupplications.* And, (in the Goſpel) *Becauſe her ſins, being many, were forgiven, therefore ſhe loved much.* So true it is, that ſenſe of favour indulged is naturally productive of love.

Pſal. 18. 1. ℣. 3. ℣. 46. Pſal. 116. 1. Luke 7. 47. Ἔστι χάεις γὰρ τ χάεν τίκτει ἀεί. Soph.

Thus have I plainly and ſimply preſented you with what my meditations ſuggeſted concerning the nature and ſubſtance of this duty, with the ſeveral branches ſprouting from the main ſtock thereof: I proceed now to that which will exceedingly enlarge the worth, and engage to the performance thereof.

II. The object and term to which it is to be directed; we are to give thanks *to God*. *To God*, I ſay; that is, *to him* unto whom we are obliged, not for ſome ſmall and inconſiderable trifles, but for the moſt weighty and valuable benefits: from whom we receive, not few or ſome, but all good things; whatever is neceſſary for our ſuſtenance, convenient for our uſe, pleaſant for our enjoyment; not only thoſe that come immediately from his hand, but what we obtain from others, who from him receive both the will and the power, the means and the opportunities of doing us good: to whom we owe, not only what we ever did, or do at preſent poſſeſs, or can hereafter hope for of good; but that we were, are, or ſhall ever be in capacity to receive any; to the author, upholder and preſerver of our being; without whoſe goodneſs we had never been, and without whoſe care we cannot ſubſiſt one moment.

To him who is the Lord and true owner of all things we partake of: whoſe air we breathe, whoſe ground we tread on, whoſe food ſuſtains us; whoſe wholly we are our ſelves, both the body we carry about us, (which is *the work of his hands*) and the ſoul we think with, which was breathed from his mouth.

To him who hath created a whole world to ſerve us, a ſpacious, a beautiful, a ſtately world for us to inhabit, and to diſport in: who hath ſubjected ſo fair a territory to our dominion, and conſigned to our uſe ſo numerous a progeny of goodly creatures, to be managed, to be governed, to be enjoyed by us.

So that where-ever we direct our eyes, whether we reflect them inward upon our ſelves, we behold his goodneſs to occupy and penetrate the very root and centre of our beings; or extend them abroad toward the things about us, we may perceive our ſelves encloſed wholly, and ſurrounded with his benefits. At home we find a comely body framed by his curious artifice, various organs fitly proportioned, ſituated and tempered for ſtrength, ornament and motion, actuated by a gentle heat, and invigorated with lively ſpirits, diſpoſed to health, and qualified for long endurance; ſubſervient to a ſoul endued with divers ſenſes, faculties and powers, apt to enquire after, purſue and perceive various delights and contents. To the ſatisfaction of which all extrinſical things do miniſter matter and help; by his kind diſpoſal, who furniſhes our palates with variety of delicious fare, entertains our eyes with pleaſant ſpectacles, raviſhes our ears with harmonious ſounds, perfumes our noſtrils with fragrant odours, chears our ſpirits with comfortable gales, *fills our hearts with food and gladneſs*, ſupplies our manifold needs, and protects us from innumerable dangers.

To

To him who hath inſpired us with immortal minds, and impreſſed upon them perſpicuous characters of his own divine eſſence; hath made us, not in ſome ſuperficial lineaments, but in our moſt intimate conſtitution, to reſemble himſelf, and to partake of his moſt excellent perfections; an extenſive knowledge of truth, a vehement complacency in good, a forward capacity of being compleatly happy, (according to our degree, and within our ſphere.) To which bleſſed end by all ſuitable means (of external miniſtry and interior aſſiſtance) he faithfully conducts us; revealing to us the way, urging us in our proceſs, reclaiming us when we deviate; engaging us by his commands, ſoliciting us by gentle advices, encouraging us by gracious promiſes; inſtructing us by his holy word, and admoniſhing us by his loving ſpirit.

To him who vouchſafes to grant us a free acceſs unto, a conſtant intercourſe and a familiar acquaintance with himſelf; to eſteem and ſtyle us his *Friends* and *Children*; to invite us frequently, and entertain us kindly with thoſe moſt pleaſant delicacies of ſpiritual repaſt; yea, to viſit us often at our home, and (if we admit) to abide and dwell with us; indulging us the enjoyment of that preſence, wherein the life of all joy and comfort conſiſts, and to behold the light of his all-chearing countenance.

Is there any thing more? Yes: *To him* who, to redeem us from miſery, and to advance our eſtate, hath infinitely debaſed himſelf, and eclipſed the brightneſs of his glorious majeſty; not diſdaining to aſſume us into a near affinity, yea, into a perfect union with himſelf; to inhabit our frail and mortal nature, to undergo the laws and conditions of humanity, to appear in our ſhape, and converſe, as it were, upon equal terms with us, and at laſt to taſte the bitter cup of a moſt painful and diſgraceful death for us.

Yea, *To him* who not only deſcended from his imperial throne, became a ſubject, and (which is more) a ſervant for our ſake; but deſigned thereby to exalt us to a participation of his royal dignity, his divine nature, his eternal glory and bliſs; ſubmitting crowns and ſceptres to our choice; crowns that cannot fade, and ſceptres that can never be extorted from us.

Farther yet, *To him*, the excellent quality, the noble end, the moſt obliging manner of whoſe beneficence doth ſurpaſs the matter thereof, and hugely augment the benefits: who, not compelled by any neceſſity, not obliged by any law, (or previous compact) not induced by any extrinſick arguments, not inclined by our merits, not wearied with our importunities, not inſtigated by troubleſome paſſions of pity, ſhame, or fear, (as we are wont to be) not flattered with promiſes of recompence, nor bribed with expectation of emolument thence to accrue unto himſelf; but being abſolute maſter of his own actions, only both law-giver and counſellor to himſelf, all-ſufficient, and incapable of admitting any acceſſion to his perfect bliſsfulneſs; moſt willingly and freely, out of pure bounty and good-will, is our friend and benefactor; preventing not only our deſires, but our knowledge; ſurpaſſing not our deſerts only, but our wiſhes, yea, even our conceits, in the diſpenſation of his ineſtimable, and unrequitable benefits; having no other drift in the collation of them, beſide our real good and welfare, our profit and advantage, our pleaſure and content.

To him who not lately began, or ſuddenly will ceaſe, that is either uncertain or mutable in his intentions, but from everlaſting deſigned, continues daily, and will (if we ſuffer him) to all eternity perſevere unmoveable in his reſolutions to do us good.

To him whom no ingratitude, no undutiful carriage, no rebellious diſobedience of ours could for one minute wholly remove, or divert from his ſteddy purpoſe of caring for us: who regards us, though we do not attend to him; procures our welfare, though we neglect his concernments; employs his reſtleſs thought, extends his watchful eye, exerts his powerful arm, is always mindful, and always buſie to do us good; watching over us, when we ſleep, and remembring us, when we forget our ſelves: in whom yet 'tis infinite condeſcenſion to think of us, who are placed ſo far beneath his thoughts; to value us, who are but duſt and dirt; not to deſpiſe and hate us, who are really ſo deſpicable and unworthy. For *though he dwelleth on high*, (ſaith the Pſalmiſt truly and emphatically) *he humbleth himſelf to behold the things that are done in heaven and earth.*

Pſ. 113, 5, 6.

To

To him that is as merciful and gracious; as liberal and munificent toward us: that not only beſtows on us more gifts, but pardons us more debts, and forgives us more ſins, than we live minutes: that with infinite patience endures, not only our manifold infirmities and imperfections, but our petulant follies, our obſtinate perverſeneſſes, our treacherous infidelities: overlooks our careleſs neglects, and our wilful miſcarriages; puts up the exceedingly-many outragious affronts, injuries and contumelies continually offered to his ſupreme Majeſty by us baſe worms, whom he hath always under his feet, and can cruſh to nothing at his pleaſure.

To him yet who (as St. *James* ſaith) *giveth freely and upbraideth no man:* Jam. 1. 5. who calls us neither very frequently, nor over ſtrictly to accounts: who exacts of us no impoſſible, no very difficult, no greatly-burthenſome or coſtly returns; being ſatisfied with the chearful acceptance of his favours, the hearty acknowledgments of his goodneſs, the ſincere performance of ſuch duties to which our own welfare, comfort and advantage (rightly apprehended) would otherwiſe abundantly diſpoſe us.

To him, laſtly, whoſe benefits to acknowledge is the greateſt benefit of all; to be enabled to thank whom deſerves our greateſt thanks; to be ſenſible of whoſe beneficence, to meditate on whoſe goodneſs, to admire whoſe excellency, to celebrate whoſe praiſe, is Heaven it ſelf and Paradiſe, the life of Angels, the quinteſſence of joy, the ſupreme degree of felicity.

In a word, *To him* whoſe benefits are immenſely great, innumerably many, unexpreſſibly good and precious. For, *Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord?* Pſal. 106. 2. *who can ſhew forth all his praiſe?* ſaid he, who had employed often his moſt active thoughts, and his utmoſt endeavours thereupon, and was incomparably better able to do it.

To this God, to this great, to this only benefactor of ours, we owe this moſt natural and eaſie, this moſt juſt and equal, this moſt ſweet and pleaſant duty of giving thanks. To whom if we wilfully refuſe, if we careleſſly neglect to pay it, I ſhall only ſay thus much, that we are not only monſtrouſly ingrateful, and horribly wicked; but abominably fooliſh, and deplorably miſerable. I ſhall repeat this ſentence once again, and wiſh it may have its due effect upon us: To this great, to this only patron and benefactor of ours, if we do not in ſome meaſure diſcharge our due debt of gratitude, for his ineſtimable benefits and mercies, we are to be adjudged not only moſt prodigiouſly unthankful, moſt deteſtably impious; but moſt wofully ſtupid alſo and ſenſeleſs, moſt deſperately wretched and unhappy.

I ſhould now proceed to conſider the circumſtance of time, determined in the word *always*; and the extenſion of the matter, implied in thoſe words, *for all things:* and then to ſubjoyn ſome farther inducements, or arguments perſuaſive to the practice of this duty. But the time (and, I fear, your patience) failing, I ſhall reſerve them to ſome other opportunity.

SERMON IX.

The Duty of Thankſgiving.

EPHES. V. 20.

Giving thanks always for all things unto God.

HAVING formerly diſcourſed upon theſe words, I obſerved in them four particulars conſiderable: 1. The ſubſtance of a duty, to which we are exhorted, to *give thanks*; 2. The term unto which it is directed, *to God*; 3. The circumſtance of time, determined in that word, *always*; 4. The extent of the matter about which the duty is employed, *for all things*. Concerning the two former particulars, wherein the duty conſiſted, and wherefore eſpecially related unto God, I then repreſented what did occur to my meditation.

III. I proceed now to the third, the circumſtance of time allotted to the performance of this duty, expreſſed by that univerſal and unlimited term, *always*.

Which yet is not ſo to be underſtood, as if thereby we were obliged in every inſtant (or ſingular point of time) actually to remember, to conſider, to be affected with, and to acknowledge the divine benefits: for the deliberate operations of our minds being ſometimes wholly interrupted by ſleep, otherwhile preoccupied by the indiſpenſable care of ſerving our natural neceſſities, and with attendance upon other reaſonable employments, it were impoſſible to comply with an obligation to the performance of this duty ſo interpreted. And thoſe maxims of Law, *Impoſſibilium nulla eſt obligatio*, and, *Quæ rerum naturâ prohibentur, nullâ lege confirmata ſunt*, (that is, *No law or precept can oblige to impoſſibilities*) being evidently grounded upon natural equity, ſeem yet more valid in relation to his laws, who is the judge of all the world, and in his diſpenſations moſt tranſcendently juſt and equal.

We may therefore obſerve, that the *Hebrews* are wont (in way of *Synecdoche*, or grammatical *Hyperbole*) ſo to uſe words of this kind, that their univerſal importance ought to be reſtrained by the quality or circumſtances of the matter about which they converſe. As when our Saviour ſaith, *Ye ſhall be hated by all men for my ſake*; *All* is not to be taken for every ſingular perſon, (ſince there were ſome that loved our Saviour, and embraced the evangelical doctrine,) but for many, or the moſt. And when *David* ſaith, *There is none that doeth good*; he ſeemeth only to mean, that in the general corruption of his times there were few righteous perſons to be found. And ſo *for ever* is often uſed, not for a perpetual and endleſs, but for a long and laſting duration; and *always*, not for a co[ntinued] (unintermitted) ſtate of being, or action, but for ſuch a perſeverance as ag[rees with] the condition of the thing to which it is applied.

Matt. 10. 22.

Pſal. 14. 1.

Exod. 28. 30. 'Tis (for inſtance) preſcribed in *Exodus*, that *Aaron* ſhould *bear the judgmen[t] of the children of Iſrael* (the *Urim* and *Thummim*) *upon his heart bef[ore the] Lord continually*; that is, (not in abſolute and rigorous acceptation cont[inually] but) conſtantly ever when he went into the holy place to diſcharge the pontifical function, as the context declares. And our Saviour in the Goſpel ſaith of himſelf, Ἐγὼ πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα, *I always taught in the temple*; that is, very often, and ever when fit occaſion was preſented. And the Apoſtles, immediately after *Chriſt*'s aſcenſion, ἦσαν διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *were* (as St. *Luke* tells us) *continually in the temple, praiſing and bleſſing God*; that is, they reſorted thither conſtantly at the uſual

John 18. 20.

Luke 24. 53.

uſual times, or canonical hours of prayer. In like manner thoſe injunctions (of neareſt affinity) of *rejoycing*, of *giving thanks always*, and particularly of *praying without ceaſing*, (as I have ſhewn more largely in another diſcourſe) are to be taken in a ſenſe ſo qualified, that the obſervance of them may be at leaſt morally poſſible. 1 Theſſ. 5. 16, 18. Eph. 6. 18. Luke 18. 1. 1 Theſſ. 5. 17.

Thus far warrantably we may limit the extenſion, and mollifie the rigour of this ſeemingly boundleſs term; but we can hardly allow any farther reſtriction, without deſtroying the natural ſignification, or diminiſhing the due emphaſis thereof. As far therefore as 'tis poſſible for us, we muſt endeavour always to perform this duty of gratitude to Almighty God: and conſequently,

1. Hereby is required a frequent performance thereof; that we do often actually meditate upon, be ſenſible of, confeſs and celebrate the divine beneficence. For what is done but ſeldom or never (as we commonly ſay) cannot be underſtood done always, without a *Catachreſis*, or abuſe of words too enormous. As therefore no moment of our life wants ſufficient matter, and every conſiderable portion of time miniſters notable occaſion of bleſſing God; as he allows himſelf no ſpacious intervals or diſcontinuances of doing us good: ſo ought we not to ſuffer any of thoſe many days (vouchſafed by his goodneſs) to flow beſide us, void of the ſignal expreſſions of our dutiful thankfulneſs to him; not to admit in our courſe of life any long vacations from this duty. If God inceſſantly, and through every minute, demonſtrates himſelf gracious unto us; we in all reaſon are obliged frequently and daily to declare our ſelves grateful unto him.

So at leaſt did *David* (that moſt eminent example in this kind, and therefore moſt appoſite to illuſtrate our doctrine, and to enforce the practice thereof;) for, *Every day*, ſaith he, *I will bleſs thee; I will praiſe thy name for ever and ever. Every day.* The heavenly bodies did not more conſtantly obſerve their courſe, than he his diurnal revolutions of praiſe: Every day in his Kalendar was as it were feſtival, and conſecrated to thankſgiving. Neither did he adjudge it ſufficient to devote ſome ſmall parcels of each day to this ſervice: for, *My tongue* (ſaith he) *ſhall ſpeake of thy righteouſneſs, and of thy praiſe all the day long:* and again, *My mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy righteouſneſs, and thy ſalvation all the day, for I know not the numbers thereof.* The benefits of God he apprehended ſo great and numerous, that no definite ſpace of time would ſerve to conſider and commemorate them. He reſolves therefore otherwhere to beſtow his whole life upon that employment: *While I live, I will praiſe the Lord; I will ſing praiſes unto my God, while I have any being:* and, *I will bleſs the Lord at all times; his praiſe ſhall continually be in my mouth.* No man can reaſonably pretend greater impediments, or oftner avocations from the practice of this duty, than he, upon whom the burthen of a royal eſtate, and the care of governing a populous nation were incumbent: yet could not they thruſt out of his memory, nor extinguiſh in his heart the lively ſenſe of divine goodneſs; which (notwithſtanding the company of other ſecular encumbrances) was always preſent to his mind, and like a ſpirit, (excluded from no place by any corporeal reſiſtance) did mingle with and penetrate all his thoughts, and affections, and actions. So that he ſeems to have approached very near to the compleat performance of this duty, according to the extremity of a literal interpretation, and to have been always without any intermiſſion employed in giving thanks to God. The conſideration (methinks) of ſo noble a pattern, adjoyned to the evident reaſonableneſs of the duty, ſhould engage us to the frequent practice thereof.

Pſal. 145. 2. Pſal. 35. 28. Pſal. 71. 8, 15, 24. Pſal. 146. 2. & 104. 33. Pſal. 34. 1. & 71. 6.

Εἰ ὁ βατιλεὺς ἀνὴρ μυρίαις βαπτιζόμενος φροντισι καὶ παντοχόθεν περιελκόμενος, τοσαυτάκις παρεκάλει τὸν Θεόν· τίνα ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἀπολογίαν ἡμεῖς τοσαύτην σχολὴν ἄγοντες, καὶ μὴ συνεχῶς αὐτὸν ὑμνοῦντες, &c. Chryſ. *Tom. V. pag.* 76.

But if the conſideration of this excellent example do not, yet certainly that may both provoke us to emulation, and confound us with ſhame, of *Epictetus*, a heathen man, whoſe words to this purpoſe ſeem very remarkable: Εἰ γὰρ νῦν εἴχομεν, (ſaith he in *Arrian's Diſſert.*) ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, καὶ κοινῇ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ, ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ Θεῖον, καὶ εὐφημεῖν, καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τὰς χάριτας; ἂν ἔδει καὶ σκάπτοντας, καὶ ἀροῦντας, καὶ ἐσθίοντας ᾄδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν Θεόν; Μέγας ὁ Θεὸς, &c. that is, in our language, *If we underſtood our ſelves, what other thing ſhould we do, either publickly, or privately, than ſing Hymns to, and ſpeak well of God, and perform thanks unto him? Ought we not, when we were digging, or plowing, or eating, to ſing a* (ſuitable) *Hymn to him? Great is God, in that he hath beſtowed on us thoſe inſtruments* Lib. I. cap. 17.

Πάντα τοίνυν τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, πάντη πάντοθεν παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν πεπεισμένοι γεωργοῦμεν αἴροντες, πλέοντες ὑμνοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πολιτείαν οὑτέχνως ἀνασχιφόμεθα. Clem. Alex. *Strom. VII. p.* 517.

ments wherewith we till the ground: Great is God, becauſe he hath given us hands, a throat, a belly; that we grow inſenſibly, that ſleeping we breathe. Thus (proceeds he) *ſhould we upon every occurrence celebrate God, and ſuperadd of all the moſt excellent and moſt divine Hymn, for that he hath given us the faculty of apprehending and uſing theſe things orderly. Wherefore ſince moſt men are blind and ignorant of this, ſhould there not to be ſome one, who ſhould diſcharge this office, and who ſhould for the reſt utter this hymn to God? And what can I, a lame (and decrepit) old man do elſe, than celebrate God? Were I indeed a nightingale, I would do what belongs to a nightingale; if a ſwan, what becomes a ſwan: but ſince now I am endued with reaſon, I ought to praiſe God. This is my duty and concernment, and ſo I do; neither will I deſert this employment, while it is in my power: and to the ſame ſong I exhort you all.* Thus that worthy Philoſopher, not inſtructing us only, and exhorting with pathetical diſcourſe, but by his practice inciting us to be continually expreſſing our gratitude to God.

And although neither the admonition of Prophets, nor precepts of Philoſophers, nor the examples of both, ſhould prevail; yet the precedents (methinks) of dumb and ſenſeleſs creatures ſhould animate us thereto; which never ceaſe to obey the law impoſed on them by their maker, and without intermiſſion glorifie him. For,

Pſal. 19. 1, 2, 3. *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament ſheweth his handy-work. Day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night ſheweth knowledge. There is no ſpeech nor language, where their voice is not heard.* 'Tis St. *Chryſoſtom*'s argumentation.

In Pſal. 144. Καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη, ſaith he, τὸ λογικὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἁπάντων τιμιώτερον, ἐλαττον τῆς κτίσεως φέρειν καὶ τὴν εὐφημίας λόγον· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄτοπον, &c. *'Twere an ugly thing, that man, endued with reaſon, and the moſt honourable of all things viſible, ſhould in rendring thanks and praiſe be exceeded by other creatures: neither is it only baſe, but abſurd. For how can it be otherwiſe, ſince other creatures every day and every hour ſend up a doxology to their Lord and Maker? For,* The heavens declare the glory of God, *&c.*

If the buſie heavens are always at leiſure, and the ſtupid earth is perpetually active in manifeſting the wiſdom, power and goodneſs of their Creator; how ſhameful is it, that we (the flower of his creation, the moſt obliged, and moſt capable of doing it) ſhould commonly be either too buſie, or too idle to do it; ſhould ſeldom or never be diſpoſed to contribute our endeavours to the advancement of his glory? But,

2. *Giving thanks always* may import our appointing, and punctually obſerving certain convenient times of performing this duty; that is, of ſerious meditation upon, and affectionate acknowledgment of the divine bounty. We know that all perſons, who deſign with advantage to proſecute an orderly courſe of action, and would not lead a tumultuary life, are wont to diſtinguiſh their portions of time, aſſigning ſome to the neceſſary refections of their body, others to the divertiſement of their minds, and a great part to the diſpatch of their ordinary buſineſs:

Jam. 1. 8. otherwiſe (like St. *James* his *double-minded man*) they would be *unſtable in all their ways*; they would ever fluctuate in their reſolutions, and be uncertain when, and how, and to what they ſhould apply themſelves. And ſo, this main concernment of ours, this moſt excellent part of our duty, if we do not depute ſome vacant ſeaſons for it, and obſerve ſome periodical recourſes thereof, we ſhall be tempted often to omit it; we ſhall be liſtleſs to do it, apt to defer it, and eaſily diverted from it by the encroachments of other leſs-behoving affairs.

The *Jews*, to preſerve them in the conſtant exerciſe of this duty, had inſtituted by

Dan. 8. 11. God a ſacrifice called תמיד (*Judge*) rendred by the *Greek* tranſlators ἡ διαπαντὸς θυσία, *the continual ſacrifice*; to which the divine author of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*

Heb. 13. 15. ſeems to allude, when in theſe words he exhorts: Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διαπαντὸς τῷ Θεῷ· *By him therefore let us offer the ſacrifice of praiſe to God continually* (or the continual ſacrifice of praiſe) *the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name.* As that ſacrifice therefore, being offered conſtantly at a ſet time, was thence denominated *continual:* ſo perhaps may we, by conſtantly obſerving ſome fit returns of praiſe and thankſgiving, be ſaid *always* to *give thanks.*

In determining the ſeaſons and proportions of which, what other rule or ſtandard can we better conform to, than that of the royal Prophet: I ſhall not urge his example ſo much; (according to which we ſhould be obliged to a greater frequency;)

for,

for, *Seven times a day* (ſaith he) *do I praiſe thee, becauſe of thy righteous judgments:* but rather alledge his general direction and opinion, propoſed to us in thoſe words of his; *It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to ſing praiſes unto thy name, O thou moſt high; to ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs every morning, and thy faithfulneſs every night. It is a good thing*; that is, a ſeemly, a convenient, a commendable, a due performance: *every morning:* that is, when our ſpirits, being recreated with ſleep, are become more vigorous, our memories more freſh, our fancies more quick and active: *to ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs*; that is, from a hearty ſenſe of our obligation, to acknowledge the free bounty of him, who, in purſuance of his former kindneſs, hath been pleaſed to accumulate new favours on us: to guard us by his watchful care, when we were buried, as it were, in a ſenſeleſs ignorance, and total neglect of our own welfare; to raiſe us from that temporary death, and to confer a new life upon us, reſtoring us to our health, to our means of ſubſiſtence, to all the neceſſary ſupports, and the deſirable comforts of life: *every night* alſo; that is, when our ſpirits are exhauſted with action, and our minds tired with thoughtfulneſs; when we are become weary, not of doing only, but almoſt of being; we ſhould conclude our toils, and wrap up our cares in the ſweet ſenſe, and grateful memory of his goodneſs, who hath protected us ſo many hours from the manifold dangers, and more ſins, to which by our weakneſs, and our folly, and our bad inclinations, we are through every minute expoſed; and withal hath provided us ſo eaſie, and ſo delightful a means of recovering our ſpent activity, of repairing our decayed ſtrength. Pſal. 119. 64. Pſal. 92. 1, 2. Pſal. 55. 17.

Thus if we conſtantly begin, and thus cloſe up, thus bound and circumſcribe our days, dedicating thoſe moſt remarkable periods of time to bleſſing God, and *making* (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) *the out-goings of the morning and evening to rejoyce* in him; (ſince beginning and ending do in a manner comprehend the whole; and the morning and evening, in *Moſes* his computation and ſtyle, do conſtitute a day;) we may (not incongruouſly) be ſuppoſed and ſaid to *give thanks always*. But yet farther, this may import, Pſal. 65. 8.

3. A vigilant attendance upon this duty, ſuch as men beſtow on their employments, whereof though the actual proſecution ceaſes, yet the deſign continually proceeds. As we ſay, ſuch a one is writing a book, building a houſe, occupying a piece of land, though he be at that preſent peradventure ſleeping, or eating, or ſatisfying ſome other deſire; becauſe his deſign never ſleeps, and his purpoſe perſiſts uninterrupted. And thus it ſeems we are to underſtand our Saviour and the Apoſtles, when they exhort us προσκαρτερεῖν, to *continue inſtant in prayer and thankſgiving*; and ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει to *watch with all perſeverance*; and γρηγορεῖν, to *wake in thankſgiving*; and μὴ παύεσθαι, *not to give over giving thanks:* and, to perform theſe duties ἀδιαλείπτως, *inceſſantly*, or *without giving off*; μὴ ἐκκακεῖν *not to grow worſe, faint*, or *faulter:* (which is, in that place, made equivalent to, explicatory of doing duty always.) Which expreſſions denote a moſt diligent attendance on theſe duties: that we make them not a πάρεργον, a diverſion or by-buſineſs of our lives, allowing only a perfunctory and deſultorious endeavour on them; but eſteem them a weighty buſineſs, to be purſued with ſtedfaſt reſolution, and unwearied induſtry. Rom. 12. 12. Eph. 6. 18. Col. 4. 2. Eph. 1. 16. 1 Theſ. 5. 17. Luke 18. 1.

As our beings and powers did proceed from the goodneſs, ſo the reſults of them naturally tend to the glory of God; and the deliberations of our will ought to conſpire with the inſtincts of our nature; it ſhould be the principal deſign which our intention ſhould aim at, and our endeavour always drive on, to glorifie our maker. Which doing, we may be reputed to diſcharge this duty, and in ſome ſenſe ſaid *always to give thanks*. But farther,

4. This term [*always*] doth neceſſarily imply a ready diſpoſition, or habitual inclination to give thanks, ever permanent in us: that our *hearts*, as *David*'s was, be *fixed* always (that is, fittingly prepared, and ſteddily reſolved) to thank and *praiſe* God; that our affections be like tinder, though not always inflamed, yet eaſily inflamable by the ſenſe of his goodneſs. Pſal. 108. 1.

'Tis ſaid of the righteous man, that *he is ever merciful, and lendeth:* not for that he doth ever actually diſpenſe alms, or furniſh his poor neighbour with ſupplies; but becauſe his mind is ever inclinable to do it, when need requires. So a grateful man doth *always give thanks*, by being diſpoſed to do it upon all fit occaſions. 'Tis the habit that qualifies and denominates a man ſuch or ſuch in any kind Pſal. 37. 26.

or degree of morality. A good man is in ſcriprure frequently compared to a *tree bringing forth fruit in due ſeaſon*; and the root thereof is this habitual diſpoſition, which being nouriſhed by the dew of heaven, and quickned by the benign influence of divine grace, ſprouts forth opportunely, and yields a plentiful increaſe of good fruit. Though we cannot always ſing, our organs may be always rightly tuned for praiſe; at leaſt they ſhould never be unſtrung, and wholly out of kelter.

We ſhould maintain in our ſelves a conſtant good temper of mind, that no opportunity ſurprize, and find us unprepared to entertain worthily the effects of divine favour: otherwiſe we ſhall as well loſe the benefit, as God the thanks and glory due to them. That we be always thus diſpoſed, is not impoſſible, and therefore requiſite. But moreover,

5. Laſtly, *Giving thanks* imports, that we readily embrace every opportunity of actually expreſſing our thankfulneſs. For ſo, what in ſome places of ſcripture is injoyned to be done *continually*, and *without ceaſing*, is in others only required to be done upon all opportunities. Which ſhews, that πάντοτε is to be expounded, not ſo much ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ *at all times*, as ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, *in every ſeaſon*. So
Epheſ. 6. 18. προσδυχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι, *praying upon every opportunity in your ſpirit:*
Luke 21. 36. and, Ἀγρυπνεῖτε δὲ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι, *Be watchful, praying in every ſeaſon.* And this ſenſe ſeems probably to be chiefly intended by this Apoſtle, whenever he hath (as he hath often) this expreſſion, πάντοτε εὐχαριστεῖν, that we embrace every ov.rture, or fit occaſion of giving thanks.

'Tis true, no time is unſeaſonable to do it; every moment we receive favours, and therefore every minute we owe thanks: yet there are ſome eſpecial ſeaſons, that do more importunately require them. We ſhould be like thoſe trees, that bear fruit (more or leſs) continually; but then more kindly, and more abundantly, when more powerfully cheriſhed by the heavenly warmth.

When any freſh, any rare, any remarkable benefit happens to us; when proſperous ſucceſs attends our honeſt endeavours; when unexpected favours fall as it were of their own accord into our boſoms; (like the grain in the golden age ſpringing up ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα, without our care, or our toil, for our uſe and enjoyment;) when we are delivered from ſtraits in our apprehenſion inextricable, ſurmount difficulties ſeeming inſuperable, eſcape hazards (as we ſuſpected) inevitable: Then is a ſpecial ſeaſon preſented us of offering up the ſacrifice of praiſe to the God of mercy, help and victory.

When we revolve in our minds (as we ſhould often do) the favourable paſſages of providence, that in the whole courſe of our lives have befallen us: how in our extreme poverty and diſtreſs (when, perhaps no help appeared, and all hopes ſeemed to fail us) God hath raiſed us up friends, who have commiſerated, comforted and ſuccoured us; and not only ſo, but hath changed our ſorrowful condi-
Pſal. 30. 11. tion into a ſtate of joy; hath (to uſe the Pſalmiſt's expreſſions) *turned our mourning into dancing*; hath *put off our ſackcloth, and girdeth us with gladneſs*; hath
Pſal. 31. 7, 8. *conſidered our trouble, and known our ſoul in adverſity*; hath *ſet our feet in a large room*, and furniſhed us with plentiful means of ſubſiſtence: how in the various changes, and adventures, and travels of our life, upon ſea and land, at home and abroad, among friends and ſtrangers and enemies, he hath protected us from wants and dangers; from devouring diſeaſes, and the diſtemperatures of infectious air; from the aſſaults of bloody thieves, and barbarous pirates; from the rage of fire, and fury of tempeſts; from diſaſtrous caſualties; from treacherous ſurpriſes; from open miſchiefs, that with a dreadful face approached and threatned our deſtruction: Then moſt opportunely ſhould we with all thankful exultation of mind admire and celebrate *our ſtrength, and our deliverer*; our faithful *refuge in trouble*, and *the rock of our ſalvation*.

Alſo when the ordinary effects of divine providence do in any advantageous manner preſent themſelves to our view; when we peruſe the volumes of ſtory, and therein obſerve the various events of humane action; eſpecially the ſeaſonable rewards of vertue, the notable protections and deliverances of innocence, and the unexpected puniſhments of malicious wickedneſs: Then we ſhould with thankful acclamations celebrate the divine goodneſs and juſtice; joining in conſort with
Apoc. 19. 1, 2. that heavenly quire, and ſaying, *Allelujah*; *ſalvation and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are his judgments.*

Or,

Or, when we contemplate the wonderful works of nature, and, walking about at our leiſure, gaze upon this ample theatre of the world, conſidering the ſtately beauty, conſtant order, and ſumptuous furniture thereof; the glorious ſplendor and uniform motion of the heavens; the pleaſant fertility of the earth; the curious figure and fragrant ſweetneſs of plants; the exquiſite frame of animals; and all other amazing miracles of nature, wherein the glorious attributes of God (eſpecially his tranſcendent goodneſs) are moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed; (ſo that by them not only large acknowledgments, but even gratulatory hymns, as it were, of praiſe have been extorted from the mouths of *Ariſtotle*, *Pliny*, *Galen*, and ſuch like men, never ſuſpected guilty of an exceſſive devotion:) Then ſhould our hearts be affected with thankful ſenſe, and our lips break forth into his praiſe.

Yea, from every object of ſenſe, from every event of providence, from every common occurrence we may extract fit matter of thankſgiving: as did our Saviour, when, conſidering the ſtupid infidelity of thoſe proud people of *Chorazim*, *Bethſaida* and *Capernaum*, (who were not at all affected by his miraculous works, nor moved to repentance by his pathetical diſcourſes) and comparing it with the pious credulity of his meaner diſciples, he brake forth into that divine ejaculation; *I thank thee, O father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt concealed theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes.* Luke 10. 21. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς Ἰησοῦς εἶπε, ſaith the evangelical narration; *Upon that occaſion Jeſus thus ſpake:* he embraced that convenient opportunity of thankfully acknowledging God's wiſe and gracious diſpenſation. And frequent occaſion is afforded us daily (were our minds ſuitably diſpoſed) of doing the like.

But ſo much concerning the time of performing this duty.

IV. We proceed to the matter thereof, *for all things:* S. *Chryſoſtome* (in his commentary upon the 145 Pſalm) having enumerated ſeveral particulars for which we are bound to thank God; "Becauſe (I recite his words punctually rendred) "Becauſe (ſaith he) he hath made us, who before had no being, and made us ſuch as we "are; becauſe he upholds us being made, and takes care of us continually, both "publickly and privately, ſecretly and openly, with and without our knowledge; "for all viſible things created for our ſake, the miniſtry of them afforded to us; the "conformation of our bodies, the nobleneſs of our ſouls; his daily diſpenſations "by miracles, by laws, by puniſhments; his various and incomprehenſible pro-"vidence; for the chief of all, that he hath not ſpared his only-begotten Son for our "ſake; the benefits conferred on us by baptiſm, and the other holy myſteries, "(or ſacraments;) the ineffable good things to be beſtowed on us hereafter, the "the kingdom of heaven, the reſurrection, the enjoyment of perfect bliſs; having, I ſay, in theſe words compriſed the things for which we are obliged to thank and praiſe God, he thus deſpondently concludes: (Ἂν δὲ ἕκαστόν τις τούτων καταλέγῃ, εἰς πέλαγος ἄφαλον ἐμπεσεῖται διερχομένων, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τούτων ἐξῇ ἐπεξιέναι τῷ Θεῷ.) "If any one ſhall "endeavour to recount particularly every one of theſe things, he will but plunge "himſelf into an unexpreſſible deep of benefits, and then perceive for how unex-"preſſibly and inconceivably many good things he ſtands engaged to God. And to the like *non plus* doth the devout Pſalmiſt ſeem to be reduced, when he thus exclaims, *How precious are thy thoughts unto me, O God? how great is the ſum of them? If I ſhould count them, they are more in number than the ſand.* Pſal. 139. 17, 18. Pſal. 36. 5, 6, 7.

I ſhall not therefore confound my ſelf, by launching too far into this immenſe ocean; nor ſtrive minutely to compute the incomprehenſible ſum of the divine benefits: but only obſerve, that in groſs, according to our Apoſtle's calculation, all things, which however happen to us, are ingredients thereof. No occurrence (great or ſmall, common or particular, preſent or paſt, pleaſant or ſad, perpetual or tranſitory) is excluded from being the ſubject of our thankſgiving: each one may prove beneficial to us; and we are with a chearful contentedneſs, and a grateful reſentment, to receive them all from God's hand. But to obſerve ſome little diſtinction: I ſay,

1. We are to give thanks, not only for great and notable benefits, but for the leaſt and moſt ordinary favours of God: though indeed none of God's favours are in themſelves ſmall and inconſiderable. Men are wont to bleſs themſelves, if they receive but a tranſient glance from a prince's eye; a ſmile from a great perſonage; any ſlender intimation of regard from him that is in capacity to do them good: what is it then to receive the leaſt teſtimony of his good-will, from whom alone

every

every good thing can be expected; upon whoſe diſpoſal all happy ſucceſs of our wiſhes, our hopes and our endeavours do entirely depend? We repute him injuſt, who with-holds the leaſt part of what is due from the true owner: and is not he ingrateful then, that omits to render thanks for the leaſt of divine mercies?

1 Cor. 15. 41. *There is one glory of the ſun, another of the moon, another of the ſtars*, ſaith S. *Paul*. Some works of God indeed excell in luſtre; yet all are glorious, all are to be diſcerned, all to be eſteemed, and thankfully entertained by us. The brightneſs of the one ſhould not wholly obſcure the other; if it do, it argues the weakneſs of our ſenſe, the dulneſs of our ſpiritual faculty. For every beam of light that delights our eye, for every breath of air that chears our ſpirits, for every drop of pleaſant liquor that cools our thirſt, for every minute of comfortable repoſe, for every ſtep we ſafely take, for the happy iſſue of the leaſt undertaking, for eſcaping the vengeance due to an idle word, or a wanton thought, we owe a hymn of praiſe to God. But,

2. We are to render thanks, not only for new and preſent benefits, but for all we have formerly, all that we may hereafter receive. We find *David* not only frequently acknowledging the gracious diſpenſations of providence toward him through the whole courſe of his life, but looking back in his thankful devotions as far as his very original being, and praiſing God for favours conferred on him

Pſal. 139. 14, 15, 16. beyond his memory, yea before his life. *I will praiſe thee*, ſaith he, *for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works, and that my ſoul knoweth right well. My ſubſtance was not hid from thee, when I was made in ſecret, and curiouſly wrought in the lower parts of the earth. Thine eyes did ſee my ſubſtance yet being imperfect, and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were faſhioned, whenas yet there was none of them.* And S. *Paul*, yet farther reflecting his grateful conſideration, bleſſes God for his

Epheſ. 1. 3, 4. favour commenced before the beginning of things. *Bleſſed* (ſaith he) *be God and the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings in the heavenly places in Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us before the foundation of the world.*

Neither doth the memory only of former, and the enjoyment of preſent, but the hope and foreſight alſo of future bleſſings worthily claim our thanks. For (ſaith

1 Pet. 1. 3, 4. S. *Peter*) *Bleſſed be God and the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt from the dead: to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, reſerved in heaven for you.* Beaſts only, and men not much better than they, are affected with preſent good turns: but men of honeſt and generous temper reſent indifferently the obligations of all times. Senſe doth not confine their gratitude, nor abſence remove, nor age wear it out. What once is done, is ever done to them; and what of courteſie is purpoſed, ſeems to them performed. But having before diſcourſed ſomewhat largely concerning the remembrance of benefits, I leave this point. Furthermore,

3. We ſhould bleſs God, not only for new, rare, extraordinary accidents of providence, but for the common and daily benefits and indulgences thereof. Theſe favours are uſually the greateſt, and moſt valuable in their own nature. (For what can be imagined of higher conſequence to us, than the preſervation of our lives, and of our eſtates, by which they are comfortably maintained; than the continuance of our bodies in good health, and our minds in their right wits; than the knowledge of heavenly truth, the encouragements to virtue and piety, the aſſiſtances of divine grace, and the promiſes of eternal bliſs continually exhibited to us?) Shall the commonneſs and continuance of theſe exceeding favours, that they are not given us once only, and tranſitorily, but continued (that is, given us ſo often as time hath inſtants) and with an uninterrupted perſeverance renewed unto us; ſhall this abate and enervate our gratitude, which in all reaſon ſhould mainly encreaſe and confirm it? But this point I alſo touched before, and therefore forbearing to inſiſt thereon, I proceed.

Quem verò aſtrorum ordines, quem dierum noctiúmque viciſſitudines, quem menſium temperatio, quémque ea quæ nobis gignuntur ad fruendum non gratum eſſe cogant; hunc hominem omninò numerare qui decet? Cic. *de Leg. II.*

4. We ſhould give thanks, not only for private and particular, but for publick

1 Tim. 2. 1. benefits alſo, and for ſuch as befall others. *I exhort therefore* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *before all things, that ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions and thankſgivings be made*

made for all men: not *prayers* only, for good things to be beſtowed on others: but *thankſgivings* alſo, for the benefits received by others. (And ὑπὲρ πάντων in our text, however otherwiſe commonly interpreted, may well admit this ſenſe alſo; and be taken indifferently, *pro omnibus, for all perſons*, and *propter omnia, for all things*.)

We are all citizens of the world, and concerned in its good conſtitution; and thence obliged thankfully to adore the mighty upholder and wiſe governor thereof, praiſing him for all the general benefits liberally poured forth upon mankind. We partake in the commodities of civil ſociety; and therefore ſhould heartily thank him, by whoſe gracious diſpoſal order is maintained, peace continued, juſtice adminiſtred, plenty provided, our lives made ſafe and ſweet to us therein. We are members of a church, and highly intereſted in the proſperous eſtate and well-being thereof: when unity therefore is preſerved, and charity abounds; when knowledge is increaſed, and virtue encouraged; when piety flouriſhes, and truth triumphs therein; we are bound to render all poſſible thanks to the gracious beſtower of thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings. *Vid.* Chryſ. *in* 2 Cor. *Or.* 2.

We are much miſtaken in our account, if we either determine our own concernments, or meaſure this duty, by the narrow rule of our private advantage: for ſubducting either the benefits commonly indulged to mankind, or thoſe which accrue from the welfare of publick ſociety, what poſſibility will remain of ſubſiſtence, of ſafety, of content unto us? what but confuſion, want, violence and diſquiet?

As we are concerned with our utmoſt endeavours to promote, to wiſh and pray for, to delight and rejoice in the publick good of mankind, the peace of our countrey, the proſperity of *Sion*; ſo we are to bleſs and thank him, by whoſe gracious help and furtherance they are attained.

If we conſult all hiſtory, (ſacred and civil) we ſhall find it to contain hardly any thing elſe conſiderable, but the earneſt endeavours of good men for publick benefit, and their thankful acknowledgments to the divine goodneſs for it. *Moſes, David, Nehemiah*, S. *Paul*, all the Prophets, and all the Apoſtles, what other things memorable did they do, but ſerve God in procuring publick good, and bleſs God for conferring it?

Neither only as we are combined with others in common intereſt, but without ſelfiſh reſpects, purely out of charity and humanity, and ingenuous pity, are we obliged to thank God for the benefits he is pleaſed to impart to others. If upon theſe accounts we are commanded to *do good to all men*; to *rejoice with thoſe that rejoice*; to *love even thoſe that hate us*, and *bleſs thoſe that curſe us*; 'tis (by fair conſequence) ſurely intended, that we ſhould alſo bleſs God for the good iſſue of our honeſt endeavours, or of our good wiſhes for them. Gal. 6. 10. Rom. 12. 15. Mat. 5. 44.

And verily could we become endowed with this excellent quality of delighting in others good, and heartily thanking God for it, we needed not to envy the wealth and ſplendor of the greateſt princes, not the wiſdom of the profoundeſt doctors, not the religion of the devouteſt anchorets, no, nor the happineſs of the higheſt Angels: for upon this ſuppoſition, as the glory of all is God's, ſo the content in all would be ours. All the fruit they can perceive of their happy condition (of what kind ſoever) is to rejoice in it themſelves, and to praiſe God for it: and this ſhould we then do as well as they. My neighbour's good ſucceſs is mine, if I equally triumph therein: his riches are mine, if I delight to ſee him enjoy them: his health is mine, if it refreſh my ſpirits: his virtue mine, if I by it am better'd, and have hearty complacence therein. By this means a man derives a confluence of all joy upon himſelf, and makes himſelf, as it were, the centre of all felicity, enriches himſelf with the plenty, and ſatiates himſelf with the pleaſure of the whole world: reſerving to God the praiſe, he enjoys the ſatisfaction of all good that happens to any.

Thus we ſee *David* frequently thanking God, not for his favour only and mercy ſhewed particularly to himſelf, but for his common munificence toward all; for (to uſe his own phraſes) *his goodneſs to all, and his tender mercies over all his works*; *for executing judgment in the behalf of the oppreſſed*; for *feeding the hungry*; for *looſening the priſoners*; for *opening the eyes of the blind*; for *raiſing them that are bowed down*; for *preſerving the ſtrangers*, and *relieving the fatherleſs and widow*; *for lifting up the meek*; for *loving and caring for, and defending the righteous*; for *opening his hand, and ſatisfying the deſire of every living thing*; for *giving to the beaſt his food, and to the young ravens when they cry* Pſal. 145. 9. Pſal. 146. 7, 8, 9. Pſal. 147. 6. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Pſal. 5. 11. Pſal. 104. 28. & 145. 16. & 147. 9.

cry unto him; in a word, for his goodneſs to every particular creature, not excluding the moſt contemptible, nor the moſt ſavage of all. And how affectionately doth S. *Paul* every where thank God for the growth in grace and ſpiritual wiſdom, for the patience in affliction, and perſeverance in faith, of thoſe good Chriſtians he writes unto? So ſhould, with an unreſtrained exuberance, both our charity to men, and our gratitude to God abound. But moreover,

5. We are obliged to give thanks, not only for pleaſant and proſperous occurrences of providence, but for thoſe alſo which are adverſe to our deſire, and diſtaſteful unto our natural ſenſe; for poverty, ſickneſs, diſgrace; for all the ſorrows and troubles, the diſaſters and diſappointments that befal us. We are bound to pay thanks, not for our food only, but for our phyſick alſo: (which though ingrateful to our palate, is profitable to our health:) We are obliged, in the ſchool of providence, not only for the good inſtructions, but for the ſeaſonable corrections alſo vouchſafed unto us, (whereby though our ſenſes are offended, our manners are bettered.) Whatever proceeds from good purpoſe, and tends to a happy end, that is graciouſly deſigned, and effectually conduces to our good; is a fit ſubject of thankſgiving: and ſuch may all adverſities prove unto us.

Τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοίως ἀνυμνεῖν χρὴ, κὰν κολάζοντα, κὰν ἀνίεντα κολάσεως· ἀμφότερα γὰρ κηδεμονίας, ἀμφότερα ἀγαθότητος, &c. Chryſoſt. *in Pſal.* 148.

Heb. 12. 6. They proceed uſually from love and kind intention toward us: for, *Whom God*
Pſal. 119. 75. *loveth, he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth:* and, *I know, O Lord,* (ſaith *David*) *that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfulneſs haſt afflicted me: in faithfulneſs,* that is, with a ſincere intention of doing me good.

God throughly knows our conſtitution, what is noxious to our health, and what may remedy our diſtempers; and therefore accordingly diſpoſeth to us

——— *pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque* ———;

inſtead of pleaſant honey, he ſometimes preſcribes wholeſome wormwood for us. We are our ſelves greatly ignorant of what is conducible to our real good, and, were the choice of our condition wholly permitted to us, ſhould make very fooliſh, very diſadvantageous elections.

We ſhould (be ſure) all of us embrace a rich and plentiful eſtate: whenas, God knows, that would make us ſlothful and luxurious, ſwell us with pride and haughty thoughts, encumber us with anxious cares, and expoſe us to dangerous temptations; would render us forgetful of our ſelves, and neglectful of him. Therefore he wiſely diſpoſeth poverty unto us; poverty the mother of ſobriety, the nurſe of induſtry, the miſtreſs of wiſdom; which will make us underſtand our ſelves, and our dependence on him, and force us to have recourſe unto his help. And is there not reaſon we ſhould be thankful for the means by which we are delivered from thoſe deſperate miſchiefs, and obtain theſe excellent advantages?

We ſhould all (certainly) chuſe the favour and applauſe of men: but this, God alſo knows, would corrupt our minds with vain conceit, would intoxicate our fancies with ſpurious pleaſure, would tempt us to aſcribe immoderately to our ſelves, and ſacrilegiouſly to deprive God of his due honour. Therefore he adviſedly ſuffers us to incur the diſgrace and diſpleaſure, the hatred and contempt of men; that ſo we may place our glory only in the hopes of his favour, and may purſue more earneſtly the pure delights of a good conſcience. And doth not this part of divine providence highly merit our thanks?

We would all climb into high places, not conſidering the precipices on which they ſtand, nor the vertiginouſneſs of our own brains: but God keeps us ſafe in the humble valleys, allotting to us employments which we are more capable to manage.

We ſhould perhaps inſolently abuſe power, were it committed to us: we ſhould employ great parts on unwieldy projects, as many do, to the diſturbance of others, and their own ruine: vaſt knowledge would cauſe us to over-value our ſelves, and contemn others: enjoying continual health, we ſhould not perceive the benefit thereof, nor be mindful of him that gave it. A ſuitable mediocrity therefore of theſe things the divine goodneſs allotteth unto us, that we may neither ſtarve for want, nor ſurfeit with plenty.

In fine, the advantages ariſing from afflictions are ſo many, and ſo great, that (had I time, and were it ſeaſonable to inſiſt largely on this ſubject) it were eaſie to demonſtrate, that we have great reaſon, not only to be contented with, but to rejoice in, and to be very thankful for all the croſſes and vexations we meet with: to receive them chearfully at God's hand, as the medicines of our ſoul, and the

condiments

condiments of our fortune; as the arguments of his good-will, and the inſtruments of virtue; as ſolid grounds of hope, and comfortable preſages of future joy unto us.

6. Laſtly, We are obliged to thank God, not only for corporeal and temporal benefits, but alſo (and that principally) for ſpiritual and eternal bleſſings. We are apt, as to deſire more vehemently, to rejoyce more heartily in the fruition, and more paſſionately to bewail the loſs of temporal good things; ſo more ſincerely and ſeriouſly to expreſs our gratitude for the reception of them, than for others relating to our ſpiritual good, to our everlaſting welfare. Wherein we misjudge and misbehave our ſelves extremely. For, as much as the reaſonable ſoul (that goodly image of the divine eſſence, breathed from the mouth of God) doth in dignity of nature, and purity of ſubſtance, excell this feculent lump of organized clay, our body; as the bliſsful raviſhments of ſpirit ſurpaſs the dull ſatisfactions of ſenſe; as the bottomleſs depth of eternity exceeds that ſhallow ſurface of time, which terminates this tranſitory life: in ſuch proportion ſhould our appetite unto, our complacence in, our gratitude for ſpiritual bleſſings tranſcend the affections (reſpectively) engaged about theſe corporeal accommodations.

Conſider that injunction of our Saviour to his Diſciples; *in this rejoyce not* Luke 10. 20.
that the ſpirits are ſubject unto you: but rather rejoyce, becauſe your names are written in heaven. Rejoyce not, that is, be not at all affected with this (although in it ſelf very rare accompliſhment, eminent privilege, glorious power of working that indeed greateſt of miracles, ſubjecting devils; that is, baffling the ſhrewdeſt craft, and ſubduing the ſtrongeſt force in nature) in compariſon of that delight, which the conſideration of the divine favour in order to your eternal felicity doth afford.

We are, 'tis true, greatly indebted to God for our creation, for that he hath extracted us from nothing, and placed us in ſo lofty a rank among his creatures; for the excellent faculties of ſoul and body, wherewith he hath endued us; and for many moſt admirable prerogatives of our outward eſtate: but much more for our redemption, and the wonderful circumſtances of unexpreſſible love and grace therein declared; for his deſcending to a conjunction with our nature, and elevating us to a participation of his; for dignifying us with more illuſtrious titles, and inſtating us in a ſure capacity of a much ſuperiour happineſs. Our daily food deſerves well a grace to be ſaid before and after it: but how much more that conſtant proviſion of heavenly manna, the evangelical verity; thoſe ſavoury delicacies of devotion, whereby our ſouls are nouriſhed to eternal life? 'Tis a laudable cuſtom, when we are demanded concerning our health, to anſwer, *Well, I thank God*; but much more reaſon have we to ſay ſo, if our conſcience can atteſt concerning that ſound conſtitution of mind, whereby we are diſpoſed vigorouſly to perform thoſe virtuous functions, due from reaſonable nature, and conformable to the divine law. If for the proſperous ſucceſs of our worldly attempts; for avoiding dangers, that threatned corporal pain and damage to us; for defeating the adverſaries of our ſecular quiet, we make *Te Deum laudamus* our ἐπινίκιον, (our ſong for victory:) how much more for the happy progreſs of our ſpiritual affairs; (affairs of incomparably-higheſt conſequence;) for eſcaping thoſe dreadful hazards of utter ruin, of endleſs torture; for vanquiſhing ſin and hell, thoſe irreconcileable enemies to our everlaſting peace; are we obliged to utter triumphal *anthymns* of joy and thankfulneſs?

This is the order obſerved by the Pſalmiſt: inciting his *ſoul* to *bleſs God* for *all* Pſ. 103. 1, &c.
his benefits, he begins with the conſideration of God's mercy in pardoning his ſins; then proceeds to his goodneſs in beſtowing temporal favours. *Who forgiveth all thy ſins*, leads the van; *Who ſatisfieth thy mouth with good things*, brings up the rear in the enumeration and acknowledgment of God's benefits. That our minds are illuſtrated with the knowledge of God and his glorious attributes, of *Chriſt*, and his bleſſed goſpel, of that ſtreight path which conducteth to true happineſs; that by divine aſſiſtance we are enabled to elude the allurements, to withſtand the violence of temptation, to aſſwage immoderate deſires, to bridle exorbitant paſſions, to correct vitious inclinations of mind; requires more our hearty thanks, than for that we were able by our natural wit to penetrate the abſtruſeſt myſteries; or to ſubjugate empires by our bodily ſtrength. The forgiveneſs of our ſins doth more oblige us to a grateful acknowledgment of the divine goodneſs, than

ſhould God enrich us with all the treaſures contained in the bowels of the earth or bottom of the ocean. One glimpſe of his favourable countenance ſhould more enflame our affections, than being inveſted with all the imaginable ſplendour of worldly glory.

Of theſe ineſtimable benefits, and all the advantageous circumſtances wherewith they are attended, we ought to maintain in our hearts conſtant reſentments; to excite our thankfulneſs, to kindle our love, to quicken our obedience, by the frequent contemplation of them.

Thus have I (though, I confeſs, much more ſlightly than ſo worthy a ſubject did require) proſecuted the ſeveral particulars obſervable in theſe words. I ſhould conclude with certain inducements perſuaſive to the practice of this duty; whereof I have in the tenour both of the former and preſent diſcourſe inſinuated divers, and could propound many more: but (in compliance with the time) I ſhall content my ſelf briefly to conſider only theſe three very obvious ones.

I. Firſt therefore, We may conſider, that there is no diſpoſition whatever more deeply radicated in the original conſtitution of all ſouls endued with any kind of perception or paſſion, than being ſenſible of benefits received; being kindly affected with love and reſpect toward them that exhibit them; being ready with ſuitable expreſſions to acknowledge them, and to endeavour competent recompences for them. The worſt of men, the moſt devoid of all not only piety, but humanity and common ingenuity, the moſt barbarous and moſt wicked, (whom neither ſenſe of equity nor reſpect to law, no promiſe of reward or fear of vengeance can any-wiſe engage to do things juſt and fitting, or reſtrain from enormous actions) retain notwithſtanding ſomething of this natural inclination, and are uſually ſenſible of good turns done unto them. Experience teaches us thus much; and
Luke 6. 33. ſo doth that ſure oracle of our Saviour: *If* (ſaith he) *you do good to thoſe who do good to you, what thanks is it? for even ſinners* (that is, men of apparently leud and diſſolute converſation) *do the ſame.*

Yea even beaſts, and thoſe not only the moſt gentle and ſociable of them, (the officious dog, the tractable horſe, the docile elephant,) but the wildeſt alſo and
Vid. Gell. *lib. V. c.* 14. fierceſt of them (the untameable lion, the cruel tiger, and ravenous bear, as ſtories tell us, and experience atteſts) bear ſome kindneſs, ſhew ſome grateful affection to thoſe that provide for them.

Neither will beaſts only, but even inanimate creatures ſeem not altogether inſenſible of benefits, and lively repreſent unto us a natural abhorrence of ingratitude. The rivers openly diſcharge into the ſea thoſe waters, which by indiſcernible conduits they derive thence: the heavens remit in bountiful ſhowers what from the earth they had exhaled in vapour: and the earth by a fruitful increaſe repays the culture beſtowed thereon; if not, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* doth pronounce)
Heb. 6. 8. it deſerves *curſing* and *reprobation*. So monſtrous a thing, and univerſally abominable to nature, is all ingratitude. And how execrable a prodigy is it then toward God, from whom alone we receive whatever we enjoy, whatever we can expect of good?

II. The ſecond obligation to this duty is moſt juſt and equal. For, (as * he ſaid
* Laberius. well) *Beneficium qui dare neſcit, injuſtè petit*; *He injuſtly requires* (much more injuſtly receives) *a benefit, who is not minded to requite it.* In all reaſon we are indebted for what is freely given, as well as for what is lent unto us. For the freeneſs of the giver, his not exacting ſecurity, nor expreſſing conditions of return, doth not diminiſh, but rather increaſe the debt. He that gives, indeed, according to humane (or political) law, (which, in order to preſervation of publick peace, requires only a punctual performance of contracts) transfers his right, and alienates his poſſeſſion: but according to that more noble and perfect rule of ingenuity, (the law which God and Angels and good men chiefly obſerve, and govern themſelves by) what is given is but committed to the faith, depoſited in the hand,
Καλὸν ἡ θησαύϛισμα κεκρυμμένη χάρις. *De Benef. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6. treaſured up in the cuſtody of him that receives it: and what more palpable iniquity is there, than to betray the truſt, or to detain the pledge, not of ſome inconſiderable trifle, but of ineſtimable good-will? *Exceptâ Macedonum gente,* (ſaith *Seneca*) *non eſt ulla data adverſus ingratum actio: In no nation* (*excepting the* Macedonians) *an action could be preferred againſt ingrateful perſons, as ſo.* (Though *Xenophon*, no mean Author, reports, that among the *Perſians* alſo there were judgments aſſigned, and puniſhments appointed for ingratitude.) However

ever, in the court of heaven, and at the tribunal of conſcience, no offender is more conſtantly arraigned, none more ſurely condemned, none more ſeverely puniſhed, than the ingrateful man.

Since therefore we have received all from the divine bounty; if God ſhould in requital exact, that we ſacrifice our lives to the teſtimony of his truth; that we employ our utmoſt pains, expend our whole eſtate, adventure our health, and proſtitute all our earthly contents to his ſervice; ſince he did but revoke his own, 'twere great injuſtice to refuſe compliance with his demands: how much more, when he only expects from us and requires ſome few acknowledgments of our obligation to him, ſome little portions of our ſubſtance, for the relief of them that need, ſome eaſie obſervances of his moſt reaſonable commands?

III. Thirdly, This is a moſt ſweet and delightful duty. *Praiſe the Lord*, (ſaith the moſt experienced Pſalmiſt) *for the Lord is good*; *ſing praiſes to his name, for it is pleaſant*: and otherwhere, *Praiſe the Lord, for it is good to ſing praiſes to our God*; *for it is pleaſant, and praiſe is comely*. The performance of this duty, as it eſpecially proceeds from good humour, and a chearful diſpoſition of mind; ſo it feeds and foments them; both root and fruit thereof are hugely ſweet and ſapid. Whence St. *James*; *If any man be afflicted, let him pray*; *is any merry, let him ſing Pſalms*. (*Pſalms*, the proper matter of which is praiſe and thanſgiving.)

Pſal. 135. 3. Pſal. 147. 1. *Vid.* Pſal. 9. 1. Jam. 5. 13.

Other duties of devotion have ſomething laborious in them, ſomething diſguſtful to our ſenſe. Prayer minds us of our wants and imperfections; confeſſion induces a ſad remembrance of our miſdeeds and bad deſerts: but thankſgiving includes nothing uneaſie or unpleaſant; nothing but the memory and ſenſe of exceeding Goodneſs.

All love is ſweet; but that eſpecially which ariſes, not from a bare apprehenſion only of the objects worth and dignity, but from a feeling of its ſingular beneficence and uſefulneſs unto us. And what thought can enter into the heart of man more comfortable and delicious than this, That the great maſter of all things, the moſt wiſe and mighty king of heaven and earth hath entertained a gracious regard, hath expreſſed a real kindneſs towards us? that we are in capacity to honour, to pleaſe, to preſent an acceptable ſacrifice to him, who can render us perfectly happy? that we are admitted to the practice of that wherein the ſupreme joy of paradiſe, and the perfection of angelical bliſs conſiſts? For praiſe and thankſgiving are the moſt delectable buſineſs of heaven; and God grant they may be our greateſt delight, our moſt frequent employment upon earth.

To theſe I might add ſuch farther conſiderations. That this duty is of all moſt acceptable to God, and moſt profitable to us. That gratitude for benefits procures more, diſpoſing God to beſtow, and qualifying us to receive them. That the ſerious performance of this duty efficaciouſly promotes and facilitates the practice of other duties; ſince the more we are ſenſible of our obligations to God, the more ready we ſhall be to pleaſe him, by obedience to his commandments. What St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith of prayer, It is impoſſible that he who with competent promptitude of mind doth conſtantly apply himſelf thereto, ſhould ever ſin, is moſt eſpecially true of this part of devotion: for how can we at the ſame time be ſenſible of God's goodneſs to us, and willingly offend him? That the memory of paſt benefits, and ſenſe of preſent, confirms our faith, and nouriſhes our hope of future. That the circumſtances of the divine beneficence mightily ſtrengthen the obligation to this duty; eſpecially his abſolute freeneſs in giving, and our total unworthineſs to receive; our very ingratitude it ſelf affording ſtrong inducements to gratitude. That giving thanks hath *de facto* been always the principal part of all religion; (whether inſtituted by divine command, or prompted by natural reaſon, or propagated by general tradition;) the Ethnick devotion conſiſting (as it were totally) in the praiſe of their gods, and acknowledgment of their benefits; the *Jewiſh* more than half in euchariſtical oblations, and in ſolemn commemorations of providential favours; and that of the ancient Chriſtians ſo far forth, that by-ſtanders could hardly diſcern any other thing in their religious practice, than that they ſang hymns to *Chriſt*, and by mutual ſacraments obliged themſelves to abſtain from all villany. But I will rather wholly omit the proſecution of theſe pregnant arguments, than be farther offenſive to your patience.

Vid. Pſal. 69. 30, 31. Pſal. 50. 13, 14, 23. *Vid. diviniſſ.* Chryſoſt. *locum Tom. V. pag.* 76. Plin. *Epiſt.*

Now the bleſſed fountain of all goodneſs and mercy inſpire our hearts with his heavenly grace, and thereby enable us, rightly to apprehend, diligently to conſi-

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der, faithfully to remember, worthily to esteem, to be heartily affected with, to render all due acknowledgment, praise, love, and thankful obedience for all his (infinitely-great and innumerably-many) favours, mercies and benefits freely con-
Psal. 72. 18, 19. *ferr'd upon us: and let us say with* David, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wondrous things: and blessed be his glorious name for ever, and*
Psal. 106. 48. *let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen.*

SERMON X.

A Sermon on the King's Happy Return.

1 TIM. II. 1, 2.

1. *I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men:*
2. *For Kings, and for all that are in authority.*

1 Tim. 1. 3. SAINT *Paul* in his preceding discourse having insinuated directions to his scholar and spiritual son, *Timothy*, concerning the discharge of his office, of instructing men in their duty according to the evangelical doctrine; (the main design whereof he teacheth to consist, not
Ver. 6. (as some men conceited) in fond stories, or *vain speculations*, but
Ver. 5, 19. in practice of substantial duties, holding a *sincere faith*, maintaining a *good Conscience*, performing offices of *pure* and *hearty charity*;) in pursuance of such general duty, and as a principal instance thereof, he doth here *first of all exhort*, or, doth *exhort that first of all* all kinds of devotion should be offered to God, as for *all men* generally, so particularly for *kings* and *magistrates*. From whence we may collect two particulars. 1. That the making of *prayers for kings* is a christian duty of great importance. (St. *Paul* judging fit to *exhort* thereto πρῶτον πάντων, *before all other things*; or, to *exhort that before all things* it should be performed.) 2. That it is incumbent on the pastors of the Church, (such as S. *Timothy* was) to take special care, that this duty should be performed in the Church; both publickly in the congregations, and privately in the retirements of each Christian: according to what the Apostle, after the proposing divers enforcements of this duty, subsumeth in the 8th verse, *I will therefore, that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting.*

Παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι —

The first of these particulars, That it is a duty of great importance *to pray for kings*, I shall insist upon: it being indeed now very fit and seasonable to urge the practice of it, when it is perhaps commonly not much considered, or not well observed; and when there is most need of it, in regard to the effects and consequences which may proceed from the conscionable discharge of it.

My endeavour therefore shall be to press it by divers considerations, discovering our obligation thereto, and serving to induce us to its observance: some whereof shall be general, or common to all times; some particular, or suitable to the present circumstances of things.

I. The Apostle exhorteth Christians to *pray for kings* with all sorts of prayer with δεήσεις, or *deprecations*, for averting evils from them; with προσευχαὶ, or *petitions*, for obtaining good things to them, with ἐντεύξεις, or *occasional intercessions*,
Aug. *Ep.* 59. Beza, Grotius, &c. for needful gifts and graces to be collated on them: as, after St. *Austin*, interpreters in expounding St. *Paul*'s words, commonly distinguish; how accurately, I shall not discuss; it sufficing, that assuredly the Apostle meaneth, under this variety

of expreſſion, to comprehend all kinds of prayer. And to this I ſay we are obliged upon divers accounts.

1. Common charity ſhould diſpoſe us to pray for Kings. This chriſtian diſpoſition inclineth to univerſal benevolence and beneficence; according to that apoſtolical precept, *as we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men:* it conſequently will excite us to pray for all men; ſeeing this is a way of exerting good-will, and exerciſing beneficence, which any man at any time, if he hath the will and heart, may have opportunity and ability to purſue. Gal. 6. 10.

No man indeed otherwiſe can benefit all; few men otherwiſe can benefit many; ſome men otherwiſe can benefit none: but in this way any man is able to benefit all, or unconfinedly to oblige mankind, deriving on any ſomewhat of God's immenſe beneficence. By performing this good office, at the expence of a few good wiſhes addreſſed to the ſovereign goodneſs, the pooreſt may prove benefactors to the richeſt, the meaneſt to the higheſt, the weakeſt to the mightieſt of men: ſo we may benefit even thoſe who are moſt remote from us, moſt ſtrangers and quite unknown to us. Our prayers can reach the utmoſt ends of the earth; and by them our charity may embrace all the world.

And from them ſurely *Kings* muſt not be excluded. For if becauſe all men are our fellow-creatures, and brethren by the ſame heavenly Father, becauſe all men are allied to us by cognation and ſimilitude of nature, becauſe all men are the objects of God's particular favour and care; if becauſe all men are partakers of the common redemption, by the undertakings of him who is the common Mediator and Saviour of all men; and becauſe all men, according to the gracious intent and deſire of God, are deſigned for a conſortſhip in the ſame bleſſed inheritance; (which enforcements St. *Paul* in the context doth intimate;) if, in fine, becauſe all men do need prayers, and are capable of benefit from them, we ſhould be charitably diſpoſed to pray for them: then muſt we alſo pray for *Kings*, who even in their perſonal capacity, as men, do ſhare in all thoſe conditions. Thus may we conceive St. *Paul* here to argue: *For all men*, ſaith he, *for Kings*; that is, conſequently *for Kings*, or, particularly *for Kings*; to pray for whom, at leaſt no leſs than for other men, univerſal charity ſhould diſpoſe us. 1 Tim. 2. 4, 5. 6.

Indeed, even on this account we may ſay, eſpecially *for Kings*; the law of general charity with peculiar advantage being applicable to them: for that law commonly is expreſſed with reference to our neighbour, that is, to perſons with whom we have to do, who come under our particular notice, who by any intercourſe are approximated to us; and ſuch are *Kings* eſpecially. For whereas the greateſt part of men (by reaſon of their diſtance from us, from the obſcurity of their condition, or for want of opportunity to converſe with them) muſt needs ſlip beſide us, ſo that we cannot employ any diſtinct thought or affection toward them: it is not ſo with Kings, who by their eminent and illuſtrious ſtation become very obſervable by us; with whom we have frequent tranſactions, and mutual concerns; who therefore in the ſtricteſt acception are our neighbours, whom we are charged to love as our ſelves; to whom conſequently we muſt perform this moſt charitable office of praying for them.

2. To impreſs which conſideration, we may reflect, that commonly we have only this way granted us of exerciſing our charity toward Princes; they being ſituated aloft above the reach of private beneficence: ſo that we cannot enrich them, or relieve them by our alms; we cannot help to exalt or prefer them to a better ſtate; we can hardly come to impart good advice, ſeaſonable conſolation, or wholſome reproof to them; we cannot profit or pleaſe them by familiar converſation. For as in divers other reſpects they reſemble the divinity; ſo in this they are like it, that we may ſay to them, as the Pſalmiſt to God, *thou art my Lord*; *my goodneſs extendeth not to thee.* Yet this caſe may be reſerved, wherein the pooreſt ſoul may benefit the greateſt prince, imparting the richeſt and choiceſt goods to him: He may be indebted for his ſafety, for the proſperity of his affairs, for God's mercy and favour toward him, to the prayers of his meaneſt vaſſal. And thus to oblige Princes, methinks, we ſhould be very deſirous; we ſhould be glad to uſe ſuch an advantage, we ſhould be ambitious of ſuch an honour. Pſal. 16. 2.

Privatorum iſta copia eſt, inter ſe eſſe munificos. Auſon. *ad* Gratian.

Abſit, Auguſte, & iſtud Sancta Divinitas omen avertat, ut tu à quoquam mortalium expectes vicem beneficii. Mamerc. *ad* Julian.

3. We

3. We are bound to pray for Kings out of charity to the publick; becauſe their good is a general good, and the communities of them (both Church and State) are greatly concerned in the bleſſings by prayer derived on them.

The ſafety of a Prince is a great part of the common welfare; the commonwealth, as it were, living and breathing in him: his fall, like that of a tall Cedar, (to which he is compared) ſhaking the earth, and diſcompoſing the ſtate; putting things out of courſe, and drawing them into new chanels; tranſlating the adminiſtration of affairs into untried hands, and an uncertain condition. Hence, *Let the King live*, (which our tranſlators render, *God ſave the King*) was an uſual form of ſalutation, or prayer: and, *O King live for ever*, was a cuſtomary addreſs to Princes, whereto the beſt men did conform, even in application to none of the beſt Princes; as *Nehemiah* to King *Artaxerxes*, and *Daniel* to King *Darius*. Hence not only good King *David* is called *the light of Iſrael*; (*Thou ſhalt not*, ſaid *Abiſhai*, *any more go out with us to battel, that thou quench not the light of Iſrael*;) but even the wicked and perverſe King *Zedekiah* is by the prophet *Jeremiah* himſelf (who had been ſo miſuſed by him) ſtyled *the breath of our noſtrils*. *The breath*, ſaith he, *of our noſtrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits*.) Hence not only the fall of good King *Joſiah* was ſo grievouſly lamented; but a ſolemn mourning was due to that of *Saul*; and *Ye daughters of Jeruſalem weep for Saul*, was a ſtrain becoming the mouth of his great ſucceſſor King *David*. Hence the primitive Chriſtians, who could not be conſtrained to ſwear by the *genius* of *Cæſar*, did not yet, in compliance with the uſual practice, ſcruple to ſwear by their *health*, or *ſafety*; that is, to expreſs their wiſhing it, with appeal to God's teſtimony of their ſincerity therein; as *Joſeph* may be conceived to have ſworn **by the life of Pharaoh*. Hence well might the people tell King *David*, *Thou art worth ten thouſand of us*; ſeeing the publick was ſo much intereſted in his ſafety, and had ſuffered more in the loſs of him, than if a myriad of others had miſcarried.

Iſa. 2. 13.

1 King 1. 25. 2 King 11. 12. 2 Chr. 23. 11. 1 King. 1. 31. Dan. 2. 4. & 3. 9. & 5. 10. & 6. 6. Neh. 2. 3. Dan. 6. 21. 2 Sam. 21. 17. 2 Kings 24. 19. Jer. 32. 3. Lam. 4. 20. Zech. 12. 11. 2 Chr. 35. 24. 2 Sam. 1. 12, 24.

Sed & juramus, ſicut non per genios Cæſarum, ità per ſalutem eorum, quæ eſt auguſtior omnibus geniis. Tert. *Apol. c.* 32.

* Gen. 42. 15, 16. 2 Sam. 18. 3.

The honour likewiſe of a Prince is the glory of his people; ſeeing it is founded on qualities or deeds tending to their advantage; ſeeing it can hardly be ſuppoſed that he ſhould acquire honour without their aid and concurrence, or that he ſhould retain it without their ſupport and their ſatisfaction. And as the chief grace and beauty of a body is in the head, and the faireſt ornaments of the whole are placed there; ſo is any Commonwealth moſt dignified and beautified by the reputation of its Prince.

Prov. 4. 9.

The wealth and power of a prince are the ſupports and ſecurities of a ſtate: he thereby being enabled to uphold and defend its ſafety, its order, its peace; to protect his people from foreign injuries and invaſions; to ſecure them from inteſtine broils and factions; to repreſs outrages and oppreſſions annoying them.

Pſ. 72. 4.—

The proſperity of a Prince is inſeparable from the proſperity of his people; they ever partaking of his fortunes, and thriving or ſuffering with him. For as when the ſun ſhineth brightly, there is a clear day, and fair weather over the world: ſo when a Prince is not overclouded with adverſity, or diſaſtrous occurrences, the publick ſtate muſt be ſerene, and a pleaſant ſtate of things will appear. Then is the ſhip in a good condition, when the pilot in open ſea, with full ſails and a brisk gale, chearfully ſteereth on toward his deſigned port.

Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à Principe, atque, ut ità dicam, ſequaces ſumus. Huic enim chari, huic probati eſſe cupimus; quod fruſtrà ſperaverint diſſimiles. Eóque obſequii continuatione pervenimus, ut prope omnes homines unius moribus vivamus. Plin. *Paneg.*

Vita Principis cenſura eſt, eaque perpetua; ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quàm exemplo. Ibid.

Eſpecially the piety and goodneſs of a Prince is of vaſt conſequence, and yieldeth infinite benefit to his countrey. For, *Vita principis cenſura eſt*, The life of a Prince is a calling of other mens lives to an account. His * example hath an unſpeakable influence on the manners of his people, who are apt in all his garb, and every faſhion to imitate him. His practice is more powerful than his commands, and often doth controul them. His authority hath the great ſtroke in encouraging virtue, and checking vice, if it bendeth that way; the diſpenſation of honours and rewards, with the infliction of ignominies and corrections, being in his hand, and paſſing from it according to his inclinations. His power is the ſhield of innocence, the fence of right, the ſhelter of weakneſs and ſimplicity againſt violences and frauds. His very look (a ſmile, or a frown of his countenance) is ſufficient to advance goodneſs, and ſuppreſs wickedneſs; according to that of *Solomon*, *A King ſitting in the throne of judgment ſcattereth*

* Eccles 10. 2.

Prov. 20. 8.

taketh away all evil with his eyes. His goodneſs pleaſing God procureth his favour, and therewith deduceth from heaven all kinds of bleſſings on his people. And if thoſe politick aphoriſms of the *Wiſe man* be true, That *righteouſneſs exalteth a nation, and eſtabliſheth a throne*; That *when it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoiceth*; and *the ſame by the bleſſing of the upright is exalted:* then upon his inclinations to virtue the advancement and ſtability of publick welfare do mainly depend. So for inſtance, how did piety flouriſh in the times of *David*, who loved, favoured, and practiſed it? and what abundance of proſperity did attend it? what ſhowers of bleſſings (what peace, what wealth, what credit and glory) did God then pour down upon *Iſrael?* how did the goodneſs of that Prince tranſmit favours and mercies on his countrey till a long time after his deceaſe? how often did God profeſs *for his ſervant David's ſake* to preſerve *Judah* from deſtruction? ſo that even in the days of *Hezekiah*, when the King of *Aſſyria* did invade that countrey, God by the mouth of *Iſaiah* declared, *I will defend this city to ſave it for mine own ſake, and for my ſervant David's ſake.*

Prov. 14. 3. 4. & 16. 12. 2 Sam. 7. 16. Prov. 11. 10, 11. 2 Sam. 7. 9. (Pſal. 72. 7.) (2 Sam. 7. 16. 1 King 11. 13. Jer. 33. 21. Pſal. 89. 29. & 132. 10.—) Iſa. 37. 35.

We may indeed obſerve, that, according to the repreſentation of things in holy Scripture, there is a kind of moral connexion, or a communication of merit and guilt, between Prince and people; ſo that mutually each of them is rewarded for the virtues, each is puniſhed for the vices of the other. As for the iniquities of a people, God withdraweth from their Prince the free communications of his grace and of his favour (ſuffering him to incur ſin, or to fall into misfortune, which was the caſe of that incomparably-good King *Joſiah*, and hath been the fate of divers excellent Princes, whom God hath ſnatched away from people unworthy of them, or involved with ſuch a people in common calamities; according to the rule propounded in the law of God's dealing with the *Iſraelites* in the caſe of their diſobedience; and according to that of *Samuel*, *If ye ſhall do wickedly, ye ſhall be conſumed both ye and your King:*) ſo reciprocally, for the miſdemeanors of Princes (or in them, and by them) God doth chaſtiſe their people. For what confuſions in *Iſrael* did the offences of *Solomon* create? what miſchiefs did iſſue thereon from *Jeroboam's* wicked behaviour? how did the ſins of *Manaſſeh* ſtick to his countrey, ſince that even after that notable reformation wrought by *Joſiah*, it is ſaid, *Notwithſtanding the Lord turned not from the fierceneſs of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled againſt Judah, becauſe of all the provocations wherewith Manaſſes had provoked him?* And how ſorely, by a tedious three years famine, did God avenge *Saul's* cruelty toward the *Gibeonites*?

(1 King. 11. 32, 34.) 2 King. 23. 25. Iſa. 3. 1, &c. Deut. 28. 36. 1 Sam. 12, 25. (Prov. 28. 2.) 1 King 11. 33. 1 King 15. 30. 2 Kings 17. 21. 2 King. 23. 26. 2 Sam. 21. 1.

Nor are only the ſins of bad Princes affixed to people conſpiring with them in impiety; for even of King *Hezekiah* it is ſaid, *but Hezekiah rendred not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jeruſalem.* So the pride and ingratitude of an excellent Prince were avenged on his ſubjects. And when good King *David* (God averting his grace from him) did fall into that arrogant tranſgreſſion of counting his forces, that, as *Joab* prudently foretold, became *a cauſe of treſpaſs to Iſrael:* and *God* (ſaith the text) *was diſpleaſed with this thing, therefore he ſmote Iſrael.*

(Jer. 32. 32.) 2 Chr. 32. 25. 1 Chr. 21. 3, 7.

David indeed ſeems to apprehend ſome iniquity in this proceeding, expoſtulating thus, *Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbred? even I it is that have ſinned, and done evil indeed: but as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?* But God had no regard to his plea, nor returned any anſwer to it: for indeed God's wrath began with the people, and their King's ſin was but a judgment executed on them: for, *The anger* (it is ſaid) *of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael,* (by their ſin ſurely, which is the only incentive of divine wrath) *and he moved David againſt them, to ſay, go number Iſrael and Judah.*

1 Chr. 21. 17. 2 Sam. 24. 1.

So indeed it is, that Princes are bad, that they incur great errors, or commit notable treſpaſſes, is commonly imputable to the fault of ſubjects; and is a juſt judgment by divine providence laid on them, as for other provocations, ſo eſpecially for their want of devotion, and neglecting duly to for pray them. For if they conſtantly with hearty ſincerity and earneſt fervency would in their behalf ſue to God, who *faſhioneth all the hearts of men*, who eſpecially holdeth *the hearts of Kings in his hand, and turneth them whitherſoever he will*; we reaſonably might preſume, that God by his grace would direct them into the right way, and incline their hearts to goodneſs; that he would accompliſh his own word in the prophet,

Pſal. 33. 15. Prov. 21. 1.

Iſa. 60. 17. *I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteouſneſs*; that we might
Ezr. 7. 27. have occaſion to pay thankſgivings like that of *Ezra*, *Bleſſed be the Lord God of our fathers, who hath put ſuch things as this in the king's heart, to beautifie the houſe of the Lord, which is in Jeruſalem.*

We are apt to impute the ill management of things, and the bad ſucceſs waiting on it, unto Princes, being in appearance the immediate agents and inſtruments of it: but we commonly do therein miſtake, not conſidering that our ſelves are moſt guilty, and blameable for it; that it is an impious people, which maketh an unhappy Prince; that their offences do pervert his counſels, and blaſt his undertakings; that their prophaneneſs and indevotion do incenſe God's diſpleaſure, and cauſe him to deſert Princes, withdrawing his gracious conduct from them, and permitting them to be miſled by temptation, by ill advice, by their own infirmities, luſts and paſſions, into courſes fit to puniſh a naughty people. So theſe were the cauſes of
Pſal. 106, 32, 33. *Moſes* his *ſpeaking unadviſedly with his lips*, and that *it went ill with him for*
Exod. 32. *their ſakes:* of *Aaron*'s forming the molten calf; of *David*'s numbring the peo-
Deut. 9. ple; of *Joſiah*'s unadviſed enterprize againſt *Pharaoh Neco*; of *Zedekiah*'s rebellion againſt the *Aſſyrians*, (notwithſtanding the ſtrong diſſuaſions of the Prophet
2 King. 24. 20. *Jeremy*;) concerning which it is ſaid, *For through the anger of the Lord it came to paſs in Jeruſalem and Judah, until he had caſt them out from his preſence, that Zedekiah rebelled againſt the king of Babylon.*

Conſidering which things, it is apparent, that prayer for our Prince is a great office of charity to the publick; and that in praying for his ſafety, for his honour, for his wealth, for his proſperity, for his virtue, we do in effect pray for the ſame benefits reſpectively to our countrey; that in praying for his welfare, we do in conſequence pray for the good of all our neighbours, our friends, our relations, our families, whoſe good is wrapped in his welfare, doth flow from it, doth hang upon it.

We are bound, and it is a very noble piece of charity, to love our countrey, ſincerely to deſire and earneſtly to further its happineſs, and therefore to pray for
Pſal. 122. 6. (128. 5.) it; according to the advice and practice of the Pſalmiſt, *O pray for the peace of*
Pſal. 122. 7. *Jeruſalem; they ſhall proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and proſperity within thy palaces.* We are obliged more eſpecially upon the higheſt accounts, with deareſt affection to love the Church, (our heavenly commonwealth, the ſociety of our ſpiritual brethren,) moſt ardently to tender its good and ſeek its advantages; and therefore moſt urgently to ſue for God's favour toward it: being
Pſal. 51. 18. Pſal. 102. 13, 16. (Iſa. 61. 1.—) ready to ſay after *David*, *Do good, O God, in thy good pleaſure to Sion, build the walls of Jeruſalem. Ariſe, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion, for the time to favour her, yea, the ſet time is come.* Now theſe duties we cannot more eaſily, more compendiouſly, or more effectually diſcharge, than by earneſtly praying for our Prince; ſeeing that if we do by our prayers procure God's favour to him, we do certainly draw it on the State, and the Church. If God, moved by our devout importunities, ſhall pleaſe to guard his perſon from dangers, and to
Pſal. 21. 4. *grant him a long life*; to endue his heart with grace, with the love and fear of himſelf, with a zeal of furthering publick good, of favouring piety, of diſcountenancing ſin; if God ſhall vouchſafe to inſpire him with wiſdom, and to guide his counſels, to bleſs his proceedings, and to crown his undertakings with good ſucceſs; then aſſuredly we have much promoted the publick intereſt: then infallibly, together with theſe, all other bleſſings ſhall deſcend on us, all good will flouriſh in our land. This was the ancient practice of Chriſtians, and directed to this end. For, **We* (ſaith *Lactantius* to *Conſtantine*) *with daily prayers do ſupplicate God, that he would firſt of all keep thee, whom he hath willed to be the keeper of things; then that he would inſpire into thee a will, whereby thou mayeſt ever perſevere in the love of God's name; which is ſalutary to all, both to thee for thy happineſs, and to us for our quiet.*

* *Cui nos quotidianis precibus ſupplicamus, ut te imprimis, quem rerum cuſtodem voluit eſſe, cuſtodiat; deinde inſpiret tibi voluntatem, quâ ſemper in amore Divini nominis perſeveres; quod eſt omnibus ſalutare, & tibi ad felicitatem, & nobis ad quietem.* Lact. 7. 26.

4. Wherefore conſequently our own intereſt, and charity to our ſelves ſhould diſpoſe us to pray for our Prince. We being nearly concerned in his welfare, as parts of the publick, and as enjoying many private advantages thereby; we cannot but partake of his good, we cannot but ſuffer with him. We cannot live quietly if our Prince is diſturbed; we cannot live happily, if he be unfortunate; we can

hardly

hardly live virtuouſly, if divine grace do not incline him to favour us therein, or at leaſt reſtrain him from hindring us. This is St. *Paul*'s own conſideration: *I exhort you*, ſaith he, *to make prayers for kings —— that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty.* Upon ſuch an account God did command the *Jews* to pray for the welfare of that heathen ſtate, under which they lived in captivity: *And ſeek*, ſaid he, *the peace of the city whither I have cauſed you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof ye ſhall have peace.* And for the like cauſe the Chriſtians of old deemed themſelves bound to pray for the Gentile Magiſtrates; according to that of *Tertullian*, *We pray for you, becauſe with you the empire is ſhaken: and the other members of it being ſhaken, aſſuredly even we, how far ſoever we may be thought from troubles, are found in ſome place of the fall.* Farther,

Neſcio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos eſſe patitur, quam qui cogit. Plin. *Panegyr.* Jer. 29. 7.

Vobiſcum enim concutitur imperium: concuſſis etiam ceteris membris ejus, utique & nos, licet extranei à turbis æſtimemur, in aliquo loco caſûs invenimur. Tert. *Apol. c.* 32.

5. Let us conſider, that ſubjects are obliged in gratitude and ingenuity, yea in equity and juſtice, to pray for their Princes. For

They are moſt nearly related to us, and allied by the moſt ſacred bands; being conſtituted by God, in his own room, the parents and guardians of their countrey; being alſo avowed and accepted for ſuch by ſolemn vows, and moſt holy ſacraments of allegiance: whence unto them as ſuch we owe an humble piety, a very reſpectful affection, a moſt dutiful obſervance; the which we cannot better expreſs or exerciſe, than in our heartieſt prayers for their welfare.

Quem ſciens (Chriſtianus) à Deo ſuo conſtitui, neceſſe eſt, ut & ipſum diligat, & revereatur, & honoret, & ſalvum velit. —— Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

Jurant per Deum, & per Chriſtum, & per Spiritum S. & per Majeſtatem Imperatoris, quæ ſecundùm Deum generi humano diligenda eſt, & colenda. Veget. 2. 5.

They by God are deſtined to be the protectors of the Church, the patrons of religion, the foſterers and cheriſhers of truth, of virtue, of piety: for of the Church in the evangelical times it was propheſied, *Kings ſhall be thy nurſing fathers; Thou ſhalt ſuck the breaſts of kings; kings ſhall miniſter to thee:* wherefore to them, not only as men and citizens, but peculiarly as Chriſtians, we owe the higheſt duty; and conſequently we muſt pay the beſt devotion for them. Iſa. 49. 23. & 60. 16, 16.

To them we ſtand indebted for the greateſt benefits of common life: they neceſſarily do take much care, they undergo great trouble, they are expoſed to many hazards for our advantage; that *under their ſhadow* we may enjoy ſafety and quiet, we may reap the fruits of our induſtry, we may poſſeſs the comforts and conveniencies of our life, with ſecurity from rapine, from contention, from ſolicitude, from the continual fears of wrong and outrage. Lam. 4. 20.

To their induſtry and vigilancy under God we owe the fair adminiſtration of juſtice, the protection of right and innocence, the preſervation of order and peace, the encouragement of goodneſs, and correction of wickedneſs: for they, as the Apoſtle telleth us, *are God's miniſters, attending continually on theſe very things.* They indeed ſo attend, as to deny themſelves, as to forego much of their own eaſe, their pleaſure, their ſatisfaction; being frequently perplexed with cares, continually enſlaved to buſineſs, and ſubject to various inconveniences, rendring their life to conſiderate ſpectators very little deſirable. Rom. 13. 6.

As therefore, according to our Lord's obſervation they are uſually ſtyled *benefactors*, ſo they really are; even the worſt of them (ſuch as *Claudius*, or *Nero*, of whom our Apoſtles ſpeak) in conſiderable meaſure; at leaſt in compariſon of anarchy: and conſidering the miſchiefs iſſuing from want of government. Οὐ κολακείᾳ ἐϛὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα· *The matter is not flattery*; (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, himſelf of all men fartheſt from a flatterer;) *but according to the reaſon of the caſe* we muſt eſteem our ſelves much obliged to them for the pains they ſuſtain in our behalf, and for the benefits we receive from them. For he indeed muſt be a very bad governour, to whom that ſpeech of the orator *Tertullus* may not without glozing be accommodated; *Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietneſs, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, and in all places, moſt noble felix, with all thankfulneſs.* Luke 22. 25. Οὐ κολακείᾳ ἐϛὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ δικαίου λόγον. Chryſ. *in* 1 Tim. 2. 1. Acts 24. 2, 3.

Nulli adverſus Magiſtratus ac Reges gratiores ſunt; nec immeritò, nullis enim plus præſtant, quàm quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Itaque hi quibus ad propoſitum bene vivendi confert ſecuritas publica, neceſſe eſt auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant —— Sen. *Ep.* 73.

Quanti æſtimamus hoc otium, quod inter Deos agitur, quod Deos facit? Ibid.

However, what *Seneca* ſaith of Philoſophers, that *they of all men are moſt obliged, and moſt grateful to Kings and Magiſtrates, becauſe from their care they enjoy the leiſure, quiet and ſecurity of contemplating and practiſing the beſt things; upon which account*, ſaith he, *they could not but reverence the authors of ſo great a good, as parents*; that is, or ſhould be far more true of Chriſtians. *That leiſure* (to uſe his words) *which is ſpent with God*, and *which rendreth us like to God*; the liberty of ſtudying divine truth, and of ſerving God with ſecurity and quiet; are ineſtimable benefits, for the which they are indebted to the protection of Magiſtrates: Therefore in all reaſon a grateful retribution of good-will, and of all good offices, particularly of our prayers, is to be payed to them. *Is it not very abſurd*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom, that they ſhould labour and venture for us, and we not pray for them?*

Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἄτοπον αὐτοὺς, &c. Chryſ. *ubi ſupra.*

6. Whereas we are by divine command frequently enjoyned to fear and reverence, to honour, to obey Kings, we ſhould look on prayer for them as a principal branch, and the neglect thereof as a notable breach of thoſe duties. For

1 Pet. 2. 13, 17. Rom. 13. 1. Tit. 3. 1. Prov. 24. 21.

As to *honour* and *reverence*, it is plain, that no exterior ſignification, in ceremonious unveiling or cringing to them, can ſo demonſtrate it, as doth the wiſhing them well in our hearts, and from thence framing particular addreſſes to the divine Majeſty for their welfare. Than which practice there can be no ſurer argument, that we hold them in great account and conſideration. And how indeed can we much honour them, for whom we do not vouchſafe ſo much as to offer our good wiſhes, or to mention them in our interceſſions unto him, who requireth us to make them for all men, and particularly for thoſe for whom we are concerned? Doth not this omiſſion evidently place them in the loweſt rank, beneath the meaneſt of our friends and relations? doth it not imply a very ſlender regard had to them?

And as for *obedience*, prayer for Princes is clearly an inſtance thereof: ſeeing it may be ſuppoſed, that all Princes do require it from their ſubjects. Not only chriſtian Princes, who believe God the ſole diſpenſer of all good things, and the great efficacy of devotion in procuring them from him, may be deemed to exact this beneficial office from us; but even heathens and infidels, from their dim notion of a ſovereign providence, (which hath ever been common in the world) have made an account of this practice: as we may ſee by that decree of the *Perſian* King in *Ezra*, charging his officers to furniſh the *Jewiſh* elders with ſacrifices, *that*, ſaid he, *they may offer ſacrifices of ſweet ſavour unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his ſons.* And that ſuch was the practice of the *Romans* even in their heatheniſh ſtate, doth appear from thoſe words of *Pliny*; *We have*, ſaith he, *been wont to make vows for the eternity of the empire, and for the welfare of the citizens, yea for the welfare of the Princes, and in their behalf for the eternity of the empire.*

Ezra 6. 10.

Nuncupare vota & pro æternitate imperii, & pro ſalute civium, imo pro ſalute principum, ac propter illos pro æternitate imperii, ſolebamus. Plin. *Paneg.*

Not only pious Princes with a ſerious deſire will expect this duty from us; but even profane ones in policy will demand it, as a decent teſtimony of reſpect to them, and a proper means of upholding their ſtate: that they may ſeem to have place in the moſt ſerious regards and ſolemn performances of their ſubjects. So that to neglect this duty, is ever a violation of our due obedience, and a kind of diſloyalty to them. Again,

7. The praying for Princes is a ſervice peculiarly honourable, and very acceptable to God; which he will interpret as a great reſpect done to himſelf; for that thereby we honour his image and character in them, yielding in his preſence this ſpecial reſpect to them as his repreſentatives; for that thereby we avow his government of the world by them as his miniſters and deputies; for that thereby we acknowledge all power derived from him, and depending on his pleaſure; we aſcribe to him an authority paramount above all earthly Potentates; we imply our perſuaſion, that he alone is abſolute ſovereign of the world, *the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, ſo that Princes are nothing otherwiſe than in ſubordination to him, can do nothing without his ſuccour, do owe to him all their power, their ſafety, their proſperity and welfare; for that, in fine, thereby, diſclaiming all other confidences *in man*, we ſignifie our entire ſubmiſſion to God's will, and ſole confide[illegible]

Deo vel privatus, vel militans ſervit, cùm fideliter eum diligit, qui Deo regnat autore. Veget. 2. 5. 1 Tim. 6. 15.

Temperans Majeſtatem Cæſaris infra Deum, magis illum commendo Deo. Tert. *Apol. c.* 33.

Pſal. 146. 3. & 118. 8, 9.

providence. This ſervice therefore is a very grateful kind of adoring our almighty Lord; and as ſuch St. *Paul* recommendeth it in the words immediately ſubjoined to our Text, *For this* (ſaith he) *is good and acceptable in the ſight of God, our Saviour.* 1 Tim. 2. 3.

8. Let us conſider, that whereas wiſdom guiding our piety and charity, will eſpecially incline us to place our devotion there where it will be moſt needful and uſeful, we therefore chiefly muſt pray for Kings, becauſe they do moſt need our prayers.

Their office is moſt high, and hard to diſcharge well or happily: wherefore they need extraordinary ſupplies of gifts and graces from the divine bounty.

Their affairs are of greateſt weight and importance, requiring anſwerable skill and ſtrength to ſteer and wield them: wherefore they need from the fountain of wiſdom and power ſpecial communications of light, of courage, of ability to conduct, to ſupport, to fortifie them in their managements; they need that God ſhould *uphold them* πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ, with *that princely Spirit*, for which King *David* prayed. Pſal. 51. 12.

They often are to deliberate about matters of dark and uncertain conſequence; they are to judge in caſes of dubious and intricate nature; the which to reſolve prudently, or to determinate uprightly, no humane wiſdom ſufficiently can enable; wherefore they need *the ſpirit of counſel*, and *the ſpirit of judgment*, from the ſole diſpenſer of them, the great *counſellor* and moſt *righteous judge*. The wiſeſt and ableſt of them hath reaſon to pray with *Solomon*, *Give thy ſervant an underſtanding heart, to judge thy people, that I may diſcern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy ſo great a people?* That ſo what the *wiſe man* ſaith may be verified, *A divine ſentence is in the lips of the King, his mouth tranſgreſſeth not in judgment:* and that of the wife woman, *As an angel of God, ſo is my Lord the King to diſcern good and bad.* Iſa. 11. 2. & 28. 6. 9. 6. Pſal. 7. 11. 1 King. 3. 9. Sap. 9. 4.— Pſal. 72. 1.) Prov. 16. 10. 2 Sam. 14. 17.

They commonly are engaged in enterpriſes of greateſt difficulty, inſuperable by the might or induſtry of man; in regard to which we may ſay with *Hannah*, *By ſtrength ſhall no man prevail*; with the *preacher*, *the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battel to the ſtrong*; with the *pſalmiſt*, *There is no King ſaved by the multitude of an hoaſt:* wherefore they need aid and ſuccour from the Almighty, to carry them through, and bleſs their deſigns with ſucceſs. 1 Sam. 6. 2. Eccleſ. 9. 11. Pſal. 33. 16.

They are moſt expoſed to dangers and diſaſters; (ſtanding like high towers, moſt obnoxious to the winds and tempeſts of fortune;) having uſually many envious ill-willers, many diſaffected malecontents, many both open enemies and cloſe inſidiaters; from whoſe force or treachery no humane providence can ſufficiently guard them; they do therefore need the protection of the ever-vigilant *keeper of Iſrael*, to ſecure them: for, *Except the Lord keepeth the city, the watchman waketh but in vain*; except the Lord preſerve the King, his guards, his armies ſurround him to no purpoſe. Pſal. 21. 14. & 91. 1.— & 127. 1. Pſal. 33. 16.

They have the natural infirmities of other men, and far beyond other men are ſubject to external temptations. The malicious ſpirit (as in the caſe of *Job*, of *David*, of *Ahab*, of *Joſhua* the high prieſt is expreſſed) is ever waiting for occaſion, ever craving permiſſion of God to ſeduce and pervert them; ſucceſs therein being extremely conducible to his villainous deſigns. The world continually doth aſſault them with all its advantages; with all its baits of pleaſure, with all its inticements to pride and vanity, to oppreſſion and injuſtice, to ſloth, to luxury, to exorbitant ſelf-will and ſelf-conceit, to every ſort of vicious practice. Their eminency of ſtate, their affluence of wealth, their uncontrollable power, their exemption from common reſtraints, their continual diſtractions and encumbrances by varieties of care and buſineſs, their multitude of obſequious followers, and ſcarcity of faithful friends, to adviſe or reprove them, their having no obſtacles before them to check their wills, to croſs their humours, to curb their luſts and paſſions, are ſo many dangerous ſnares unto them: wherefore they do need plentiful meaſures of grace, and mighty aſſiſtances from God, to preſerve them from the worſt errours and ſins; into which otherwiſe 'tis almoſt a miracle if they are not plunged. Zech. 3. 1. Eccleſ. 8. 4. Ὁ πλείσα πρήσσων, πλεῖσθ' ἁμαρτάνει βροτῶν.

And being they are ſo liable to ſin, they muſt conſequently ſtand often in need of God's mercy to bear with them, and to pardon them.

They

They therefore upon ſo many accounts needing ſpecial help and grace from Heaven, do moſt need prayers to derive it thence for them.

All Princes indeed do need them. Good Princes need many prayers for God's help, to uphold and confirm them in their virtue: Bad Princes need deprecations of God's wrath and judgment toward them, for offending his Majeſty; together with ſupplications for God's grace to convert and reform them: the moſt deſperate and incorrigible need prayers, that God would over-rule and reſtrain them from doing miſchief to themſelves and others. All Princes having many avocations, and temptations, hindring them to pray enough for themſelves, do need ſupplemental aids from the devotions of others.

Wherefore if we love them, if we love our countrey, if we love our ſelves, if we tender the intereſts of truth, of piety, of common good, we, conſidering their caſe, and manifold need of prayers, will not fail earneſtly to ſue for them; that God would afford needful aſſiſtance to them in the adminiſtration of their high office, in the improvement of their great talents, in the conduct and management of their arduous affairs; that he graciouſly would direct them in their perplexed counſels, would back them in their difficult undertakings, would protect their perſons from dangers, would keep their hearts from the prevalency of temptations, would pardon their failings and treſpaſſes. Again,

9. Whereas God hath declared, that he hath ſpecial regard to Princes, and a more than ordinary care over them, becauſe they have a peculiar relation to him, as his repreſentatives, the *miniſters of his Kingdom*, the main inſtruments of his providence, whereby he conveyeth his favours, and diſpenſeth his juſtice to men; becauſe alſo the good of mankind, which he eſpecially tendereth, is mainly concerned in their welfare; whereas, I ſay, *it is he that giveth ſalvation unto Kings*; that *giveth great deliverance to his King, and ſheweth mercy to his anointed*; that hath *the Kings heart and his breath*, and *all his ways in his hand:* even upon this account our prayers for them are the more required. For it is a method of God, and an eſtabliſhed rule of divine providence, not to diſpenſe ſpecial bleſſings without particular conditions, and the concurrence of our duty in obſervance of what he preſcribeth in reſpect to them. Seeing then he hath enjoined, that in order to our obtaining thoſe great benefits which iſſue from his ſpecial care over Princes, we ſhould pray for it, and ſeek it from his hands; the omiſſion of this duty will intercept it, or bereave us of its advantages; nor in that caſe may we expect any bleſſings of that kind. As without praying for our ſelves, we muſt not expect private favours from heaven; ſo without praying for our Prince, we cannot well hope for publick bleſſings. For, as a profane perſon (who in effect diſavoweth God, by not regarding to ſeek his favour and aid) is not qualified to receive any good from him: ſo a profane Nation (which diſclaimeth God's government of the world, by not invoking his Benediction on thoſe who moderate it under him) is not well capable of common benefits. It is upon all accounts true which *Ezra* ſaid, *The hand of our God is upon all them for good that ſeek him: but his power and his wrath is againſt all them that forſake him.* If therefore we deſire that our Prince ſhould not loſe God's ſpecial regard, if we would not forfeit the benefits hereof to our ſelves, we muſt conſpire in hearty prayers for him.

Sap. 6. 4.

Pſal. 144. 10. & 21. 1. Pſal. 18. 50. (63. 11.) 2 Sam. 22. 51. Prov. 21. 1. Dan. 5. 23.

Ezra 8. 22. *Liv.* 5. 51. *Hor.* Od. 3. 6.

10. To engage and encourage us in which practice, we may farther conſider, that ſuch prayers, offered duly, (with frequency and conſtancy, with ſincerity and zeal,) do always turn to good account, and never want good effect: the which if it be not always eaſily diſcernible, yet it is certainly real; if it be not perfect as we may deſire, yet it is competent, as expediency requireth, or as the condition of things will bear.

There may be impediments to a full ſucceſs of the beſt prayers; they may not ever prevail to render Princes completely good, or extremely proſperous: for ſome concurrence of their own will is requiſite to produce their virtue, God rarely working with irreſiſtible power, or fatal efficacy; and the ſtate of things, or capacities of perſons, are not always fitly ſuited for proſperity. Yet are not ſuch prayers ever wholly vain or fruitleſs: for God never preſcribeth means unavailable to the end; he never would have commanded us particularly to pray for Kings, if he did not mean to beſtow a good iſſue to that practice.

And, ſurely, he that hath promiſed to hear all requeſts with faith and ſincerity, and inceſſant earneſtneſs preſented to him, cannot fail to hear thoſe which are of

ſuch conſequence, which are ſo agreeable to his will, which do include ſo much honeſty and charity. In this caſe, ſurely, we may have ſome confidence, according to that of St. *John*, *This is the confidence we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.* 1 Joh. 5. 14.

As the good Biſhop, obſerving St. *Auſtin*'s mother, with what conſtancy and paſſionateneſs ſhe did pray for her ſon, being then ingaged in ways of errour and vanity, did encourage her, ſaying, *It is impoſſible that a Son of thoſe devotions ſhould periſh:* ſo may we hopefully preſume, and encourage our ſelves, that a Prince will not miſcarry, for whoſe welfare many good people do earneſtly ſolicit; *Fieri non poteſt, ut princeps iſtarum lacrymarum pereat.* *Fieri non poteſt, ut filius iſtarum lacrymarum pereat.* Aug. *Conf.* 4. 12.

You know in general the mighty efficacy of prayer, what pregnant aſſurances there are, and how wonderful inſtances thereof occur in holy Scripture, both in relation to publick and private bleſſings: How it is often promiſed, that *All things, whatſoever we ſhall ask in prayer, believing, we ſhall receive*; and that *whoever asketh receiveth, and he that ſeeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened.* How the prayer of *Abraham* did heal *Abimelech*, and his family of barrenneſs; how the prayers of *Moſes* did quench the fire, and cure the bitings of the fiery Serpents; how the prayer of *Joſhua* did arreſt the ſun; how the prayer of *Hannah* did procure *Samuel* to her, as his name doth import; how *Elias* his prayers did open and ſhut the heavens; how the ſame holy prophet's prayer did reduce a departed ſoul, and that of *Eliſha* did effect the ſame, and that of another prophet did reſtore *Jeroboam*'s withered hand; how the prayers of God's people frequently did *raiſe them up ſaviours*, and *when they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, he delivered them out of their diſtreſſes*; how the prayers of * *Aſa* diſcomfited a million of *Arabians*, and thoſe of *Jehoſhaphat* deſtroyed a numerous army of his enemies by their own hands, and thoſe of *Hezekiah* brought down an angel from heaven to cut off the *Aſſyrians*, and thoſe of *Manaſſes* reſtored him to his Kingdom, and thoſe of *Eſther* ſaved her people from the brink of ruin, and thoſe of *Nehemiah* inclined a pagan King's heart to favour his pious deſign for re-edifying *Jeruſalem*, and thoſe of *Daniel* obtained ſtrange viſions and diſcoveries; how † *Noah*, *Job*, *Daniel*, *Moſes* and *Samuel* are repreſented as powerful interceſſors with God, and conſequently it is intimated, that the great things atchieved by them were chiefly done by the force of their prayers. *Conf.* 4. 12. Jam. 5. 16. Matt. 21. 22. Matt. 7. 8. Gen. 20. 17. Num. 11. 2. & 21. 7.—(Pſ. 106. 30. O. T.) Joſh. 10. 12. 1 Sam. 1. 10.—Luk. 4. 25. Jam. 5. 17, 18. 1 King 17. 21, 22. 2 Kin. 4. 33.—1 King. 13. 6. Deut. 4. 29.—Neh. 9. 27. Pſal. 106. 44. & 107. 6, 13, 19. 28. Jud. 3. 15. & 4. 3. & 6. 7. & 10. 12. * 2 Chr. 14. 11—

2 Chr. 20. 3,—12, 23. 2 Chr. 32. 20, 21. 2 Chron. 33. 12, 13. Eſth. 4. 16. Neh. 1. 11. & 2. 4. Dan. chap. 2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. † Ezek. 14. 14. Jer. 15. 1.

And ſeeing prayers in ſo many caſes are ſo effectual, and work ſuch miracles; what may we hope from them in this, wherein God ſo expreſſly and particularly directeth us to uſe them? If our prayers can ſo much avail to our perſonal and private advantage, if they may be very helpful to our friends; how much ſhall the devotions of many good men, all levelled at one mark, and aiming at a publick moſt conſiderable good, be prevalent with the divine goodneſs? However, if God be not moved by prayers to convert a Prince from all ſin, to make him do all the good he might, to bleſs him in all matters; yet he may thence be induced to reſtrain him from much evil, to keep him from being worſe, or from doing worſe than otherwiſe would be; he may diſpoſe him to do many things well, or better than of himſelf he would do; he may preſerve him from many diſaſters otherwiſe incident to him: which will be conſiderable effects of prayer.

11. I ſhall add but one general conſideration more, which is this, that prayer is the only allowable way of redreſſing our caſe, if we do ſuffer by, or for Princes.

Are they bad, or do they miſdemean themſelves in their adminiſtration of government and juſtice? we may not by any violent or rough way attempt to reclaim them; for they are not accountable to us, or liable to our correction. *Where the word of a King is, there is power: and who ſhall ſay to him, What doeſt thou?* was the *preacher*'s doctrine. Eccleſ. 8. 4.

Do they oppreſs us, or abuſe us? do they treat us harſhly, or cruelly perſecute us? we muſt not kick againſt them, or ſtrive to right our ſelves by reſiſtence. For, *Againſt a King* (ſaith the *wiſe man*) *there is no riſing up:* and *who* (ſaid *David*) *can ſtretch out his hand againſt the Lord's anointed, and be guiltleſs?* and, *they* (ſaith *Paul*) *that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* Prov. 30. 31. 1 Sam. 26. 9. Rom. 13. 2.

We

We muſt not ſo much as eaſe our ſtomach, or diſcharge our paſſion, by railing or inveighing againſt them. For, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the ruler of thy people,* is a divine law; and, to * *blaſpheme,* or revile *dignities,* is by St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* reprehended as a notable crime.

Exod. 22. 28. Act. 23. 5. * 2 Pet. 2. 10. Jude 8.

We muſt not be bold or free in taxing their actions. For, *Is it fit,* ſaith *Elihu, to ſay to a King, Thou art wicked, and to Princes, Ye are ungodly?* and, to *reproach the footſteps of God's anointed,* is implied to be an impious practice.

Job 34. 18. Pſal. 89. 51.

We muſt forbear even complaining and murmuring againſt them. For, *Murmurers* are condemned as no mean ſort of offenders; and the *Jews* in the wilderneſs were ſorely puniſhed for ſuch behaviour.

Jude 16.

We muſt not (according to the *preacher*'s advice) ſo much as *curſe them in our thoughts*; or not entertain ill conceits, and ill wiſhes in our minds toward them.

Eccleſ. 10. 20. (Iſa. 8. 21.)

To do theſe things is not only high preſumption in regard to them, (inconſiſtent with the dutiful affection and reſpect which we owe to them,) but it is flat impiety toward God, and an invaſion of his authority; who alone is *King of Kings,* and hath reſerved to himſelf the prerogative of judging, of rebuking, of puniſhing Kings, when he findeth cauſe.

Theſe were the miſdemeanors of thoſe in the late times, who inſtead of praying for their Sovereign, did clamour and rail at him, did aſperſe him with foul imputations, did accuſe his proceedings, did raiſe tumults, and levy war againſt him, pretending by rude force to reduce him unto his duty; ſo uſurping on their Prince, or rather on God himſelf, aſſuming his right, and taking his work out of his hands; diſcovering alſo therein great profaneneſs of mind, and diſtruſt of God's providence, as if God, being implored by prayer, could not, or would not, had it been needful, without ſuch irregular courſes, have redreſſed thoſe evils in Church or State, which they pretended to feel, or fear.

Abſit enim ut indignè feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus, aut ultionem à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo expectamus. Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

Nothing therefore in ſuch caſes is left to us for our remedy or eaſe, but having recourſe to God himſelf, and ſeeking relief from his hand in good time, by converting our Prince, or directing him into a good courſe; however comforting our ſelves in the conſcience of ſubmitting to God's will.

Qui non dicam Regum, ſed omnium hominum, & vel beſtiarum ſordidiſſimus, dignus exſtitit qui perſecutionem in Chriſtianos primus inciperet. Sulp. Ser. 2. 40.

This is the only method St. *Paul* did preſcribe, even when *Nero,* a moſt vile, flagitious man, a ſorry and naughty governour as could be, a monſtrous tyrant, and moſt bloody perſecutor, (the very inventer of perſecution,) did ſway the Empire. He did not adviſe Chriſtians to ſtand upon their guard, to contrive plots, to provide arms, to raiſe mutinies and inſurrections againſt him; but to offer ſupplications, prayers and interceſſions for him, as the beſt means of their ſecurity and comfort. And this was the courſe of the primitive Chriſtians, during their hard condition under the domination of heathen Princes, impugners of their religion: *Prayers and tears were* then the only *arms of the Church*; whereby they long defended it from ruin, and at laſt advanced it to moſt glorious proſperity.

Ità nos magis oramus pro ſalute imperatoris, ab eo eam poſtulantes qui præſtare poteſt. Et utique ex diſciplinâ patientiæ divinæ agere nos, ſatis manifeſtum eſſe vobis poteſt, cùm tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major civitatis cujuſque, in ſilentio & modeſtiâ agimus. Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

Indeed, if, not aſſuming the liberty to find fault with Princes, we would practiſe the duty of ſeeking God for his bleſſing on their proceedings; if, forbearing to ſcan and cenſure acts of ſtate, we would earneſtly implore God's direction of them; if, leaving to conceive diſguſts, and vent complaints about the ſtate of things, we would aſſiduouſly petition God for the ſettlement of them in good order; if, inſtead of being ſhrewd politicians, or ſmart judges in ſuch matters, we would be devout orators and humble ſolicitors at the throne of grace; our endeavours ſurely would find much better effect toward publick advantage: we certainly might do more good in our cloſets by a few hearty wiſhes uttered there, than by all our tattling or jangling politicks in corners.

Fundendo ſanguinem, & patiendo magis quàm faciendo contumelias, Chriſti fundata eſt Eccleſia; perſecutionibus crevit, &c. Hier. *Ep.* 62.

There are great contrivances to ſettle things; every one hath his model of ſtate, or method of policy, to communicate for ordering the ſtate; each is zealous for his own conceit, and apt to be diſpleaſed with thoſe who diſſent from him: but it is, as the faireſt and juſteſt, ſo the ſureſt and likelieſt way of reducing things to a firm compoſure, (without more a-do, letting the world alone to move on its own hinges,

hinges, and not impertinently troubling our ſelves or others with the conduct of it,) ſimply to requeſt of almighty God, the ſovereign governour and ſole diſpoſer of things, that he would lead his own vicegerents in the management of the charge by himſelf committed to them. *Be careful for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and ſupplication with thankſgiving, let your requeſts be made known to God*, is a rule very applicable to this caſe. Phil. 4. 6.

As God's providence is the only ſure ground of our confidence, or hope for the preſervation of Church and State, or for the reſtitution of things into a ſtable quiet: ſo it is only our hearty prayers, joined with a conſcientious obſervance of God's Laws, whereby we can incline providence to favour us. By them alone we may hope to ſave things from ſinking into diſorder, we may aſſwage the factions, we may defeat the machinations againſt the publick welfare.

12. Seeing then we have ſo many good arguments and motives inducing to pray for Kings, it is no wonder, that to back them, we may alſo alledge the practice of the Church, continually in all times performing this duty in its moſt ſacred offices, eſpecially in the celebration of the holy communion. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8. 13. 2. 57.

St. *Paul* indeed, when he ſaith, *I exhort firſt of all, that prayers be made*, doth chiefly impoſe this duty on *Timothy*, or ſuppoſeth it incumbent on the paſtors of the Church, to take ſpecial care, that prayers be made for this purpoſe, and offered up in the Church jointly by all Chriſtians: and accordingly the ancient Chriſtians, as *Tertullian* doth aſſure us, did *always pray for all the Emperors, that God would grant them a long life, a ſecure reign, a ſafe family, valiant armies, a faithful ſenate, a loyal people, a quiet world, and whatever they as Men, or as Emperors, could wiſh.* Thus (addeth he) even for their perſecutors, and in the very pangs of their ſufferings, they did not fail to practice. Likewiſe of the Church in his time St. *Chryſoſtom* telleth us, that *all communicants did know how every day, both at even and morning, they did make ſupplication for all the world, and for the Emperor, and for all that are in authority.*

1 Tim. 2. 8.
Polycarp. *ad Philip. c.* 12.
Precantes ſumus ſemper pro omnibus Imperatoribus vitam illis prolixam, imperium ſecurum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, ſenatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis & Cæſaris vota ſunt. Tert. *Apol. cap.* 30.
Hoc agite, boni Præſules, extorquete animam Deo ſupplicantem pro Imperatore. Ibid.
Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσαι, πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ· πῶς ὑπὲρ πάντος τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑποζυγίῳ ὄντων, ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν. Chryſ. *in* 1 *Tim.* 2. 1.

And in the *Greek* Liturgies, (the compoſure whereof is fathered on St. *Chryſoſtom*) there are divers prayers interſperſed for the Emperors, couched in terms very pregnant and reſpectful.

If the offices of the *Roman* Church, and of the Churches truckling under it, in latter times, ſhall ſeem more defective or ſparing in this point of ſervice; the reaſon may be, for that a ſuperlative regard to the *ſolar* or *pontifical* authority (as Pope *Innocent* III. diſtinguiſhed) did obſcure their devotion for the *lunar* or *regal* Majeſty. But our Church hath been abundantly careful, that we ſhould in moſt ample manner diſcharge this duty; having in each of her holy offices directed us to pray for our King in expreſſions moſt full, hearty and lively.

She hath indeed been charged as ſomewhat laviſh or over liberal of her devotions in this caſe. But it is a good fault, and we little need fear over-doing in obſervance of a precept ſo very reaſonable, and ſo important; ſuppoſing that we have a due care to join our heart with the Church's words, and to the frequency of prayers for our Prince do confer a ſuitable fervency. If we be not dead, or merely formal, we can hardly be too copious in this kind of devotion; reiteration of words can do no harm, being accompanied with renovation of our deſires. Our text it ſelf will bear us out in ſuch a practice; the apoſtle therein by variety of expreſſion appearing ſolicitous, that abundance of prayers for Kings ſhould be offered in the Church, and no ſort of them omitted.

There are ſo many general inducements to this duty at all times; and there are beſide divers particular reaſons enforcing it now, in the preſent ſtate and poſture of things.

Times of trouble, of danger, of fear, of darkneſs and perplexity, of diſtraction and diſtreſs, of guilt, and deſerved wrath, are moſt ſeaſonable for recourſe to the divine help and mercy in prayer.

Pſal. 145. 18.—& 18. 6. & 77. 2. & 86. 7. & 118. 5. & 142. 1.—& 107. 6.—Jam. 5. 13. 2 Chr. 6. 36.———
Inops Senatus auxilii humani ad deos populum ac vota vertit. Liv. 3. 7. & 5. 16.

And are not ours ſuch? are they not much like to thoſe of which the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *They know not, neither will they underſtand; they walk on in darkneſs: all the foundations of the earth are out of courſe?* or like thoſe which our Lord ſpake, Pſal. 82. 5.

Luke 21. 25, 26. (2 Kings 19. 3.) when there was *upon the earth diſtreſs of nations, with perplexity; mens hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after thoſe things which were coming on the earth?*

Are not the days gloomy, ſo that no humane providence can ſee far, no wiſdom can deſcry the iſſue of things?

Pſal. 107. 27. Is it not a very unſettled world, wherein all the publick frames are ſhaken almoſt off the hinges, and the minds of men extremely diſcompoſed with various paſſions; with fear, ſuſpicion, anger, diſcontent and impatience? How from diſſentions in opinion do violent factions and feuds rage; the hearts of men boiling with fierce animoſities, and being exaſperated againſt one another, beyond any hopes or viſible means of reconcilement?

Are not the fences of diſcipline caſt down? is there any conſcience made of violating laws? is not the dread of authority exceedingly abated, and all government overborn by unbridled licentiouſneſs?

Pſal. 129. 5. & 83. 5.— How many adverſaries are there, *bearing ill-will to our Sion?* how many turbulent, malicious, crafty ſpirits, eagerly bent, and watching for occaſion to ſubvert the Church, to diſturb the State, to introduce confuſion in all things? how many Pſal. 137. 7. *Edomites*, who ſay of *Jeruſalem*, (both eccleſiaſtical and civil) *Down with it, down with it even to the ground?*

Have we not great reaſon to be fearful of God's juſt diſpleaſure, and that heavy judgments will be poured on us for our manifold hainous provocations, and crying ſins; for the prodigious growth of atheiſm, infidelity and profaneneſs; for the rife practice of all impieties, iniquities and impurities, with moſt impudent boldneſs, or rather with outrageous inſolence; for the extreme diſſoluteneſs in manners, the groſs neglect or contempt of all duties, the great ſtupidity and coldneſs of people generally as to all concerns of religion; for the want of religious awe toward God, of charity toward our neighbour, of reſpect to our ſuperiors, of ſobriety in our converſation; for our ingratitude for many great mercies, and incorrigibleneſs under many ſore chaſtiſements, our inſenſibleneſs of many plain warnings, loudly calling us to repentance?

Is not all the world about us in combuſtion, cruel wars raging every where, and Chriſtendom weltring in blood? and although at preſent, by God's mercy, we are free, who knows but that ſoon, by God's juſtice, the neighbouring flames may catch our houſes?

In fine, is not our caſe palpably ſuch, that for any good compoſure or re-inſtatement of things in good order, for upholding truth and ſound doctrine, for reducing charity and peace, for reviving the ſpirit of piety, and bringing virtue again into requeſt, for preſerving State and Church from ruin, we can have no confidence or reaſonable hope, but in the good providence and merciful ſuccour of Al-
Iſa. 43. 11. Hoſ. 13. 4. Jer. 14. 8. mighty God; *beſide whom there is no Saviour*; who alone is *the hope of Iſrael, and Saviour thereof in time of trouble*? we now having great cauſe to pray with Matt. 8. 25. our Lord's diſciples in the ſtorm, *Lord, ſave us, we periſh.*

Upon ſuch conſiderations, and others whereof I ſuppoſe you are ſufficiently apprehenſive, we now eſpecially are obliged earneſtly to pray for our King, that God in mercy would preſerve his royal Perſon, and inſpire his mind with light, and en-
Iſa. 58. 12. due his heart with grace, and in all things bleſs him to us, to be *a repairer of our breaches, and a reſtorer of paths to dwell in*; ſo that *under him we may lead a quiet life in all godlineſs and honeſty.*

I have done with the firſt duty, (*Prayer for Kings*) upon which I have the rather ſo largely inſiſted, becauſe it is very ſeaſonable to our preſent condition.

II. The other (*Thankſgiving*) I ſhall but touch, and need not perhaps to do more. For,

1. As to general inducements, they are the ſame, or very like to thoſe which are for prayer; it being plain, that whatever we are concerned to pray for, when we want it, that we are bound to thank God for, when he vouchſafeth to beſtow it. And if common charity ſhould diſpoſe us to reſent the good of Princes with complacence; if their welfare be a publick benefit; if our ſelves are intereſted in it, and partake great advantages thereby; if in equity and ingenuity we are bound to ſeek it; then, ſurely, we are much engaged to thank God, the bountiful donor of it, for his goodneſs in conferring it.

2. As

2. As for particular motives, ſuiting the preſent occaſion, I need not by information or impreſſion of them farther to ſtretch your patience; ſeeing you cannot be ignorant or inſenſible of the grand benefits by the divine goodneſs beſtowed on our King, and on our ſelves, which this day we are bound with all grateful acknowledgment to commemorate. Wherefore inſtead of reciting trite ſtories, and urging obvious reaſons, (which a ſmall recollection will ſuggeſt to you) I ſhall only requeſt you to joyn with me in the practice of the duty, and in acclamation of praiſe to God. Even ſo

Bleſſed be God, who hath given to us ſo gracious and benign a Prince, (the experiments of whoſe clemency and goodneſs no hiſtory can parallel) to ſit on the throne of his bleſſed Father, and renowned anceſtors. 1 Kings 1. 48.

Bleſſed be God, who hath protected him in ſo many encounters, hath ſaved him from ſo many dangers and ſnares, hath delivered him from ſo great troubles. Pſal. 18. 46.— 89. 22, 23.

Bleſſed be God, who in ſo wonderful a manner, by ſuch miraculous trains of providence, did reduce him to his countrey, and re-inſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his rights; thereby vindicating his own juſt providence, *declaring his ſalvation, and openly ſhewing his righteouſneſs in the ſight of all people.* Pſal. 98. 2.

Bleſſed be God, who in him, and with him did reſtore to us our ancient good conſtitution of government, our laws and liberties, our peace and quiet; reſcuing us from lawleſs uſurpations and tyrannical yokes, from the inſultings of error and iniquity, from horrible diſtractions and confuſions.

Ever bleſſed be God, who hath *turned the captivity of Sion*; hath raiſed our Church from the duſt, and re-eſtabliſhed the ſound doctrine, the decent order, the wholſome diſcipline thereof; hath reſtored true religion with its ſupports, advantages and encouragements. Pſal. 126. 1.

Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath granted us to continue theſe ſixteen years in the peaceable fruition of thoſe bleſſings. (Iſ. 30. 20.—)

Praiſed be God, who hath not caſt out our prayer, nor turned his mercy from us. Pſal. 66. 20.

Prailed be God, who *hath turned our heavineſs into joy, hath put off our ſackcloth, and girded us with gladneſs.* 30. 11.

Let our mouth ſpeak the praiſe of the Lord; and let all fleſh bleſs his holy name for ever and ever. 145. 21.

The Lord liveth, and bleſſed be our rock; and let the God of our ſalvation be exalted. 18. 46.

Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, who only doth wondrous things; and bleſſed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen. Pſ. 72. 18, 19.

Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael from everlaſting to everlaſting: and let all the people ſay, Amen. Praiſe ye the Lord. Pſal. 106. 48. & 41. 13. & 89. 52. & 68. 34. —— 1 Chron. 16. 8 —— 36.

SERMON XI.

On Nov. 5. 1673.

A Sermon on the Gunpowder-Treaſon.

PSAL. LXIV. 9, 10.

9. *And all men ſhall fear, and ſhall declare the work of God; for they ſhall wiſely conſider of his doing.*
10 *The righteous ſhall be glad in the Lord, and ſhall truſt in him; and all the upright in heart ſhall glory.*

IF we ſhould ſearch about for a caſe parallel to that which we do now commemorate, we ſhould, perhaps, hardly find one more patly ſuch, than is that which is implied in this Pſalm: and if we would know the duties incumbent on us in reference to ſuch an occaſion, we could ſcarce better learn them other-where than in our text.

With attention peruſing the Pſalm, we may therein obſerve, That its great author was apprehenſive of a deſperate plot by a confederacy of wicked and ſpiteful enemies, with great craft and ſecrecy, contrived againſt his ſafety.
Pſal. 64. 5. *They*, ſaith he, *encourage themſelves in an evil matter; they commune of laying ſnares privily; they ſay, Who ſhall ſee them?* That for preventing the blow threatned by this deſign, (whereof he had ſome glimpſe, or ſome preſumption, grounded upon the knowledge of their implacable and active malice,) he doth im-
Ver. 2. plore divine protection: *Hide me*, ſaith he, *from the ſecret counſel of the wicked, from the inſurrection of the workers of iniquity.* That he did confide in God's mercy and juſtice for the ſeaſonable defeating, for the fit avenging their ma-
Ver. 7. chination: *God*, ſaith he, *ſhall ſhoot at them with an arrow; ſuddenly ſhall they be wounded.* That they ſhould themſelves become the detectors of their
Ver. 8. crime, and the inſtruments of the exemplary puniſhment due thereto: *They*, addeth he, *ſhall make their own tongue to fall upon themſelves: all that ſee them ſhall flee away.*

Such was the caſe; the which unto what paſſage in the hiſtory it doth relate, or whether it belongeth to any we have recorded, it may not be eaſie to determine. Expoſitors commonly do refer it to the deſigns of *Saul* upon *David*'s life. But this ſeeming purely conjecture, not founded upon any expreſs words, or pregnant intimations in the text, I ſhall leave that enquiry in its own uncertainty. It ſufficeth to make good its pertinency, that there was ſuch a miſchievous conſpiracy, deeply projected againſt *David*; (a very great perſonage, in whoſe ſafety the publick ſtate of God's people was principally concerned; he being then King of *Iſra-*
Pſal. 63. 11. *el*, at leaſt in deſignation, and therefore in the precedent Pſalm, endited in *Saul*'s time, is ſo ſtyled;) from the peril whereof he by the ſpecial providence of God was reſcued, with the notable diſappointment and grievous confuſion of thoſe who managed it. The which caſe (at leaſt in kind, if not in degree) beareth a plain reſemblance to that which lieth before us.

And the duties which upon that occaſion are ſignified to concern people then, do no leſs now ſort to us; the which, as they lie couched in our text, are theſe: 1. *Wiſely* to *conſider God's doing*; 2. To *fear*; 3. To *declare God's work*; 4. To *be glad in the Lord*; 5. To *truſt in God*; 6. To *glory*. Of which the firſt three are repreſented as more generally concerning men; the others as appertaining more peculiarly to righteous and upright perſons.

Theſe duties it ſhall be my endeavour ſomewhat to explain and preſs, in a manner applicable to the preſent caſe. I call them duties; and to warrant the doing

ſo,

ſo, it is requiſite to conſider, that all theſe particulars may be underſtood in a double manner, either as declarative of event, or as directive of practice upon ſuch emergences.

When God doth ſo interpoſe his hand, as ſignally to check and confound miſchievous enterprizes; it will be apt to ſtir up in the minds of men an apprehenſion of God's ſpecial providence, to ſtrike into their hearts a dread of his power and juſtice, to wring from their mouths ſuitable declarations and acknowledgments; and particularly then good men will be affected with pious joy, they will be encouraged to confide in God, they will be moved to glory, or to expreſs a triumphant ſatisfaction in God's proceedings. Theſe events naturally do reſult from ſuch providential occurrences; for production of theſe events ſuch occurrences are purpoſely deſigned; and accordingly (where men are not by profane opinions or affections much indiſpoſed) they do commonly follow.

But yet they are not propoſed ſimply as events, but alſo as matters of duty: for men are obliged readily to admit ſuch impreſſions upon their minds, hearts and lives, from the ſpecial works of providence; they are bound not to croſs thoſe natural tendencies, not to fruſtrate thoſe wiſe intents of God, aiming at the production of ſuch good diſpoſitions and good practices: whence if thoſe effects do not ariſe, as often notoriouſly they do not in ſome perſons, men thereby do incur much guilt and blame.

It is indeed ordinary to repreſent matter of duty in this way, expreſſing thoſe practices conſequent in effect, which in obligation ſhould follow, according to God's purpoſe, and the nature of cauſes ordered by him. As when, for inſtance, God in the law had preſcribed duty, and threatned ſore puniſhment on the diſobedient, it is ſubjoyned, *And all the people ſhall hear, and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly:* the meaning is, that ſuch exemplary puniſhment is in its nature apt, and its deſign tendeth to produce ſuch effects, although not ever, queſtionleſs, with due ſucceſs, ſo as to prevent all tranſgreſſion of thoſe laws. So alſo, *when* (ſaith the Prophet) *thy judgments are in the land, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs*; the ſenſe is, that divine judgments in themſelves are inſtructive of duty, it is their drift to inform men therein, and men ought to learn that leſſon from them; although in effect divers there be, whom no judgments can make wiſer or better; ſuch as thoſe of whom in the ſame Prophet it is ſaid, *The people turneth not unto him that ſmiteth them*; and in another, *In vain have I ſmitten your children, they received no correction.* As therefore frequently other-where, ſo alſo here this kind of expreſſion may be taken chiefly to import duty. To begin then with the firſt of theſe duties.

Deut. 17. 13. & 13. 11. & 19. 20.

Iſa. 26. 9.

Iſa. 9. 13. Jer. 2. 30. & 5. 3. Neh. 9. 29.

I. We are upon ſuch occaſions obliged *wiſely to conſider* (or, as the *Greek* rendreth it, συνιέναι, *to underſtand*, or *to perceive*, as our old tranſlation hath it) *God's doing*. This I put in the firſt place, as previous in nature, and influential upon the reſt: whence (although in the *Hebrew* it be knit to the reſt, as they all are to one another, by the conjunctive particle, *ve*, *and*, yet) we do tranſlate it cauſally, *for they ſhall wiſely conſider, for they ſhall perceive*; becauſe indeed without duly conſidering and rightly underſtanding ſuch occurrences to proceed from God, none of the other acts can, or will be performed: attentive conſideration is needful to beget knowledge and perſuaſion, theſe to breed affection and practice.

ומעשהו השכילו

συνῆκεν τὰ ποιήματα.

There are many who, in ſuch caſes, are no-wiſe apprehenſive of God's ſpecial providence, or affected with it; becauſe they do not conſider, or do not conſider wiſely and intelligently.

Some are very inobſervant and careleſs in regard to things of this nature; ſo drowzy and heedleſs, as not to attend to whatever paſſeth, or to mind what God acteth in the world: ſuch as thoſe of whom the Prophet ſaith, *The harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine are their feaſts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands:* that is, their minds are ſo amuſed by wanton divertiſements, their hearts are ſo immerſed in ſenſual enjoyments, as no-wiſe to obſerve the moſt notable occurrences of providence.

Iſa. 5. 12. Pſal. 28. 5. & 10. 4.

Others, (although they do ken and regard what is done, as matter of news, or ſtory, entertaining curioſity and talk; yet) out of ſloth or ſtupidity, do little conſider it, or ſtudy whence it ſpringeth; contenting themſelves with none, or with any ſuperficial account, which fancy or appearance ſuggeſteth: like beaſts, they do take in things obvious to their ſenſe, and perhaps ſtand gazing on them; but do not

not make any careful reflection, or enquiry into their original cauſes and reaſons; taking (as a dog, when he biteth the ſtone flung at him, or as a child that is angry with the log he falleth on) whatever appeareth next, to be the principal cauſe; ſuch as the Pſalmiſt again toucheth, when he ſaith, *A brutiſh man knoweth not, neither doth a fool underſtand this:* and as he doth acknowledge himſelf on one occaſion to have been; *So fooliſh was I, and ignorant; I was as a beaſt before thee.*

Pſal. 92. 6.

& 73. 22.

Others pretend to conſider much, and ſeem very inquiſitive; yet (being miſguided by vain prejudices or foul affections) do not conſider wiſely, or well underſtand theſe matters; the reſult of their care and ſtudy about them being to father them on wrong cauſes, aſcribing them to the mere conduct and agency of viſible cauſes, hurried by a neceſſary ſwing, or rolling on by a caſual fluctuation of things; not deſcrying God's hand in them, but profanely diſcharging and diſclaiming it: ſuch as thoſe in the Pſalms, who ſo reflected on providence, as to ſay; *How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the moſt high? The Lord doth not ſee, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it:* ſuch as hath been the brood of *Epicurean* and profane conſiderations in all times, who have earneſtly plodded, and ſtrained their wits to exclude God from any inſpection or influence upon our affairs.

Pſal. 73. 11.

& 94. 7.

& 10. 11.

Some indeed there have been ſo very dull and ſtupid, or ſo perverſe and profane, as not to diſcern God's hand, when it was *made bare, raiſed up*, and *ſtretched out* in the atchievement of moſt prodigious works; not to read providence, when ſet forth in the largeſt and faireſt print: ſuch as thoſe of whom 'tis ſaid in the Pſalm, * *Our fathers underſtood not thy wonders in Egypt*; and thoſe of whom 'tis obſerved in the goſpel, † *Though he had done ſo many miracles before them, yet they believed not:* ſuch as the mutinous people, who, although they beheld ‡ *the earth ſwallowing up Corah with his complices*, and *a fire from the Lord conſuming the men that offered incenſe*; yet preſently did fall a charging *Moſes* and *Aaron*, ſaying, *Ye have killed the people of the Lord.* No wonder then, if many do not perceive the ſame hand, when it is wrapp'd up in a complication with inferior cauſes; when it is not lifted up ſo high, or ſo far extended in miraculous performances.

Iſa. 52. 10. Exod. 14. 8. Deut. 26. 8. Iſa. 26. 11. *Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not ſee, &c.*

* Pſal. 106. 7.

† Joh. 12. 37.

‡ Num. 16. 32, 35, 41.

The ſpecial providence of God in events here effected or ordered by him, is indeed commonly not diſcernible without good judgment and great care: it is not commonly impreſſed upon events in characters ſo big and clear, as to be legible to every eye, or to any eye not endued with a ſharp perſpicacy, not applying an induſtrious heedfulneſs: the tracts thereof are too fine and ſubtle to be deſcribed by a dim ſight, with a tranſient glance, or upon a groſs view: it is ſeldom ſo very conſpicuous, that perſons incredulous, or any-wiſe indiſpoſed to admit it, can eaſily be convinced thereof, or conſtrained to acknowledge it: it is often (upon many accounts, from many cauſes) very obſcure, and not eaſily diſcernible to the moſt ſagacious, moſt watchful, moſt willing obſervers. For, the inſtruments of providence being free agents, acting with unaccountable variety, nothing can happen which may not be imputed to them, with ſome colourable pretence. Divine and humane influences are ſo twiſted and knit together, that it is hard to ſever them. The manner of divine efficacy is ſo very ſoft and gentle, that we cannot eaſily trace its footſteps. God deſigneth not commonly to exert his hand in a notorious way, but often purpoſely doth conceal it. Whereas alſo it is not fit to charge upon God's ſpecial hand of providence any event, wherein ſpecial ends of wiſdom or goodneſs do not ſhine; it is often hard to diſcover ſuch ends, which uſually are wrapp'd in perplexities; becauſe God acteth variouſly, (according to the circumſtances of things, and the diſpoſition, capacity or ſtate of objects) ſo as to do the ſame thing for different ends, and different things for the ſame end: becauſe there are different ends, unto which providence in various order and meaſure hath regard, which our ſhort and narrow proſpect cannot reach: becauſe God, in proſecution of his ends, is not wont to proceed in the moſt direct and compendious way; but windeth about in a large circuit, enfolding many concurrent and ſubordinate deſigns: becauſe the expediency of things to be permitted or performed doth not conſiſt in ſingle acts or events, but in many conſpiring to one common end: becauſe we cannot apprehend the conſequences, nor balance the conveniencies of things in order to good ends: becauſe we are apt to meaſure things by their congruity to our opinions, expectations and affections: becauſe many proceedings of God depend upon grounds inacceſſible to our apprehenſion; ſuch as his own ſecret decr[illegible]

knowledge of mens thoughts, cloſe purpoſes, clandeſtine deſigns, true qualifications and merits; his preſcience of contingent events, and what the reſult will be from the combination of numberleſs cauſes: becauſe ſometimes he doth act in methods of wiſdom, and by rules of juſtice, ſurpaſſing our capacity to know, either from the meanneſs of our nature, or the feebleneſs of our reaſon, or the unfitneſs of our ſtate and circumſtances here: becauſe alſo the divine adminiſtration of affairs hath no complete determination or final iſſue here; that being reſerved to the great day of reckoning and judgment. It is farther alſo expedient that many occurrences ſhould be puzzling to us, to quaſh our preſumption, to exerciſe our faith, to quicken our induſtry, to engage us upon adoring that wiſdom which we cannot comprehend. Upon ſuch accounts, for ſuch cauſes, (which time will not give me leave to explain and exemplifie) the ſpecial providence of God is often cloudy, is ſeldom ſo clear, that without great heed and conſideration we can perceive it. But however to do ſo is plainly our duty; and therefore poſſible.

For our reaſon was not given us to be idle upon ſo important occaſions; or that we ſhould be as brute ſpectators of what God doth. He, ſurely, in the governance of his nobleſt creature here diſcovereth his being, and diſplayeth his attributes: we therefore carefully ſhould obſerve it. He thereby (and no otherwiſe in a publick way) doth continually *ſpeak*, and ſignifie to us his mind: and fit it is, that we his ſubjects ſhould hear, ſhould attend to the leaſt intimations of his pleaſure. To him thence glory ſhould accrue, the which who but we can render? and that we may render it, we muſt know the grounds of it. In fine, for the ſupport of God's kingdom, for upholding the reverence due to his adminiſtration of juſtice among us, it is requiſite, that by apparent diſpenſation of recompences duty ſhould be encouraged, and diſobedience checked: very fooliſh therefore we muſt be, if we regard not ſuch diſpenſations. Pſal. 50. 1. & 60. 6. & 62. 11.

So reaſon dictateth, and holy ſcripture more plainly declareth our obligation to conſider and perceive God's doings. To do ſo is recommended to us as a ſingular point of wiſdom: *Whoſo is wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, they ſhall underſtand the loving-kindneſs of the Lord. Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he underſtandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exerciſe loving-kindneſs, judgment and righteouſneſs in the earth. Who is wiſe? and he ſhall underſtand theſe things; prudent? and he ſhall know them, For the ways of the Lord are right*, &c. We are vehemently provoked thereto: *Underſtand, ye brutiſh among the people; and, ye fools, when will ye be wiſe?* They are reproved for neglect and defailance, *who do not regard the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his hand.* The not diſcerning providence is reproached as a piece of ſhameful folly; *A brutiſh man knoweth not, neither doth a fool underſtand:* and of woful pravity; * *O ye hypocrites, ye can diſcern the face of the ſky; but how is it that ye cannot diſcern this time?* To contemplate and ſtudy providence is the practice of good men. *I will meditate on all thy works*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, chiefly reſpecting works of this kind: and, *The works of the Lord are great, ſought out of all them that have pleaſure therein.* It is a fit matter of devotion, warranted by the practice of good men, to implore God's manifeſtation of his juſtice and power this way. *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, ſhew thy ſelf; lift up thy ſelf, thou judge of the earth.* It is God's manner hereby to notifie himſelf. *The Lord is known by the judgment that he executeth.* He for this very purpoſe doth interpoſe his hand, *that men may know that it is his hand, and that the Lord hath done it*; that (as it is in *Eſay*) *they may ſee, and know, and conſider and underſtand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy one of Iſrael hath created it.* He manageth things ſo, that men may be brought to know, may be induced to acknowledge his authority, and his equity in the management thereof; that *they may know that he whoſe name is Jehovah, is the moſt high over all the earth*; that *they may ſay, Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily there is a God that judgeth the earth.* In fine, the knowledge of God's ſpecial providence is frequently repreſented as a mean of nouriſhing our faith and hope in him, as a ground of thankfulneſs and praiſe to him, as an incentive of the beſt affections (of holy joy, and humble fear,

Pſal. 107. 43. Jer. 9. 24. Hoſ. 14. 9. Pſal. 94. 8. Pſal. 28. 5. & 10. 4. Iſa. 5. 12. Pſal. 92. 6. (Iſa. 26. 11.) *Lord, when thy hand is lifted up they will not ſee.* *Luke 12. 56. Matt. 16. 3. Pſal. 77. 12. & 143. 5. Pſal. 111. 2. 94. 1, 2. Pſal. 9. 16. Pſal. 109. 27. Iſa. 41. 20. (Ezek. 7. 27.)

God thereby doth ſupport and encourage good men.

He doth thereby convince and confound ill men. *Pſal.* 9. 19, 20.

He thereby doth inſtruct all men. *Iſa.* 26. 9.

Pſal. 59. 13. & 83. 18. & 67. 2. Pſal. 58. 11.

ſear, and hearty love) toward him: wherefore we ought to ſeek it, and we may attain it.

There are conſequently ſome diſtinctive marks or characters, by which we may perceive God's hand: and ſuch may theſe be which follow, (drawn from the ſpecial nature, manner, adjuncts and conſequences of events:) upon which may be grounded rules declarative of ſpecial providence, ſuch as commonly will hold: although ſometimes they may admit exceptions, and ſhould be warily applied.

1. The wonderful ſtrangeneſs of events, compared with the ordinary courſe of things, or the natural influence of cauſes: when effects are performed by no viſible means; or by means diſproportionate, unſuitable, repugnant to the effect. Sometimes great exploits are atchieved, mighty forces are diſcomfited, huge ſtructures are demoliſhed, deſigns backed with all advantages of wit and ſtrength are confounded none knows how, by no conſiderable means that appear; nature riſing up in arms againſt them: panick fears ſeizing on the abetters of them; diſſentions and treacheries ſpringing up among the actors; ſudden deaths ſnatching away the principal inſtruments of them. As, when *the ſtars in their courſes fought againſt Siſera:* when the winds and skies became auxiliaries to *Theodoſius:* when, *the Lord thundred with a great thunder upon the Philiſtines, and diſcomfited them, and they were ſmitten before Iſrael:* when *the Lord made the hoaſt of Syrians to hear a noiſe of chariots, of horſes, of a great hoaſt*;——whence *they aroſe and fled:* when *the children of Ammon and Moab ſtood up againſt the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to ſlay and deſtroy them; and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to deſtroy another:* when *the angel of the Lord went out, and ſmote in the camp of the Aſſyrians* 185000 *men; and when they aroſe early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpſes:* when the mighty power of *Antiochus* was, as it is ſaid, to be *broken without hands:* and when, as it is foretold, *a ſtone cut out of the mountain without hands, ſhould break in pieces the iron, the braſs, the clay, the ſilver, and the gold.* Such events do ſpeak God to be their cauſe, by his inviſible efficacy ſupplying the defect of apparent means.

Judg. 5. 20. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 5. 26. 1 Sam. 7. 10. 2 Sam. 22. 14, 15. 2 Kings 7. 6. Pſal. 53. 5. & 48. 6. 2 Chr. 20. 23. 2 Kings 19. 35. Dan. 8. 25. & 2. 45.

So likewiſe, when by weak forces great feats are accompliſhed, and impotency triumpheth over might: when (as the Prophet ſaith) * *the captives of the mighty are taken away, and the prey of the terrible is delivered:* when *one man* (as is promiſed) *doth chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight:* when † a ſtripling, furniſhed only with faith and a pebble, ſhall knock down a monſtrous giant, armed with a helmet of braſs and a coat of mail, with a huge target, ſword and ſpear: when ſucceſſes arrive like thoſe recorded in ſcripture under the conduct of *Joſhua, Gideon, Jonathan, Aſa, Jehoſaphat*; wherein very ſmall forces, by uncouth means, did ſubdue formidable powers: This doth argue that God doth interpoſe, * *with whom* (as it is ſaid) *it is all one to ſave by many, or by few, and thoſe that have no power*; whoſe *power is perfected in weakneſs*; who *breaketh the arm of the wicked*, and *weakeneth the ſtrength of the mighty*, and *delivereth the poor from him that is too ſtrong for him.*

Vid. Artabani *Orat. apud* Herod. *Polymn. p.* 246. Hom. *Il.* π'. 688.
* Iſa. 49. 25.
Joſh. 23. 10. Lev. 26. 8. Deut. 32. 30.
† 1 Sam. 17. 5, 40.
Judg. 7. 7. 1 Sam. 14. 6.—— 2 Chron. 14. 11.—— & 20. 12, 17. * 2 Chron. 14. 11. 1 Sam. 14. 6. 2 Cor. 12. 9.
Job. 12. 21. & 38. 15. Pſal. 10. 15. & 37. 17. & 35. 10. (Pſal. 76. 5.)

Alſo when great policy and craft do effect nothing, but are blaſted of themſelves, or baffled by ſimplicity: when cunningly-laid deſigns are ſoon thwarted and overturned: when moſt perſpicacious and profound counſellors are ſo blinded, or ſo infatuated, as to miſtake in plain caſes, to overſee things moſt obvious and palpable: when profane, malicious, ſubtle, treacherous politicians (ſuch as *Abimelech, Achitophel, Aman, Sejanus, Stilico, Borgia,* with many like occurring in ſtory) are not only ſupplanted in their wicked contrivances, but diſmally chaſtiſed for them: Theſe occurrences do more than inſinuate divine wiſdom to intervene, countermining and confounding ſuch devices. For he it is who (as the Scripture telleth us) *maketh the diviners mad; turneth wiſe men backward, and maketh their knowledge fooliſh; diſappointeth the devices of the crafty; ſo that their hands cannot perform their enterprize; taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſs, and turneth down the counſel of the froward headlong.*

Hom. οδ. ψ'. *verſ.* 11.
2 Sam. 15. 31.
Ruffinus, *St.* Paul, d'Ancra, de Luna, *&c.*
Iſa. 44. 25. Job 5. 12, 13. (Pſal. 33. 10.) βυλὰς πολυπλόκων ἐξιστᾶσι.

When

Whenever a juſt cauſe, or honeſt deſign, without any ſupport or ſuccour of worldly means, (without authority, power, wit, learning, eloquence,) doth againſt all oppoſition of violence and art prevail: this ſignifieth him to yield a ſpecial countenance and aid thereto, who (to depreſs humane pride, and advance his own glory) *hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and the weak things of the world, to confound the things that are mighty; and baſe things of the world, and things which are deſpiſed, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are:* (that are with us in moſt requeſt and eſteem.) 1 Cor. 1. 27, 28.

Again, when plots, with extreme caution and ſecrecy contrived in darkneſs, are by improbable means, by unaccountable accidents diſcloſed and brought to light: *a bird of the air* (as the *wiſe man* ſpeaketh) *telling the matter; the ſtones in the wall* (as it is in the Prophet) *crying out* treaſon. The King cannot ſleep; to divert him the chronicle is called for; *Mordecai*'s ſervice is there pitched on; and inquiry is made concerning his recompence; honour is decreed him: ſo doth *Haman*'s cruel device come out. Pity ſeizeth on a pitileſs heart toward one among a huge number of innocents devoted to ſlaughter; that he may be ſaved, a Letter muſt be ſent: in that, words inſerted ſuggeſting the manner of execution; that carried to the wiſe King, who preſently ſmelleth it out: ſo this day's plot was diſcovered. Such events, whence can they well proceed, but from the all-piercing and ever-watchful care of him, *whoſe eyes* (as *Elihu* ſaid) *are upon the ways of man, and he ſeeth all his goings? There is no darkneſs, nor ſhadow of death, where the workers of iniquity ſhall hide themſelves:* For *Hell is naked before him, and deſtruction hath no covering.* Eccleſ. 10. 20. Hab. 2. 11. (Pſ. 121. 4) Job 34. 21. Job 34. 22. Job. 26. 6. Pſal. 132. 2, &c. Heb. 4. 13. Am. 9. 2.

Alſo, when ill men by their perverſe wilineſs do notably befool and enſnare themſelves, laying trains to blow up their own deſigns, involving themſelves in that ruin and miſchief into which they ſtudied to draw others; as when *Saul*, expoſing *David's* life to hazard, encreaſeth his honour; when the *Perſian* nobles, incenſing the King againſt *Daniel*, do occaſion his growth in favour, with their own deſtruction; when *Haman*, by contriving to deſtroy God's people, doth advance them, and rearing a gallows for *Mordecai*, doth prepare it for himſelf: when it happeneth according to thoſe paſſages in the Pſalms, *the wicked are taken in the devices that they imagined; in the net which they hid is their own foot taken; he made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made; his miſchief ſhall return upon his own head, and his violent dealings ſhall come upon his own pate:* Theſe are pregnant evidences of God's juſt and wiſe providence: for, *The Lord is known by the judgment that he executeth; the wicked is ſnared in the work of his own hand.* 1 Sam. 18. 25. Dan. 6. 24. Pſal. 10. 2. & 9. 15. & 35. 8. & 140. 5. Pſal 7. 15. & 57. 6. Pſal. 7. 16. 5. 10. Pſal. 9. 2.

All ſuch occurrences, containing in them ſomewhat, if not down-rightly miraculous, yet very admirable, in like manner deflecting from the ſtream of humane affairs, as miracles do ſurmount the courſe of nature, moſt reaſonably may, moſt juſtly ſhould be aſcribed to the ſpecial operation of him, who *only doth wonderful things.* Pſal. 72. 18. & 86. 10.

2. Another character of ſpecial providence is, the ſeaſonableneſs, and ſuddenneſs of events. When that which in it ſelf is not ordinary, nor could well be expected, doth fall out happily, in the nick of an exigency, for the relief of innocence, the incouragement of goodneſs, the ſupport of a good cauſe, the furtherance of any good purpoſe; (ſo that there is occaſion to acknowledge with the prophet, *Thou didſt terrible things, that we looked not for:*) This is a ſhrewd indication, that God's hand is then concerned; not only the event being notable, but the connexion thereof with circumſtances of need being more admirable. Iſa. 64. 3.

Thus in time of diſtreſs and deſpondency, when a man is utterly forlorn, and deſtitute of all viſible relief, when (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh) *refuge faileth him, and no man careth for his ſoul*; if then * ἀκαιρὸς βοήθεια, *an opportune ſuccour* doth arrive; he is then unreaſonable and ingrateful if he doth not avow a ſpecial providence, and thankfully aſcribe that event unto him who is *our refuge and ſtrength, a very preſent help in trouble*; ‡ *a ſtrength to the poor, a ſtrength to the needy in his diſtreſs, a refuge from the ſtorm, a ſhadow from the heat*; † *the hope of Iſrael, and the Saviour thereof in time of trouble.* This is that, for Pſal. 142. 4. (Pſal. 44. 25. & 108. 12.) * Heb. 4. 16. Pſal. 46. 1. & 9. 9. & 44. 24—& 37. 39. & 27. 5. & 69. 14.— & 18. 6.

‡ Iſa. 25. 4. & 33. 2. † Jer. 14. 8. Job 33. 18.

which in the * 107 *Pſalm* the divine goodneſs is ſo magnificently celebrated; this is the burthen of that pathetical rapture, wherein we by repeated wiſhes and exhortations are inſtigated to bleſs God; his wonderfully relieving the children of men in their need and diſtreſs: this is that, which God himſelf in the prophet repreſenteth as a moſt ſatisfactory demonſtration of his providence. *When the poor and needy ſeek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirſt; I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Jacob will not forſake them: I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midſt of the valleys,* &c. *That they may ſee, and know, and conſider, and underſtand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the holy one of Iſrael hath created it.*

So alſo, when peſtilent enterpriſes (managed by cloſe fraud, or by impetuous violence) are brought to a head, and come near to the point of being executed; the ſudden detection, or ſeaſonable obſtruction of them, do argue the ever vigilant eye, and the all-powerful hand to be engaged. God ever doth ſee thoſe deceitful workers of iniquity, laying their miſchief in the dark; he is always preſent at their cabals, and clandeſtine meetings, wherein they brood upon it. He often doth ſuffer it to grow on to a pitch of maturity, till it be throughly formed, till it be ready to be hatched, and break forth in its miſchievous effects; then in a trice he ſnappeth and cruſheth it to nothing. God beholdeth violent men ſetting out in their unjuſt attempts, he letteth them proceed on in a full career, until they reach the edge of their deſign; then inſtantly he checketh, putteth in a ſpoak, he ſtoppeth, he tumbleth them down, or turneth them backward. Thus was *Haman*'s plot daſhed, when he had procured a royal decree, when he had fixed a time, when he had iſſued forth letters to deſtroy God's people. Thus was *Pharaoh* overwhelmed, when he had juſt overtaken the children of *Iſrael*. Thus were the deſigns of *Abimelech*, of *Abſalom*, of *Adonijah*, of *Sanballat* nipped. Thus when *Sennacherib* with an unmatchable hoaſt had encamped againſt *Jeruſalem*, and had to appearance ſwallowed it: God did *put a hook into his noſe, and turned him back into his own land.* Thus when *Antiochus* was marching on furiouſly, to accompliſh his threat of turning *Jeruſalem* into a charnel, a noiſome diſeaſe did intercept his progreſs. Thus when the profane *Caligula* did mean to diſcharge his bloody rage on the *Jews*, for refuſing to worſhip him, a domeſtick ſword did preſently give vent to his revengeful breath. Thus alſo, when *Julian* had by his policy and his authority projected to overthrow our Religion, his plot ſoon was quaſhed, and his life ſnapped away by an unknown hand. Thus, *whenever the enemy doth come in like a flood,* (threatning immediately to overflow, and overturn all things,) *the ſpirit of the Lord doth lift up a ſtandard againſt him*; that is, God's ſecret efficacy doth ſuddenly reſtrain and repreſs his outrage. This uſually is the method of divine providence. God could prevent the * beginnings of wicked deſigns; he could ſupplant them in their firſt onſets; he could any where ſufflaminate and ſubvert them: but he rather winketh for a time, and ſuffereth the deſigners to go on, till they are ‡ mounted to the top of confidence, and good people are caſt on the brink of ruin; then † ὑπὸ μηχανῆς, ſurpriſingly, unexpectedly he ſtriketh in with effectual ſuccour: ſo declaring how vain the preſumption is of impious undertakers; how needful and ſure his protection is over innocent people; how much reaſon the one hath to dread him, and the other to confide in him. Then is God ſeen, then his care and power will be acknowledged, when he ſnatcheth us from the jaws of danger, when *our ſoul doth ſcape as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler.*

3. Another character of ſpecial providence is, the great utility and beneficialneſs of occurrences, eſpecially in regard to the publick ſtate of things, and to great perſonages, in whoſe welfare the publick is much concerned. To entitle every petty chance that arriveth to ſpecial providence, may ſignifie lightneſs; to father on God the miſchiefs iſſuing from our ſin and folly, may ſavour of profaneneſs; but to aſcribe every ‡ grand and beneficial event unto his good hand, hath ever been reputed wiſdom and juſtice. * *It hath been* (ſaith *Balbus* in *Cicero*) *a common opinion among the ancients, that whatever did bring great benefit to mankind, was never done without divine goodneſs toward men.* And well might they deem ſo, ſeeing to do ſo is moſt agreeable to his nature, and appertaining to his charge; and may appear to be ſo by good argu-

Pſal. 107. 8. 15, 21, 31.

Iſa. 41. 17, &c.

Eſth. 3.

Exod. 14.

2 King. 19. 28.

2 Mac. 9. 4.

Joſep. 18. 12.

Chryſoſt. *in Babylam, Orat.* 2. Naz. *Orat.* 4.

Iſa. 59. 19.

(Job 38. 11.)

* Εἰ ἧ μὴ ὁκ προοιμίων, μηδὲ δίβιως, ἴδος αὐτῷ τοιῶτον, &c. *Vi.* Chryſ. *ad Olymp.*

‡ Ὅταν κοζωθῇ, ὅταν αὐξηθῇ, &c. Ibid.

† *Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit.*

Pſal. 124. 7.

‡ *Magna dii curant, parva neglizunt.* Cic. 2. *de N. D.*

* *Quidquid magnam utilitatem generi adferret humano, id non ſine Divina bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur.* Cic. *de Nat. Deor. lib.* 2.

argumentation *à priori*. For, that God doth govern our affairs, may be deduced from his eſſential attributes; and, conſequently, that he doth in eſpecial manner order theſe things, which are the moſt proper and worthy objects of his governance. God indeed doth not diſregard any thing; he watcheth over the leaſt things by his general and ordinary providence; ſo that nothing in nature may deviate from its courſe, or tranſgreſs the bounds preſcribed to it. He thereby *cloatheth the graſs of the field: He provideth for the raven his food, and the young lions ſeek their meat from him*; without his care * *a ſparrow doth not fall to the ground*; by it *all the hairs of our head are numbred*. But his more ſpecial hand of providence is chiefly employed in managing affairs of great moment and benefit to mankind; and peculiarly thoſe which concern his people, who do profeſs to worſhip and ſerve him; whoſe welfare he tendreth with more than ordinary care and affection. He therefore hath a main ſtroke in all revolutions and changes of ſtate: he preſideth in all great counſels and undertakings; in the waging of war, in the ſettlement of peace; in the diſpenſation of victory and good ſucceſs. He is peculiarly intereſted in the protection of Princes, the chief *miniſters of his Kingdom*; and in preſervation of his people, the choice object of his care, from violent invaſions, and treacherous ſurpriſes: ſo as to prevent diſaſters incident, or to deliver from them. *It is he that* (as the pſalmiſt ſaith) *doth give ſalvation unto Kings; who delivereth David his ſervant from the hurtful ſword*. It is he that continually * *keepeth Iſrael without ever ſleeping, or ſlumbring*; who is *the hope of Iſrael, and the ſaviour thereof*; who *is in the midſt of her, that ſhe ſhall not be moved*; who hath declared, that *he will help her, and that right early*; that *he will not caſt off his people, nor forſake his inheritance*; that *no weapon formed againſt* his Church *ſhall proſper*; that *ſalvation belongeth to the Lord, and his bleſſing is upon his people*. When therefore any remarkable event, highly conducing to the publick good of Church or State (ſupporting them in a good condition, or reſcuing them from imminent danger,) doth appear, it is moſt reaſonable and moſt juſt, to aſcribe the accompliſhment thereof to God's hand. When any pernicious enterprize, levelled againſt the ſafety of prince and people, is diſappointed, it is fit we ſhould profeſs and ſay, *The righteous Lord hath hewen the ſnares of the ungodly in pieces*. (O. T.)

Mat. 6. 30. Pſal. 104. 14. & 147. 9. Job. 38. 39. Pſal. 104. 21. * Mat. 10. 29, 30. Dan. 4. 25. Pſal. 75. 7. Pſal. 46. 9. Prov. 21. 31. 1 Chron. 29. 11. Sap. 4. Pſal. 144. 10. Eccluſ 10. 20. Pſal. 18. 50. & 21. 1. & 33. 16. * Pſal. 121. 4. Jer. 14. 8. Pſal. 46. 5. Pſal. 94. 14. Iſa. 54. 17. Pſal. 3. 8. Pſal. 129. 4.

4 Another like mark of ſpecial providence is, the righteouſneſs of the caſe, or the advantage ſpringing from events unto the maintenance of right, the vindication of innocence, the defence of truth, the encouragement of piety and virtue. God naturally is the judge of right, the guardian of innocence, the patron of truth, and promoter of goodneſs. *The Lord is a refuge to the oppreſſed: He is a father of the fatherleſs, and a judge of the widow: He will maintain the cauſe of the afflicted, and the right of the poor*: * *He executeth righteouſneſs, and judgment for all that are oppreſſed: He bleſſeth the righteous, and compaſſeth him with favour as with a ſhield: He preſerveth the ſouls of the righteous, and delivereth them out of the hand of the ungodly: All his paths are mercy and truth, unto ſuch as keep his covenant and his teſtimonies*. Whenever therefore right is oppreſſed, or perilouſly invaded; when innocence is groſſly abuſed, or ſorely beſet; when piety is fiercely oppoſed, or cunningly undermined; when good men for the profeſſion of truth, or the practice of virtue, are perſecuted: or grievouſly threatned with miſchief: then may we preſume that God is not unconcerned, nor will prove backward to reach forth his ſuccour. And when accordingly we find that ſignal aid or deliverance doth then arrive; it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that God particularly hath ingaged himſelf, and exerted his power in their behalf. For, ſeeing it is his proper and peculiar work, ſeeing it moſt becometh and behoveth him to appear in ſuch caſes, affording his helpful countenance; when he doth it, we ſhould be ready to acknowledge it. In ſuch a caſe, *The hand of the Lord ſhall be known toward his ſervants, and his indignation toward his enemies*, ſaith the prophet.

Pſal. 9. 9. & 68. 5. & 10. 14. Job 36. 15. Pſal. 140. 12. * Pſal. 103. 6. & 9. 8. Pſal. 5. 12. Pſal. 97. 10. & 37. 12.— Pſal. 25. 10. 146. 6. Iſa. 66. 14. Pſ. 69. 13—

5. Another character is, the correſpondence of events to the prayers and deſires of good men. For ſeeing it is the duty, and conſtant practice of good men, in all exigencies to implore God's help; ſeeing ſuch prayers have, as St. *James* telleth us, a mighty energy, it being God's property, by them to be moved to impart his powerful aſſiſtance; ſeeing God moſt plainly and frequently hath declared, and obliged himſelf by promiſe, that he will hear them, ſo as to perform what-

& 102. 1, 2. & 140. 6. & 60. 10. & 56. 1.— Jam. 5. 16. Pſal. 56. 9. Pſal. 34. 15. & 91. 15. & 145. 18.

ever is expedient in their behalf; ſeeing we have many notable experiments recorded in Scripture (as thoſe of *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Elias*, *Daniel*, and the like) of prayers bringing down wonderful effects from Heaven, with which the teſtimonies of all times, and the daily experience of good men do conſpire; ſeeing the preſumption of ſuch efficacy is the main ground and encouragement of devotion: we have great reaſon, whenever events are anſwerable to ſuch prayers, to aſcribe the performance of them

2 Chron. 14. 11. & 20. 9. & 32. 20. 2 King. 19. 15. 1 King. 17. 1, &c.

Πόσαι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ φάλαγγες, ὅσας ἰκετεύοντες μόνον ἡμεῖς, καὶ Θεὸς βουληθεὶς κατεξηράνατο; Naz. Or. 4.

How many myriads and ſquadrons of men were there, whom we only praying, and God willing, diſcomfited? ſaith *Nazianzene*, *in reference to the defeating of* Julian's *deſign.*

Pſal. 20. 6. to God's hand; great reaſon we have in ſuch caſes to cry out with *David*, *Now know I that the Lord ſaveth his anointed; he will hear him from his holy heaven, with the ſaving ſtrength of his right hand:* juſt cauſe have we, according to his pattern, thankfully to acknowledge God's favour in anſwering our petitions; Pſal. 21. 1, 2. Pſal. 30. 2. & 66. 17. & 118. 5. *The King* (ſaith he) *ſhall joy in thy ſtrength, O Lord, and in thy ſalvation how greatly ſhall he rejoyce? For thou haſt given him his heart's deſire, and haſt not withholden the requeſts of his lips.*

6. Again, the proceedings of God (eſpecially in way of judgment, or of diſpenſing rewards and puniſhments) diſcover their original by their kind and countenance, which uſually do bear a near reſemblance, or ſome ſignificant correſpondence to the actions upon which they are grounded. *Puniſhments* (ſaith a Father) *are the forced off-ſprings of willing faults:* and anſwerably, rewards are the children of good deeds: and God, who formeth both, doth commonly order it ſo, that the children in their complexion and features ſhall reſemble their parents. So that the deſerts of men ſhall often be legible in the recompences conferred, or inflicted on them: not according to the natural reſult of their practice, but with a comely reference thereto: apt to raiſe in them a ſenſe of God's hand, and to wring from them an acknowledgment of his equity in ſo dealing with them. So when humble modeſty is advanced to honour, and ambitious confidence is thrown into diſgrace; when liberality is bleſſed with encreaſe, and avarice is curſed with decay of eſtate; when craft incurreth diſappointment, and ſimplicity findeth good ſucceſs; when haughty might is ſhattered, and helpleſs innocence is preſerved; Pſal. 12. 3. when the calumnious tongue is bliſtered, the *flattering lips are cut off*, the blaſphemous throat is torn out; Rev. 16. 6. when bloody oppreſſors have *blood given them to drink*, and come to welter in their own gore; (an accident which almoſt continually doth happen;) when treacherous men by their own confidents, or by themſelves are betrayed; when retaliations of vengeance are miniſtred, extorting Judg. 1. 7. confeſſions like to that of *Adoni-bezek*, *As I have done, ſo God hath requited me*; 1 Sam. 15. 33. deſerving ſuch exprobrations, as that of *Samuel* to *Agag*, *as thy ſword hath made women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among women*; grounding 2 Macc. 9. 28. ſuch reflections as that concerning *Antiochus*, *Thus the murtherer and blaſphemer having ſuffered moſt grievouſly, as he entreated other men, ſo died he a miſerable death:* By ſuch occurrences the finger of God doth point out and indicate it ſelf; they ſpeak themſelves immediately to come from that juſt God; who doth Luke 14. 12. ἀνταποδιδόναι, render to men anſwerably to their doings; who payeth men Rom. 12. 19. their due, ſometimes in value, often *in ſpecie*, according to the ſtricteſt way of reckoning. Jer. 32. 19. *He* (as the Prophet ſaith) *is great in counſel, and mighty in work: for his eyes are open to all the ways of the ſons of men, to give every one according* Pſal. 62. 12. *to his ways, and according to the fruits of his doings.* This indeed is a ſort of adminiſtration moſt conformable to God's exact juſtice, and moſt conducible to his holy deſigns of inſtructing and correcting offenders. He therefore hath declared Jer. 50. 15. it to be his way. *It is* (ſaith the Prophet, directing his ſpeech to the inſtruments 51. 49. of divine vengeance upon *Babylon*) *the vengeance of the Lord: take vengeance* Obad. 15. *upon her*; *as ſhe hath done, do unto her.* And, *The day of the Lord* (ſaith another Prophet concerning the like judgment upon *Edom*) *is near upon all the heathen: as thou haſt done, it ſhall be done unto thee; thy reward ſhall return upon thine own head.* Thereby doth God mean to declare himſelf the judge, Ezek. 35. 15. and governour of men: For, *I will*, ſaith he in *Ezekiel*, *do unto them after their* Ezek. 7. 27. *way, and according to their deſerts will I judge them*; Job 34. 11. *and they ſhall know that I am the Lord.* Farther,

Ἐκατὸν καμήλων ἀκάντια ἔκλυον. Damaſc.

Τῇ κολάσει ὁ τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος τοῦτο μιμεῖται. Chryſ. ἀνδρ. 19.

7. Another argument of ſpecial providence is, the harmonious conſpiracy of various accidents to one end or effect. If that one thing ſhould hit advantageouſly

to

to the production of ſome conſiderable event, it may with ſome plauſibility be attributed to fortune, or common providence: yet that divers things, having no dependence, or coherence one with the other, in divers places, through ſeveral times, ſhould all join their forces to compaſs it, cannot well otherwiſe than be aſcribed to God's ſpecial care wiſely directing, to his own hand powerfully wielding thoſe concurrent inſtruments to one good purpoſe. For it is beſide the nature, it is beyond the reach of fortune, to range various cauſes in ſuch order. Blind fortune cannot apprehend or catch the ſeaſons and junctures of things, which ariſe from the motions of cauſes in their nature indifferent and arbitrary: to it therefore no ſuch event can reaſonably be imputed. So to the bringing about our Lord's paſſion, (that great event which is ſo particularly aſſigned to God's hand,) we may obſerve the monſtrous treachery of *Judas*, the ſtrange malignity of the *Jewiſh* rulers, the prodigious levity of the people, the wonderful eaſineſs of *Pilate*, with other notable accidents, to have jumped in order thereto. So alſo that a malicious traytor ſhould conceive kindneſs toward any, that he ſhould be miſtaken in the object of his favour, that he ſhould expreſs his mind in a way ſubject to deliberate examination, in terms apt to breed ſuſpicion where the plot was laid; that the counſellors ſhould deſpiſe it, and yet not ſmother it; that the King inſtantly, by a light darted into his mind, ſhould deſcry it: theſe things ſo happily meeting, may argue God (who mouldeth the hearts, who guideth the hands, who enlightneth the minds of men) to have been engaged in the detection of this day's black conſpiracy.

—ἀ ϰζ ὑ τᾶ Θεᾶ μαχ]ύνων πρῶτος ἐφεῦρε κολαπήρια, ταῦθ' ὑπερμεγέθη διὰμοτάτη ψήφῳ. Euſeb. *lib. I. de Vit. Conſt. de Maximino (ſub finem)* Is oculos qui eruerat Chriſtianis, ipſe viſu orbatus.

Such are ſome characters of ſpecial providence: each of which ſingly appearing in any occurrence, would in a conſiderate man breed an opinion thereof; each of them being very congruous to the ſuppoſition of it; no ſuch appearances being otherwiſe ſo clearly and cleverly explicable, as by aſſigning the divine hand for their principal cauſe. But the connexion of them all in one event (when divers odd accidents do befal at a ſeaſonable time, according to exigency for the publick benefit, the preſervation of Princes, the ſecurity of God's people, the protection of right, the maintenance of truth and piety, according to the wiſhes and prayers of good men, with proper retribution and vengeance upon the wretched deſigners of miſchief; ſuch a complication, I ſay, of theſe marks in one event) may throughly ſuffice to raiſe a firm perſuaſion, to force a confident acknowledgment concerning God's providence, in any conſiderate and ingenuous perſon: it readily will diſpoſe ſuch perſons upon any ſuch occaſion to ſay, *This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

Vid. Diod. Sic. *lib.* 15. *p.* 482.

Pſal. 118. 23.

Notwithſtanding therefore any obſcurity or intricacy that ſometime may appear in the courſe of providence, notwithſtanding any general exceptions that may by perverſe incredulity be alledged againſt the conduct of things, there are good marks obſervable, whereby (if we are not very blockiſh, drowzy, ſupine, lazy, or froward; if we will conſider wiſely, with induſtrious attention and care, with minds pure from vain prejudices, and corrupt affections) we may diſcern and underſtand God's doing. Which to do is the firſt duty ſpecified in my text: upon which having inſiſted ſo largely, I ſhall (hoping you will favour me with a little patience) briefly touch the reſt.

Εἰ μὴ σημεῖα ἦ θαύματα, ἀλλ' ἐοικότα σημείοις παράγματα, δείγματα ἢ τᾶ Θεᾶ παρούσας, ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενείας. Chryſ. *ad Olymp. Ep.* 1.

II. It is the duty of us all, upon ſuch remarkable occurrences of providence, to *fear* God: *All men*, 'tis ſaid, *ſhall fear.* It is our duty in ſuch caſes to be affected with all ſorts of fear; with a fear of awful dread, with a fear of hearty reverence, with a fear of ſober caution; yea, ſometimes with a fear of dejecting conſternation. When God doth appear *clad with his robes of vengeance and zeal*, denouncing and diſcharging judgment; when he repreſenteth himſelf *fearful in praiſes, terrible in his doings toward the children of men, working terrible things in righteouſneſs*; it ſhould ſtrike into our hearts a dread of his glorious majeſty, of his mighty power, of his ſevere juſtice, of *his glorious and fearful name*: it ſhould inſtil into our minds a reverence of his excellent wiſdom, his exceeding goodneſs, his perfect holineſs; it ſhould breed in our ſouls a ſolicitous care of diſpleaſing and provoking him: it ſhould cauſe us in our hearts to ſhake and tremble before him. Then is that of the Pſalmiſt to be put in practice, *Let all the earth fear the Lord, let all inhabitants of the world ſtand in awe of him. Tremble thou earth at the preſence of the Lord, at the preſence of the God of Jacob.* Such diſpenſations are in their nature declarative of thoſe divine attributes which do

Job. 37. 22. & 13. 11. Pſal. 52. 6. & 68. 35. Dan. 6. 26. Iſa. 59. 17. Exod. 15. 11. Pſal. 66. 3. 5. & 65. 5. (130. 3.) Deut. 28. 58. & 10. 17. Iſa. 66. 2. Pſal. 33. 8. 114. 7.

do require ſuch affections: they are ſet before our eyes to caſt us into a very ſerious and ſolemn frame; to abaſh, and deter us from offending, by obſerving the danger of incurring puniſhments like to thoſe which we behold inflicted upon preſumptuous tranſgreſſors; upon thoſe who do hainouſly violate right, or furiouſly impugn truth, or profanely deſpiſe piety; who earneſtly proſecute wicked enterpriſes; who perſecute the friends of God with outrageous violence, or treacherous ſubtlety. Upon infliction of ſuch puniſhments, *All the people ſhall hear, and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly*, ſaith God himſelf, declaring the nature and drift of them. They do plainly demonſtrate, that there is no preſuming to eſcape being detected in our cloſe machinations by God's all-ſeeing eye; being defeated in our bold attempts by God's all-mighty hand; being ſorely chaſtiſed for our iniquity by God's impartial judgment. Extremely blind and ſtupid therefore muſt we be, or monſtrouſly ſturdy and profane, if ſuch experiments of divine power and juſtice do not awe us, and fright us from ſin. *When the lion roareth, who will not fear? when the trumpet is blown in the city, ſhall not the people be afraid?* Shall he *at* whom *the mountains quake, and the hills melt*; whoſe *indignation the nations are not able to abide*; *at* whoſe *wrath the earth doth ſhake and tremble*; *at* whoſe *reproof the pillars of heaven are aſtoniſhed*; ſhall he viſibly frown, ſhall his wrath flame out, ſhall he ſhake his rod of exemplary vengeance over us, and we ſtand void of ſenſe or fear? If ſo, then ſurely a brutiſh dotage, or a gigantick ſtoutneſs doth poſſeſs us.

Deut. 17. 13. & 13. 11. & 19. 20.

Hoſ. 11. 10. Amos 3. 6, 8. Nah. 1. 5. Jer. 10. 10. Pſal. 104. 32. & 18. 7. & 76. 8. & 143. 2. Job 26. 11. (Iſa. 64. 3. Ezek. 21. 10. Iſa. 25. 3. & 59. 18, 19.)

III. We are in ſuch caſes obliged to *declare God's work*: that is, openly to acknowledge and avow, to applaud and celebrate the ſpecial providence of God, with his adorable perfections diſplayed in ſuch events; to the glory of God's name, in expreſſion of our reverence and gratitude toward him, for the common edification of men; for which uſes they greatly ſerve, to which purpoſes they are deſigned. We ſhould not view ſuch providential occurrences, like dumb beaſts, with a dull or careleſs ſilence, as if we did not mind them, or were not concerned in them: we ſhould not ſuppreſs or ſtifle the knowledge of them in our breaſts, as if they were barely matters of private conſideration and uſe: we ſhould not let our obſervation and reſentment of them be fruitleſs, ſo as to yield no honour to God, no benefit to man. But we ſhould propagate and convey them into others: in ſo loud a tone, in ſo lively a ſtrain we ſhould vent them, as thereby to excite the notice, to inflame the affections of all men within the reach of our voice; provoking them to conſpire with us in acknowledgment of Gods power and wiſdom, in acclamation to his juſtice and goodneſs. This is the due improvement of our *glory*; that peculiar excellency, wherein chiefly (except in our reaſon) we do ſurpaſs all creatures; that without which our reaſon it ſelf is more than half unprofitable; that whereby we put our beſt member to its beſt uſe. For this we have the devout Pſalmiſt his pious reſolutions, his exemplary performances, his zealous wiſhes, his earneſt exhortations to guide and move us. *I will ſpeak of the glorious honour of thy majeſty, and of thy wondrous works. Men ſhall ſpeak of the might of thy terrible acts; and I will declare thy greatneſs. They ſhall ſpeak of the glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power.* So did he ſignifie his reſolution. *I have not hid thy righteouſneſs within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulneſs and thy ſalvation: I have not concealed thy loving-kindneſs and thy truth from the great congregation.* So his conſcience teſtified of his practice. *O that men would praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and for his wonderful works to the children of men: that they would offer the ſacrifice of thankſgiving and declare his works with gladneſs.* So doth he pour forth his deſire. *O clap your hands all ye people, ſhout unto God with the voice of triumph. Sing unto the Lord, bleſs his name: ſhew forth his ſalvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people. Come and ſee the works of God—— Sing forth the honour of his name, make his praiſe glorious. O give thanks unto the Lord, call upon his name; make known his deeds among the people.* So doth he ſummon, ſo doth he urge us to this practice; and in his deportment we may ſee our duty.

Pſal. 57. 8.

Pſal. 145. 5, 6, 11. (& 77. 12. & 9. 14.)

Pſal. 40. 10.

Pſal. 107. 8, 15, 21, 22, 31.

Pſal. 47. 1. 96. 2, 3. 96. 3. 105. 2. 66. 5, 2. (Pſal. 66. 16.) Pſal. 105. 1.

IV. It is peculiarly the duty and practice of good men upon ſuch occaſions to feel, and to expreſs religious joy. *The righteous ſhall be glad in the Lord.* Good men indeed then have great matter, and much cauſe, on many accounts, to be glad.

It becometh them to rejoyce, as having an univerſal complacence in God's proceedings, as gratefully reliſhing all diſpenſations of providence. They, as pious, are diſpoſed to bleſs and praiſe God for all things incident, and cannot therefore but rejoyce; joy being an inſeparable companion of gratitude and praiſe. Hence, *Light is ſown for the righteous, and gladneſs for the upright in heart.* Hence, *The voice of ſalvation and rejoycing is in the tabernacles of the righteous.* Hence, *Rejoyce in the Lord, O ye righteous: for praiſe is comely for the upright*; is an exhortation backed with a very good reaſon. Pſal. 97. 11. 118. 15. Pſal. 33. 1.

They cannot but find ſatisfaction in obſerving God's providence notably diſcovered, to the confirmation of their faith, and cheriſhing their hopes; together with the conviction of infidelity, and confuſion of profaneneſs. *Our heart* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſhall rejoyce in him; becauſe we have truſted in his holy name. I have truſted in thy mercy, my heart ſhall rejoyce in thy ſalvation. The righteous ſhall ſee it, and rejoyce; and all iniquity ſhall ſtop her mouth.* Pſal. 33. 21. Pſal. 13. 5. & 107. 42.

It is to them no ſmall pleaſure, to behold God's holy perfections illuſtriouſly ſhining forth; and the glory of him (who is the principal object of their love, their reverence, their hope and confidence) to be conſpicuouſly advanced. *Rejoyce*, (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *O ye righteous, and give thanks at the remembrance of his holineſs. Zion heard, and was glad, and the daughters of Judah rejoyced, becauſe of thy judgments, O Lord. For thou, Lord, art high above all the earth.* Pſal. 97. 12. & 30. 4. Pſal. 97. 8, 9. & 48. 11.

It is to them ground of exceeding comfort, to receive ſo clear pledges of God's love and favour, his truth and fidelity, his bounty and munificence toward them, expreſſed in ſuch watchful care over them, ſuch protection in dangers, ſuch aid in needs, ſuch deliverance from miſchiefs vouchſafed to them. Such benefits they cannot receive from God's hand, without that chearfulneſs which always doth adhere to gratitude. *I will* (ſaith *David*) *ſing unto the Lord, becauſe he hath dealt bountifully with me. Becauſe thou haſt been my helper, therefore in the ſhadow of thy wings I will rejoyce. My lips ſhall greatly rejoyce in thee, and my ſoul, which thou haſt redeemed. I will be glad, and rejoyce in thy mercy: for thou haſt conſidered my trouble, and haſt known my ſoul in adverſities. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Let all thoſe that put their truſt in thee rejoyce: let them ever ſhout for joy, becauſe thou defendeſt them.*

Sen. *de Benef.* 2. 22. *Cùm accipiendum judicaverimus, hilares accipiamus, profitentes gaudium, &c. Vid. ib.* 30.

Pſal. 13. 6. Pſal. 63. 7. Pſal. 71. 23. 31. 7. 126. 3. 5. 11.

They are alſo greatly refreſhed with apprehenſion of the happy fruits ſprouting from ſuch diſpenſations of providence: ſuch as are the benefit of mankind, the peace and proſperity of the civil ſtate, the preſervation, ſettlement, enlargement, advancement of God's Church, the ſupport of right, the ſuccour of innocence, the maintenance of truth, the encouragement and furtherance of piety; the reſtraint of violence, the diſcountenance of error, the correction of vice and impiety. In theſe things they, as faithful ſervants of God, and real friends of goodneſs, as bearing hearty good-will and compaſſion to mankind, as true lovers of their countrey, as living and ſenſible members of the Church, cannot but rejoyce. Seeing by theſe things their own beſt intereſt, (which is no other than the advantage of goodneſs) their chief honour, (which conſiſts in the promotion of divine glory) their trueſt content, (which is placed in the proſperity of *Sion*) are highly furthered: how can they look on them ſpringing up without great delight and complacence? *O* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſing unto the Lord——for he hath done marvellous things——He hath remembred his mercy and truth toward the houſe of Iſrael: all the ends of the earth have ſeen the ſalvation of our God.* And, *Sing, O heavens*, (crieth the Prophet) *and be joyful, O earth, and break forth into ſinging, O ye mountains: for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have mercy on his afflicted.* And, *When* (ſaith he) *ye ſhall ſee this*, (the comfort of God's people) *your heart ſhall rejoyce, and your bones ſhall flouriſh like an herb: and the hand of the Lord ſhall be known toward his ſervants, and his indignation toward his enemies.* Pſal. 122. 6. (1 Cor. 12. 26.) Pſal. 98. 1, 3. Iſa. 49. 13. Pſ. 96. 11, 13. Iſa. 66. 14.

Even in the fruſtration of wicked deſigns, attended with ſevere execution of vengeance on the contrivers and abettors of them, they may have a pleaſant ſatisfaction; they muſt then yield a chearful applauſe to divine juſtice. *The righteous* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſhall rejoyce when he ſeeth the vengeance:* and, *Let the wicked* Pſal. 58. 10. Job 22. 19. Pſal. 68. 2, 3.

wicked (ſaith he) *periſh at the preſence of God; but let the righteous be glad, let them rejoyce before God, yea let them exceedingly rejoyce.* Whence at God's
Jer. 51. 48. inflict̃ion of judgment upon *Babylon*, it is ſaid in *Jeremy*, *then the heaven, and the earth, and all that is therein, ſhall ſing for Babylon:* and at the fall of my-
Apoc. 18. 20. ſtical *Babylon* in the *Apocalyps*, 'tis likewiſe ſaid, *Rejoyce over her, thou heaven, and ye holy Apoſtles and Prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.* Farther,

V. The next duty preſcribed to good men in ſuch caſe is, to *truſt in God*, that is, to have their affiance in God (upon all ſuch like occaſions, in all urgencies of need) ſettled, improved and corroborated thereby. This indeed is the proper end, immediately regarding us, of God's ſpecial providence, diſcloſing it ſelf in any mi-
(Pſal. 78. 7.) raculous, or in any remarkable way; to nouriſh in well-diſpoſed minds that faith in God, which is the root of all piety, and ground of devotion. Such experiments are ſound arguments to perſuade good men, that God doth govern and order things for their beſt advantage; they are powerful incentives, driving them in all exigencies to ſeek God's help; they are moſt convincing evidences, that God is abun-
Pſal. 9. 10. dantly able, very willing, and ever ready to ſuccour them. *They* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *that know thy name, will put their truſt in thee: for thou, Lord, haſt not*
Pſ. 61. 3, 4, 5. *forſaken them that ſeek thee.* And, *I* (ſaith he) *will abide in thy tabernacle for*
& 115. 9, &c. *ever; I will truſt in the covert of thy wings: For thou, O God, haſt heard my*
& 130. 7. *vows; thou haſt been a ſhelter for me, and a ſtrong tower from the enemy.* It
& 34. 8. is, indeed, a great aggravation of diffidence in God, that having *taſted and ſeen that the Lord is good*; having felt ſo manifeſt experience of divine goodneſs; having received ſo notable pledges of God's favourable inclination to help us; we yet will not rely upon him. As a friend, who by ſignal inſtances of kindneſs hath aſſured his good-will, hath great cauſe of offence, if he be ſuſpected of unwillingneſs in a needful ſeaſon to afford his relief: ſo may God moſt juſtly be diſpleaſed, when we, (notwithſtanding ſo palpable demonſtrations of his kindneſs) by diſtruſting him, do in effect queſtion the ſincerity of his friendſhip, or the conſtancy of his goodneſs toward us.

Ecclus. 2. 10. VI. Good men upon ſuch occaſions ſhould *glory: All the upright in heart ſhall glory.* Should *glory*, that is, in contemplation of ſuch providences feeling ſprightly elevations of mind and tranſports of affection, they ſhould exhibit triumphant demonſtrations of ſatisfaction and alacrity. It becometh them not in ſuch caſes to be dumpiſh or demure; but jocund and crank in their humour, brisk and gay in their looks, pleaſantly flippant and free in their ſpeech; jolly and debonair in their behaviour; every way ſignifying the extreme complacency they take in
Pſ. 126. 1, &c. God's doing, and the full content they taſte in their ſtate. They with ſolemn exultation ſhould triumph in ſuch events, as in victories atchieved by the glorious hand of God in their behalf, in approbation of their cauſe, in favour toward their perſons, for their great benefit and comfort. They may (not as proudly aſſuming to themſelves the glory due to God, but as gratefully ſenſible of their felicity ſpringing from God's favour) *ſe jactare, ſe laudibus efferre*, (as the *Hebrew* word doth ſignifie;) that is, in a ſort boaſt, and commend themſelves as very happy in their relation to God, by virtue of his protection and aid. They may (not with a haughty inſolence, or wanton arrogance, but with a ſober confidence and chearfulneſs) inſult upon baffled impiety, by their expreſſions and demeanour upbraiding the folly, the baſeneſs, the impotency and wretchedneſs thereof, in competition with the wiſdom, in oppoſition to the power of God, their friend and patron. For ſuch carriage in ſuch caſes we have the practice
Pſal. 44. 8. and the advice of the Pſalmiſt, to warrant and direct us. *In God*, ſaith he, *we*
92. 4. *boaſt all the day long, and praiſe thy name for ever. Thou, Lord, haſt made*
20. 5. *me glad through thy work; and I will triumph in the works of thy hands. We will rejoyce in thy ſalvation; and in the name of our God we will ſet up our*
105. 3, 2. *banners. Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoyce that ſeek the*
106. 47. *Lord. Sing unto him, ſing pſalms unto him; talk ye of all his wondrous works. Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto thy name, and to triumph in thy praiſe.* Such ſhould be the reſult (upon us) of God's merciful diſpenſations toward his people.

Pſal. 52. 6, 7. *The righteous ſhall—— laugh at him*, or, *deride him*, in this manner; *Lo, this is the man that made not God his ſtrength* ——

ſhall

I ſhall only farther remark, that the word here uſed is by the *Greek* rendred ἐπαινεθήσονται, *they ſhall be praiſed:* which ſenſe the original will bear, and the reaſon of the caſe may admit. For ſuch diſpenſations ever do adorn integrity, and yield commendation to good men. They declare the wiſdom of ſuch perſons, in adhering to God, in repoſing upon God's help, in embracing ſuch courſes which God doth approve and bleſs: they plainly tell how dear ſuch perſons are to God; how incomparably happy in his favour, how impregnably ſafe under his protection: as having his infallible wiſdom, and his invincible power engaged on their ſide. • This cannot but render them admirable, and their ſtate glorious in the eyes of all men; inducing them to profeſs with the Pſalmiſt, *Happy is the people which is in ſuch a caſe; yea, happy is that people, whoſe God is the Lord.* And of ſuch a people, that declaration from the ſame mouth is verified, *In thy name ſhall they rejoyce all the day long, and in thy righteouſneſs ſhall they be exalted: For thou art the glory of their ſtrength, and in thy favour their horn ſhall be exalted.*

Pſal. 126. 3. & 125. 1, &c. & 138. 1, &c. Pſal. 144. 15. & 33. 12. Pſal. 89. 16, 17.

Such are the Duties ſuggeſted in our text, as ſuiting theſe occaſions, when God in eſpecial manner hath vouchſafed to protect his people, or to reſcue them from imminent miſchiefs, by violent aſſault, or by fraudulent contrivance levelled againſt them. I ſhould apply theſe particulars to the preſent caſe ſolemnized by us: but I ſhall rather recommend the application to your ſagacity, than farther infringe your patience, by ſpending thereon ſo many words as it would exact. You do well know the ſtory, which by ſo many years repetition hath been impreſſed on your minds: and by reflecting thereon,

You will eaſily diſcern, how God, in the ſeaſonable diſcovery of this execrable Plot, (the maſter-piece of wicked machinations ever conceived in humane brain, or deviſed on this ſide Hell, ſince the foundation of things,) in the happy deliverance of our Nation and Church from the deſperate miſchiefs intended toward them, in the remarkable protection of right and truth, did ſignalize his providence.

You will be affected with hearty reverence toward the gracious author of our ſalvation, and with humble dread toward the juſt awarder of vengeance upon thoſe miſcreant wretches, who *digged this pit, and fell into it themſelves.*

You will be ready with pious acknowledgment and admiration of God's mercy, his juſtice, his wiſdom, to declare and magnifie this notable work done by him among us.

You muſt needs feel devout reſentments of joy for the glory ariſing to God, and the benefits accruing to us, in the preſervation of God's anointed, our juſt ſovereign, with his royal poſterity: in the freeing our Countrey from civil broils, diſorders and confuſions; from the yoaks of uſurpation and ſlavery; from grievous extortions and rapines; from bloody perſecutions and trials, with the like ſpawn of diſaſtrous and tragical conſequences, by this deſign threatned upon it: in upholding our Church (which was ſo happily ſettled, and had ſo long glorioufly flouriſhed) from utter ruine: in ſecuring our profeſſion of God's holy truth, the truly catholick faith of *Chriſt*, (refined from thoſe droſſy alloys, wherewith the rudeneſs and ſloth of blind times, the fraud of ambitious and covetous deſigners, the pravity of ſenſual and profane men had embaſed and corrupted it,) together with a pure worſhip of God, an edifying adminiſtration of God's word and ſacraments, a comely, wholeſome and moderate diſcipline, conformable to divine preſcription and primitive example; in reſcuing us from having impious errors, ſcandalous practices and ſuperſtitious rites, with mercileſs violence obtruded upon us: in continuing therefore to us the moſt deſirable comforts and conveniences of our lives.

You farther conſidering this ſignal teſtimony of divine goodneſs, will thereby be moved to hope and confide in God for his gracious preſervation from the like pernicious attempts, againſt the ſafety of our Prince and welfare of our Countrey, againſt our peace, our laws, our religion; eſpecially from *Romiſh* zeal and bigotry, (that mint of woful factions and combuſtions, of treaſonable conſpiracies, of barbarous maſſacres, of horrid aſſaſſinations, of inteſtine rebellions, of foreign invaſions, of ſavage tortures and butcheries, of *holy Leagues* and *pious Frauds*, through Chriſtendom, and particularly among us,) which as it

without reaſon damneth, ſo it would by any means deſtroy all that will not crouch thereto.

You will, in fine, with joyous feſtivity glory and triumph in this illuſtrious demonſtration of God's favour toward us; ſo as heartily to join in thoſe due acclamations of bleſſing and praiſe.

Pſal. 124. 6. (68. 32.) *Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowlers: the ſnare is broken, and we are eſcaped.*

Apoc. 19. 1, 2. *Allelujah; ſalvation, and glory, and power unto the Lord our God: For true and righteous are his judgments.*

Apoc. 15. 3. *Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.*

Pſ. 72. 18, 19. *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, who only doth wondrous things; and bleſſed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen.*

Henry VII's chapel, *July* 4, 1663. at the Biſhop of *Man* his conſecration.

SERMON XII.

A Conſecration Sermon.

PSAL. CXXXII. 16.

I will alſo cloath her Prieſts with ſalvation.

THE context runs thus: *The Lord hath ſworn in truth unto David, he will not turn from it, Of the fruit of thy body I will ſet upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant, and the teſtimony that I ſhall teach them; their children alſo ſhall ſit upon thy throne for evermore. For the Lord hath choſen Sion; he hath deſired it for his habitation. This is my reſt for ever: here will I dwell, for I have deſired it. I will abundantly bleſs her proviſion; I will ſatisfie her poor with bread. I WILL ALSO CLOATH HER PRIESTS WITH SALVATION, and her Saints ſhall ſhout aloud for joy. There will I make the horn of David to bud,* &c.

If all, not only inaugurations of perſons, but dedications even of inanimate things to ſome extraordinary uſe, have been uſually attended with eſpecial ſignifications of joy and feſtival ſolemnity; with great reaſon the conſecration of a perſon to ſo high and ſacred a function, as that of a chriſtian Biſhop, (that is, of a Prince, or principal Paſtor in God's Church,) requires moſt peculiar teſtimonies of our gratulation and content: the face of things ought then to be ſerene and chearful; the thoughts of men benign and favourable; the words comfortable and auſpicious, that are uttered upon ſuch occaſion. And that ours at preſent ſhould be ſuch, the ſubject as well as the ſeaſon of our diſcourſe doth require. Words few, but pregnant, and affording ample matter for our beſt affections to work upon: and which more particularly will engage us, both to a hearty thankfulneſs for paſt benefits, and to a confident expectation of future bleſſings; while they acquaint us with the ancient exhibition of a gracious promiſe, re-mind us of the faithful performance thereof hitherto, and aſſure us of its certain accompliſhment for the future. The occaſion whereof was this.

King *David*, moved by a devout inclination to promote God's honour, and benefit the Church, had vowed to build a magnificent temple, implored [illegible] propitious concurrence with, and approbation of his deſign. Where[illegible] alrea[illegible]

ty God not only declares his acceptance of that pious reſolution, but rewards it with a bountiful promiſe, conſiſting of two parts; one conditional, relating to *David*'s children and poſterity, that they in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion ſhould for ever enjoy the royal dignity, in caſe they did conſtantly perſiſt in obſerving his covenant, and the teſtimonies that he ſhould teach them; the other more abſolute, that however, what he chiefly intended concerning God's eſtabliſhed worſhip, and the perpetual welfare of the Church, God would have an eſpecial care that it ſhould fully and certainly be accompliſhed: that he would for ever fix his reſidence in *Sion*; that he would protect and proſper it, and all that did belong thereto; eſpecially thoſe that did moſt need his favour and aſſiſtance, the Poor, the Prieſts and the Saints, (or *gentle ones*.) This is briefly the importance of the general promiſe wherein is comprehended that particular one whereon we are to treat: and in which we may obſerve, רס׳וי

1. The promiſer, *I*.
2. The perſons who are eſpecially concerned in the promiſe, *her Prieſts*.
3. The thing promiſed, *cloathing with ſalvation*.

I. I ſay, the promiſer, *I*: that is, the Lord; the moſt true, the moſt conſtant, the moſt powerful God; moſt true and ſincere in the declaration of his purpoſe, moſt conſtant and immutable in the proſecution, moſt powerful and uncontrollable in the perfect execution thereof: whoſe *words are right, and all* whoſe *works are done in truth*: who *will not break his covenant, nor alter the thing that is gone out of his lips*: whoſe *counſel ſhall ſtand, and* who *will do all his pleaſure*. Theſe glorious attributes and perfections of his (ſo often celebrated in holy writ) do ground our reliance upon all God's promiſes, and do oblige us (notwithſtanding the greateſt improbabilities or difficulties objected) to believe the infallible performance of this. Pſal. 33. 4. Pſal. 89. 34. Iſa. 46. 10.

II. The perſons whom the promiſe mainly regards, *her Prieſts*. *Prieſts*, that is, perſons peculiarly devoted to, and employed in ſacred matters; diſtinguiſhed expreſſly from the *poor*, (that is, other meek and humble perſons;) and from the *Saints*, (that is, all other good and religious men.) And, *her* Prieſts; that is, the Prieſts of *Sion*: of that *Sion* which *the Lord hath choſen*; which *he hath deſired for his* permanent *habitation*; which he hath reſolved to *reſt*, and *reſide in for ever*. Whence it plainly enough follows, that the Prieſts and Paſtors of the Chriſtian Church are hereby, if not ſolely, yet principally deſigned. Which interpretation, becauſe it is in a manner the foundation of our ſubſequent diſcourſe, and by ſome it may perhaps not be readily admitted, I ſhall endeavour farther to confirm by theſe few arguments. *Contrà*, 2 Chro. 7. 21.

1. Becauſe the covenant here mentioned is not (as to the main part thereof) of a conditional or temporary nature, but abſolute and perpetual; and muſt therefore be underſtood to reſpect the Chriſtian Church; (that of the *Jews* being long ſince rejected, their Temple demoliſhed, their *Sion* utterly forſaken.) For although one particular contained therein, concerning the continual ſucceſſion of *David*'s poſterity in the regal authority over *Iſrael*, hath a condition explicitly annexed; (and, conſequently, the effects depending upon the performance of that condition were contingent and mutable;) yet all the reſt of this covenant (or promiſe) is conceived in terms peremptory, and expreſſly importing perpetuity. *This is my reſt for ever*, עדי־עד that is, (as the *Greek* tranſlators render it,) εἰς αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, (*in ſeculum ſeculi*,) that is, to the end of this world; as εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων denotes the end of all worlds, or the moſt perfect ſempiternity. And that it doth really in this caſe denote a proper and unlimited perpetuity, is alſo evident by thoſe explications thereof in the 89th Pſalm, (where the very ſame covenant is, as to ſome parts thereof, more largely recorded.) *Once have I ſworn by my holineſs, that I will not lie unto David: His ſeed ſhall endure for ever, and his throne as the ſun before me: It ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witneſs in heaven*. No words can expreſs more fully a perpetual duration, or at leaſt one co-extended with the duration of the world, than thoſe do. And the Prophet *Jeremy*, referring alſo to this very covenant, and particularly to this very clauſe thereof, thus expreſſes the matter: *Thus ſaith the Lord; If you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night; and that there ſhould not be day and night in their ſeaſon: Then may alſo my covenant be broken with David my ſervant, that he ſhould not have a ſon to* *Vide* 2 Chron. 7. 16. Verſe 35, 36, 37. Jer. 33. 20, 21. *Vid.* 2 Chro. 7. 16.

reign upon his throne; and with the Levites the prieſts, my miniſters. But farther,

2. The completion of the individual promiſe is both by the Prophets foretold, and expreſſed by the Evangeliſts, to appertain to the times of the Goſpel. Ye heard even now the words of *Jeremy*, which are by him applied to thoſe times, when God would cauſe *the branch of righteouſneſs* (that is, *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, our bleſſed Saviour) *to grow up unto David; who ſhould execute judgment and righteouſneſs in the land. In thoſe days* (ſaith he farther) *ſhall Judah be ſaved, and Jeruſalem ſhall dwell ſafely; and this is the name wherewith ſhe ſhall be called*, (or rather, *which he ſhall be called*, as not only the vulgar *Latin* and the *Greek* interpreters, but the *Chaldee* alſo read it,) *THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.* Likewiſe in the 55th of *Iſaiah* God thus invites the Gentiles; *Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your ſoul ſhall live: and I will make an everlaſting covenant with you, even the ſure mercies of David:* that is, I will ratifie that everlaſting covenant, which, in your behalf, I once made with *David*, and will confer on you thoſe favours which I faithfully promiſed him; relating to this very promiſe alſo. For both in *Solomon*'s prayer, (2 *Chron.* 6.) which in all probability was indited about the ſame time, and upon the ſame occaſion with this Pſalm, and in the 89th Pſalm, the benefits of this ſame covenant are called *the mercies of David. O Lord God, turn not away the face of thine anointed, remember the mercies of David thy ſervant*, ſaith *Solomon:* and *my mercy* (ſaith God) *will I keep with him for evermore, and my covenant ſhall ſtand faſt with him:* and, *my faithfulneſs and my mercy ſhall be with him*; that is, *my faithful*, (or *ſure*) *mercy*; τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά, as the *LXX.* and St. *Paul* with them in the *Acts*, render this place of *Iſaiah*. And in the Song of *Zachary* we have one paſſage of this promiſe cited, and applied to the times of the Goſpel: *Bleſſed be the Lord of Iſrael, who hath viſited and redeemed his people; and hath raiſed up a horn of ſalvation in the houſe of his ſervant David; as he ſpake by the mouth of his holy prophets:* viz. by the mouth of this prophetical Pſalmiſt here, where 'tis ſaid, *There will I make the horn of David to bud*; and in the parallel *Pſ.* 89. *In my name ſhall his horn be exalted.* To omit thoſe many places where our Saviour, in correſpondence to this promiſe, is affirmed to *poſſeſs the throne of his father David*, and *to rule over the houſe of Jacob for ever.* Moreover,

Jer. 33. 15. Ver. 16. Isa. 55. 3. 2 Chro. 6. 42. Pſal. 89. 28. Verſe 24. Acts 13. 34. Luke 1. 68, 69, 70. Verſe 24. *Vid.* Luc. 1. 32. *edit. Curcel.*

3. That by the *Sion* here mentioned is not chiefly meant that material mountain in *Judea*, but rather that myſtical rock of divine grace and evangelical truth, upon which the Chriſtian Church, the only everlaſting temple of God, is unmovably ſeated, is very probable, (or rather manifeſtly certain,) by the Prophets conſtant acception thereof in this ſenſe, when they aſſign the character of perpetual durability thereto. As in *Iſa.* 60. where he thus propheſies of the Chriſtian Church; *The ſons alſo of them that afflicted thee ſhall come bending unto thee, and all they that deſpiſe thee ſhall bow themſelves down at the ſoles of thy feet; and they ſhall call thee the city of the Lord, the Sion of the holy one of Iſrael. Whereas thou haſt been forſaken, and hated, ſo that no man went through thee; I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou ſhalt alſo ſuck the milk of the Gentiles, and ſhalt ſuck the breaſts of Kings*, &c. And the Prophet *Micah*, ſpeaking of *the laſt days*, (that is, of the evangelical times, *when the mountain of the houſe of the Lord ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the top of the mountains*,) ſaith thus; *And I will make her that halted, a remnant, and her that was caſt far off, a ſtrong nation: and the Lord ſhall reign over them in mount Sion from henceforth even for ever.* And the Prophet *Joel*, ſpeaking of the ſame times, (when God *would pour out his ſpirit upon all fleſh*,) hath theſe words: *So ſhall ye know, that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Sion, my holy mountain: then ſhall Jeruſalem be holy, and there ſhall no ſtrangers paſs through her any more.* All which places no man can reaſonably doubt, and all Chriſtians do firmly conſent to reſpect the Chriſtian Church. To which we may add that paſſage of the author to the *Hebrews*, ch. 12. ℣. 22. *But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem*; that is, to the Chriſtian Church.

Isa. 60. 14, 15, 16. Mic. 4. 1. Verſe 7. Joel. 2. 28. 3. 16.

4. The manner of this covenant's delivery, and confirmation by the divine oath, argues the inconditionate, irreverſible and perpetual conſtitution thereof,

for to God's moſt abſolute and immutable decrees this moſt auguſt and ſolemn confirmation doth peculiarly agree. So the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems to intimate: *Wherein* (ſaith he) *God willing more abundantly to demonſtrate the immutability of his counſel*, (ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς) *interpoſed an oath.* Heb. 6. 17.

We may therefore (I ſuppoſe) upon theſe grounds ſolidly and ſafely conclude, that this promiſe doth principally belong, and ſhall therefore infallibly be made good to the Chriſtian Prieſthood, to thoſe who in the Chriſtian Church, by offering ſpiritual ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving, by directing and inſtructing the people in the knowledge of the evangelical Law, by imploring for and pronouncing upon them the divine benedictions, do bear analogy with, and ſupply the room of the *Jewiſh* prieſthood.

From which diſcourſe we may by the way deduce this corollary; that the title of *Prieſt*, although it did (as moſt certainly it doth not) properly and primarily ſignifie a *Jewiſh* ſacrificer, (or ſlaughterer of beaſts,) doth yet no-wiſe deſerve that reproach which is by ſome inconſiderately, (not to ſay, prophanely,) upon that miſtaken ground, commonly, caſt upon it: ſince the holy Scripture it ſelf, we ſee, doth here, even in that ſenſe (moſt obnoxious to exception) aſcribe it to the Chriſtian paſtors. And ſo likewiſe doth the Prophet *Iſaiah*; *and I will alſo take of them for Prieſts and for Levites, ſaith the Lord:* ſpeaking (as the context plainly declares) of the Gentiles, which ſhould be converted and aggregated to God's Church. And the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *Neither ſhall the Prieſts the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to do ſacrifice continually.* Which prophecy alſo evidently concerns the ſame time and ſtate of things; of which the Prophet *Malachi* thus foretels: *For from the riſing of the ſun to the going down of the ſame, my name ſhall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered to my name, and a pure offering.* It were deſirable therefore, that men would better conſider, before they entertain ſuch groundleſs offences, or paſs ſo uncharitable cenſures upon either words, or perſons, or things. But I proceed to the Isa. 66. 21. Jer. 33. 18. Mal. 1. 11.

III. Particular, which is the matter of the promiſe, *cloathing with ſalvation.* Where we may obſerve,

Firſt, That the uſual metaphor of being *cloathed* doth in the ſacred dialect denote a complete endowment with, a plentiful enjoyment of, or an entire application to, that thing, or quality, with which a perſon is ſaid to be cloathed. So is God himſelf ſaid to be *cloathed with majeſty and ſtrength.* And *David* prays, that they might be *cloathed with ſhame and diſhonour, that did magnifie themſelves againſt him.* And in *Ezekiel, The princes of the iſles*, being amazed by the ruin of *Tyre*, are ſaid *to cloath themſelves with trembling.* And that bitter adverſary of *David* (in *Pſalm* 109.) did *cloath himſelf with curſing, as with a garment.* And *Job* avoucheth of himſelf, *I put on righteouſneſs, and it cloathed me; my judgment was a robe, and a diadem.* And St. *Peter* adviſes us to *put on*, or to *be cloathed with, humility.* Finally, *Iſaiah* introduces our Saviour ſpeaking thus: *I will greatly rejoyce in the Lord, my ſoul ſhall be joyful in my God: for he hath cloathed me with the garments of ſalvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteouſneſs; as a bridegroom decketh himſelf with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth her ſelf with her jewels.* So that, (as by theſe inſtances we may diſcern) *to be cloathed with ſalvation*, is, to be perfectly endowed therewith; to be inveſted with it as with a garment, which wholly encloſeth and covereth the body, ſo that no part is left unguarded and unadorned thereby. Pſal. 93. 1. Pſal. 35. 26. & 109. 29. Ezek. 26. 16. Verſ. 18. Job 29. 14. 1 Pet. 5. 5. Isa. 61. 10. Isa. 59. 17.

Secondly, But now what is that *ſalvation*, with which the *Prieſts* of *Sion* ſhall be thus cloathed? I anſwer, *ſalvation*, when it is put abſolutely, and not conjoyned with any particular object, (or term from which,) doth in the *Hebrew* language properly ſignifie a deliverance from, or remotion of all ſorts of inconvenience; and conſequently, an affluence of all good things; and, in effect, the ſame which other languages call felicity and proſperity, or deſign by terms equivalent to thoſe: the *Hebrews* having hardly any other word ſo properly correſpondent to thoſe, as this word, *ſalvation.* Whence that title of *Saviour*, and *the God of ſalvation*, ſo often attributed to almighty God, imports as much as the diſpenſer of all good gifts: the great benefactor, aſſiſter and protector of men: and *Deus Σωτὴρ, ſæpè* Platoni.

to *ſave* is promiſcuouſly uſed for, to relieve the needy, to comfort the ſorrowful; to reſtore the ſick to his health, the priſoner to his liberty, the captive to his countrey; to defend the weak from injury, and the humble from contempt; to deliver the diſtreſſed from imminent danger, the innocent from unjuſt condemnation, the ſlandered from undeſerved reproach: in a word, all the effects of God's goodneſs and power, the whole work of the divine providence and beneficence, are hereby expreſſed.

We will recite one or two of thoſe many places which confirm this notion. *Pſalm* 85. 9. *Surely his ſalvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land: his ſalvation is nigh*, that is, his loving care attends upon them, to aſſiſt and preſerve them: which in *Pſal.* 145. ℣. 19. is thus otherwiſe expreſſed; *He will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him; he will hear their cry, and will ſave them.* And again, *Pſalm* 149. 4. *The Lord taketh pleaſure in his people; he will beautifie the meek with ſalvation:* that is, he will by his good providence diſpoſe them into a convenient and decent condition of life. And again, *Pſalm* 144. ℣. 10. *It is he that giveth ſalvation unto Kings*; that is, by whoſe gracious diſpoſal they proſper, and are preſerved in dignity, plenty and ſafety.

I will not, by citation of places, labour to confirm ſo obvious a notion: it may ſuffice for that purpoſe, that the ſupreme accompliſhment of all happineſs, the enjoyment of perfect bliſs in Heaven, is, in agreement with this *Jewiſh* acception of the word, moſt commonly ſtyled *ſalvation.* But I muſt add, that whereas ſalvation may relate either to the outward eſtate of a man's body, life and fortunes, or to the internal diſpoſitions of the mind; to our preſent condition in this world, or to our future and eternal eſtate: it doth ſeem here (I ſay not, to exclude the latter altogether, yet) more directly and principally to reſpect the former, *viz.* that external and temporal welfare, which is conſpicuous and viſible in this world. My reaſon is, becauſe the other parts of this prophetical promiſe do, in their moſt natural acception, ſignifie that outward proſperity wherewith God would vouchſafe to bleſs his Church: that abundant *benediction of her ſtore*; that *ſatisfying her poor with bread*, that *joyful exultation of her Saints*, that *cloathing her enemies with ſhame*, being expreſſions properly denoting a ſtate of external good weal and comfort; and in conſonance to them require, that we thus likewiſe underſtand this phraſe; the Prieſts being alſo queſtionleſs deſigned to partake in this glorious felicity of the Church. Which is alſo confirmed by other propheſies of the ſame tenor and intention: as particularly that in *Jer.* 31. concerning the recollection of *Iſrael*, and redemption of the ſpiritual *Sion*; 'tis
Verſ. 14. ſaid, *I will ſatiate the ſoul of the Prieſts with fatneſs, and my people ſhall be ſatisfied with my goodneſs*, &c.

Now, although we may adventure ſafely to interpret the declarations of divine favour according to the moſt comprehenſive ſenſe of which the words are capable, where they are conceived: (it being the manner of the immenſely-good God to exceed, rather than to be deficient, in the performance of his word; and to ſurpaſs the expectations he hath raiſed in us, than any-wiſe to diſappoint them:) yet however, the leaſt we can imagine here promiſed to the *Prieſts of Sion*, will comprehend theſe three things.

1. A free and ſafe condition of life: that they be not expoſed to continual dangers of ruine; of miſerable ſufferance, or remedileſs injury: that the benefits of peace, and law, and publick protection, ſhall particularly appertain to them; ſo that their adverſaries (if any they happen to have) ſhall not be incited, by hope of reward or impunity, to hurt their perſons, rifle their goods, diſturb their quiet; but that they ſhall enjoy good degrees of ſecurity, liberty and tranquillity in this world.

2. A proviſion of competent ſubſiſtence for them: that their condition of life be not wholly neceſſitous, or very penurious, deſtitute of convenient accommodations, or depending altogether for them upon the arbitrary benevolences of men, which is, at beſt, but a more plauſible kind of beggary; but that [illegible] furniſhed with ſuch reaſonable ſupplies, as are requiſite to [illegible] chearful performance of their duty.

3. A ſuitable degree of reſpect, and ſo high a ſtation among [illegible] commend them to general eſteem, and vindicate them from [illegible] be not reputed among the dregs and refuſe of the people; that [illegible] perſons

be not baſe and deſpicable, their names made the objects of vulgar obloquy, their functions become proſtitute to profane irriſion; but that ſome conſiderable authority, ſome more than ordinary regard and veneration accrue unto them from the high relations which they bear, and from the ſacred buſineſs which they manage.

All this at leaſt (according to the moſt moderate interpretation of the phraſe) that abundant *ſalvation* doth imply, wherewith God hath promiſed to *inveſt the Prieſts of Sion.*

We may therefore preſume, or rather not preſume, but confidently rely upon, and comfort our ſelves in the expectation of, God's faithful continuance to fulfil this promiſe. We may aſſure our ſelves, that neither the ſecret envy of them who repine at thoſe encouragements which God's providence hath conferred on his Prieſts, nor the open malice of thoſe that furiouſly oppugn their welfare, ſhall ever prevail to overwhelm them with extreme miſery, penury, or diſgrace; ſince no endeavour of earth or hell can ever be able to reverſe this everlaſting decree of heaven, or to defeat that irreſiſtible power which is engaged to its execution. No inferior force can ſtrip them naked of that ſalvation, wherewith the ſupreme truth hath promiſed to cloath them.

Which confidence of ours may be improved, by conſidering the reaſons that might induce almighty God to reſolve, and promiſe thus favourably in behalf of his *Prieſts*. (For though we cannot penetrate the incomprehenſible depths of the divine counſel, nor ſhould ever peremptorily conclude concerning the determinate reaſons of his actions: yet when the wiſdom of his proceedings doth clearly approve it ſelf to our underſtandings, we ought readily to acknowledge it, and humbly to praiſe him for it.) Now the reaſons why divine providence ſhould undertake to preſerve the Prieſthood in ſafety, to procure for them liberal maintenance, and to raiſe them above a ſtate of ſcorn and infamy, may be eſpecially theſe three.

1. It concerns God's honour.
2. The good of the Church requires ſo.
3. Equity and the reaſon of the caſe exacts it.

In proſecuting which heads of diſcourſe, I ſhall not ſeem to you (I hope) to trangreſs the rules of modeſty, or decency. There be certain ſeaſons, wherein confeſſedly it is not only excuſable, but expedient alſo, to commend one's ſelf; as when a man is falſly accuſed, or unjuſtly afflicted. And with greater reaſon ſometime men are allowed to praiſe the Countrey where they were born and bred, the family to which they are allied, the ſociety to which they are more eſpecially related. And if at this time I aſſume the like liberty, the occaſion (I hope) will apologize for me. It becomes not me to be an adviſer, much leſs a reprover, in this audience: May I therefore, with your favourable permiſſion, preſume to be a commender, or (if you pleaſe) a pleader for the welfare of this ſacred order, although my ſelf an unworthy and inconſiderable member thereof. I ſay therefore,

I. God's honour is concerned in the ſafe, comfortable and honourable eſtate of his Prieſts: and that upon the account of thoſe manifold relations, whereby they ſtand allied, appropriated and devoted to himſelf.

They are in a peculiar manner his ſervants. *The ſervant of the Lord* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach. The ſervant of the Lord*, who's that? are not all men God's ſervants? is not he Lord of all? Yes; but a Chriſtian Prieſt, ſuch as *Timothy* was, is by way of excellency ſo ſtyled. All men owe ſubjection, obedience and homage to God: but the Prieſts are (his Υπηρέται, his Λειτουργοί) his miniſters, his officers, his immediate attendants, his domeſticks as it were, and menial ſervants; that approach his perſon, that tread the courts of his houſe, that wear his proper badges, that are employed in his particular buſineſs. And is it then for God's honour, to ſuffer them to be abuſed, to want convenient ſuſtenance, to live in a mean and diſgraceful condition? Would it not redound to the diſcredit of an earthly Prince, to permit, that the attendants on his perſon, the officers of his court, the executers of his edicts ſhould have the leaſt injury offer'd them, ſhould fare ſcantly or courſely, ſhould appear in a ſordid garb? are they not therefore by eſpecial privileges guarded from ſuch inconveniences? And ſhall the great King and Lord of all the world be deemed leſs provident for, leſs indulgent (not

Joel 2. 17. 2 Tim. 2. 24. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Rom. 15. 16.

to

to ſay leſs juſt) unto his ſervants? Servants, I ſay, and thoſe not of the loweſt rank, nor appointed to the vileſt drudgeries; but ſuch as are employed in the moſt honourable charges, and are intruſted with his moſt eſpecial concernments.

Tit. 1. 7. * 1 Tim. 3. 15. *Vid.* Matt. 24. 45. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Luk. 12. 42.

They are his ſtewards. (*A Biſhop*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *muſt be blameleſs, as the ſteward of God*.) If the Church be οἶκος Θεοῦ, *God's houſe*, or family, * as 'tis called, and the Prieſts the οἰκονόμοι, the ſtewards of that houſe, the comptrollers of that family; 'tis ſurely no mean ſtation they obtain therein. The diſtribution of his bread, (the bread of life, his holy word) and the diſpenſation of his moſt precious goods, (the holy *myſteries*,) are committed to their care and prudence. *Who then* (ſaith our Saviour) *is that faithful and wiſe ſteward, whom his Lord ſhall make ruler over his houſhold, to give them their portion of meat in due ſeaſon?* Who but the Prieſts, who are therefore ſtyled both Προεστῶτες, Ἡγούμενοι, Κυβερνήσεις, (*Preſidents, Guides, Rulers*,) and Ποιμένες (*Feeders* or *Paſtors*) of the Church.

Yea they are οἰκοδόμοι alſo, the builders of that houſe, founding it by initial converſion, rearing it by continual inſtruction, covering and finiſhing it by ſacramental obſignation of divine grace. *As a wiſe architect*, (ſaith S. *Paul*) *I have laid the foundation, and another builds upon it.*

1 Cor. 3. 10.

1 Cor. 3. 9. † Κήρυκες.

They are Συνεργοὶ Θεοῦ, *Co-operators with God*; that manage his buſineſs, and drive on his deſigns: the Solicitors of his affairs; the maſters of his requeſts: † his heralds, that publiſh his decrees, denounce his judgment, proclaim his pardons, and acts of grace unto his ſubjects; that blazon his titles, and defend his rightful authority in the world: yea, his miniſters of ſtate; the miniſters (I ſay, *abſit invidia*,) of his moſt glorious ſpiritual kingdom; (which is peculiarly denominated *the kingdom of God*;) the orderly adminiſtration of which, its advancement, its preſervation, and its enlargement, are eſpecially commended to their diligence and fidelity.

‡ *Vide* Mal. 2. 7. *For the Prieſts lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth: for he is the meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts.* 2 Cor. 5. 20.

They are, laſtly, God's ‡ *embaſſadors*, delegated by him to treat of peace, and ſolicit a fair correſpondence between heaven and earth. *Now then* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *we are embaſſadors for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us: we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be reconciled to God. As though God did beſeech you by us*; ſee, they manage God's concernments, and in a manner repreſent his perſon. At leaſt, if the Apoſtles were more properly God's embaſſadors, the preſent miniſters of religion are his agents, and reſidents here among men, deſigned to purſue the ſame negotiations commenced by them. Now you know by the law of nations, and common conſent of all men, all manner of ſecurity, good entertainment, and civil reſpect hath been ever acknowleged due to embaſſadors, and publick miniſters: their employment hath been eſteemed honourable, their perſons held ſacred and inviolable; and whatſoever diſcourteſie hath been ſhewed unto, or outrage committed upon them, hath been interpreted done to him from whom they derive their commiſſion, whoſe perſon they repreſent. And ſo truly the bad uſage of God's Prieſts, if not directly and immediately, does yet really and truly, according to moral eſtimation, terminate on God himſelf, and reflect on his honour, and prejudice his religion; a due regard to which cannot be maintained, without proportionable reſpect to the miniſters thereof. The baſeſt of the people may ſerve to be Prieſts to *Jeroboam*'s Calves, but not become the miniſtery of the God of *Iſrael*.

Joh. 13. 20. *What you have done to theſe*, &c. Matt. 10. 40. & 25. 40. *He that receiveth you receiveth him that ſent you.*

Do we not ſee the reverence of civil government upheld more by the ſpecious circumſtances, than by the real neceſſity thereof; by the magnificent retinue, and ſplendid ornaments of princely dignity, than by the eminent benefits of peace and juſtice ſpringing thence? Shall not (not only the greateſt inward worth, but) the higheſt nobility, if baſely attired, badly attended, ſlenderly accommodated, paſs unregarded, yea diſregarded by us? men being generally either unable to diſcern or unwilling to acknowledge excellency deveſted of ſenſible luſtre. Prieſts therefore muſt be well habited, or it will be ill reſpected: the Prieſts will wear comely (if not a coſtly) livery, or God their Maſter's reputation will be impaired in popular fancy.

1 Chron. 17. 1.

Conſider *David*'s reaſoning; *Lo, I dwell in a houſe of Cedar, but the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains*; and compare ſuch diſcourſe therewith as this; and judge candidly, whether they have not ſome parity: I

my

my attendants are clad with the fineſt purple, God's miniſters are covered with the courſeſt ſackcloth; my people ſurfeit with dainties, his ſervants pine away for ſcarcity; my courtiers are reſpectfully ſaluted, his Prieſts ſcornfully derided; no man dares offend mine, every one may trample on his officers.

And leſt we ſhould imagine God himſelf altogether void of ſuch reſentments, or ſuch compariſons impertinent, conſider that diſdainful expreſſion of his; *If ye offer the blind for ſacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and ſick, is it not evil? Offer it now to thy governour; will he be pleaſed with thee, or accept thy perſon? ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* The ſame teſtimonies of reſpect that we ſhew our governours, God, it ſeems, expects from us in all kinds, and may reaſonably much greater. Mal. 1. 8.

Nor is it a matter of ſlight conſideration, how plentiful proviſion, in the policy deviſed and conſtituted by God himſelf, was made for the Prieſts; how God aſſumes the immediate patronage of them, and appropriates the matter of their ſuſtenance unto himſelf. *The Prieſts*, (ſaith the Law) *the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi ſhall have no part nor inheritance with Iſrael; they ſhall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance. Therefore they ſhall have no inheritance among their brethren: the Lord is their inheritance.* So that *then* (it ſeems) no man could withhold any part of the Prieſt's maintenance, without ſacrilegious encroachment on God's own right, and robbing him of his due: (which is the greateſt ſecurity of an eſtate imaginable.) How likewiſe (next to the prince) the higheſt dignity and authority was then conferr'd on the Prieſts: to them the interpretation of law, to them the deciſion of doubtful caſes did appertain; with ſevere injunctions to comply with their determinations. See how the buſineſs is inculcated. *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, between ſtroke and ſtroke, being matters of controverſie within thy gates; then ſhalt thou ariſe, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe: And thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts, the Levites, and unto the judge that ſhall be in thoſe days, and enquire; and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of judgment. And thou ſhalt do according to the ſentence which they of that place, which the Lord ſhall chuſe, ſhall ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee. According to the ſentence of the law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they ſhall tell thee, thou ſhalt do: thou ſhalt not decline from the ſentence, which which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And the man that will do preſumptuouſly, and will not hearken to the Prieſt, that ſtandeth to miniſter there before the Lord thy God, even that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt put away evil from Iſrael.* Obſerve with how eminent a power God then thought fit to endow his Prieſts *. Deut. 18. 1, 2. Deut. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

* Καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπτην πάντων, καὶ δικαστὴν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, καὶ κολαστὴν τῶν καταγινωσκομένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἱτάχθησαν, faith *Joſephus*: The Prieſts were conſtituted ſuperaviſors of all things, and judges of controverſies, and puniſhers of offences. 2 *in* Apionem.

And though we are not in all caſes obliged punctually to follow thoſe political preſcriptions; yet is the reaſon of them perpetual, and the example venerable: eſpecially ſince the cuſtom of all times, and the reaſon of all the world doth in a ſort conſpire to back it.

The firſt *Prieſt* we meet with in Scripture is *Melchizedek*; a *King* alſo; and ſuch a one, as the Patriarch *Abraham*, (a prince alſo himſelf, and, what is ſomewhat more, juſt then a conquerour,) in the midſt of his triumphal heights, was not aſhamed to acknowledge his ſuperior, to honour him with a tribute of his ſpoils, and to receive a benediction from him. The next (if I miſtake not) is *Potipherah*, Prieſt of *On*, whoſe daughter was not thought by the king of *Egypt* an unequal match for *Joſeph*, his chief favourite, and the next in dignity to himſelf in that flouriſhing kingdom. (Though ſuch an alliance would perhaps be thought derogatory to the worſhips of our days.) The third is *Reuel*, or *Jethro*, Prieſt of *Midian*, the father-in-law likewiſe of the illuſtrious *Moſes*; a man as of approved wiſdom, ſo doubtleſs of conſiderable dignity too. And the next to him (in order of ſtory) is the venerable *Aaron*, no meaner a man, than the brother of him who was *King in Jeſurun*. Thus all nations, wiſe and ignorant, civil and barbarous, were by one common inſtinct (as it were) of natural reaſon prompted, by conferring extraordinary privileges of honour and convenience on their Prieſts, to expreſs their reverence of the deity, and their affection to religion. Gen. 14. Gen. 41. 45. Deut. 33. 5. *Vid.* Ariſtot. *Pol. VII.* 9.

Οὔτε γὰρ γινώσκων, ὅτε βάναυσον ἱερεία καταγελῶν· νῦν δὲ τὴν πολλῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τὸν θεόν.

I will not ranſack the cloſets of antiquity, nor with needleſs oſtentation produce the *Egyptian Hierophantæ*, the *Perſian Magi*, the *Gauliſh Druids*, the *Caliphs* and *Mufti*'s of other nations, to ſhew what pre-eminences of reſpect they enjoyed, what powerful ſway they bore in their reſpective countries; how the moſt weighty affairs, both of peace and war, were commonly directed by their oracular dictates. It ſhall ſuffice to obſerve, that the gallant *Romans*, (whoſe devout zeal to religion *Polybius* himſelf, no eſpecial friend of theirs, could not forbear to admire and applaud,) I ſay, that the moſt wiſe and valiant *Romans* did ſet ſo high a value upon the Prieſtly order, that if their principal magiſtrates (the Prætors and Conſuls themſelves) did caſually meet with one of *Veſta*'s Prieſts, they cauſed immediately thoſe dreadful rods, the enſigns of their authority, to ſubmit; and they themſelves reſpectfully gave place, as if they meant to confeſs thoſe Prieſts in a manner their betters. Nor did they among them of the moſt noble extraction, and of the higheſt dignity in the commonwealth, (even after many glorious exploits atchieved by them) ſcornfully diſdain, but did rather ambitiouſly affect to be admitted into the College of Prieſts: inſomuch that, after the diſſolution of the republick, the emperors thought good to aſſume the *pontifical* dignity to themſelves, ſuppoſing the office too honourable, the title too magnificent for a ſubject. For they wiſely, it ſeems, and honeſtly adjudged it no debaſement of their quality, no diminution to their perſonal excellency, to be employed in the ſervice of the immortal Gods; whom they acknowledged the patrons of their countrey, the protectors of their ſafety: Nor that they leſs deſerved of the publick, who rightly ordered their religious devotions, than they who prudently adviſed in the ſenate, or fought valiantly in the field: for that the good ſucceſs of publick undertakings did as much, or more, depend upon the favourable diſpoſition of divine providence, as upon the careful endeavour of humane induſtry.

Porph. περὶ ἀποχ. lib. IV. §. 16. Cæſ. *de bell. Gall. L. VI.*

Lib. 6.

Πάντα τὰ πρεσβύτατα Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνήκοντα. Plut. *in Marcello.* Sen. *in Controv.*

I cannot forbear to alledge that ſo grave and pertinent ſpeech of *Cicero*, which is the *Exordium* of his oration *ad Pontifices*: "*Cùm multa divinitùs, Pontifices, à majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt; tum nihil præclariùs, quàm quòd vos eoſdem & Religionibus Deorum immortalium, & ſummæ Reip. præeſſe voluerunt: ut ampliſſimi & clariſſimi Cives Rempubl. benè gerendo, Religiones ſapientèr interpretando, Remp. conſervarent.* A wholſome and politick inſtitution he thought it, conducing to the publick good and ſafety, that the civil and ſacred authority ſhould be united in the ſame perſons; that it was as well for the intereſt of the ſtate, as for the credit of religion, that the Prieſts ſhould be men of honour, or (which is all one) honourable men Prieſts.

All which evinces plainly, that it is in no wiſe the reſult of a generous heart, (for what nation ever produced ſo many brave ſpirits as that?) but rather proceeds from an inconſiderate delicacy of humour, (or from a profane haughtineſs of mind) to loath, as now men do, and deſpiſe that employment, which in its own nature is of all moſt noble and moſt beneficial to mankind. For if to be a courtier in a particular countrey, is of all others the moſt honourable relation; and to wait upon a mortal king, is accounted a moſt worthy function: to be peculiarly God's ſervant, and in religious addreſſes immediately to attend on him, muſt conſequently be the moſt excellent preferment in the world, which is God's kingdom. And if to ſupply a man's bodily needs, to reſtore his liberty, to ſave his life, be works of generous beneficence: how much more is it ſo, by good conduct and inſtruction of men, to adorn their ſouls with virtue, to free them from the bondage of ſin, to reſcue them from eternal ruine?

Itáne plus decet hominis, quàm Dei famulum nominari? ac terreni quàm cæleſtis Regis officialem, altioris ducitur dignitatis? Qui Clero militiam, ſorum anteponit Eccleſiæ, divinus profectò humana, cæleſtibus præferre terrena convincitur. Bern. *Epiſt.* 78.

Our magnanimous anceſtors, who erected as well trophees of their invincible courage abroad, as monuments of their incomparable piety at home, and equally by both did purchaſe immortal renown to their ingrateful poſterity, (for not to imitate good example, is the greateſt ingratitude,) they, I ſay, [illegible] otherwiſe diſpoſed; to whoſe honeſt devotion we owe thoſe handſome privile[illegible] competent revenues which the Prieſthood ſtill enjoys; and which [illegible] by this untoward age, not leſs degenerate in ſpirit, than corrupt in [illegible] all wiſdom, and virtue, and religion, are almoſt in moſt places gro[illegible] when the ſerious uſe of reaſon is become (in vulgar opinion) the [illegible] and inſignificant thing in the world: when innocence is reputed a mere defect [illegible]

wit

wit and weakneſs of judgment; integrity, a fond pertinacity of humour; conſtancy of mind and gravity of demeanour, a kind of ſullen moroſity or uncouth affectation of ſingularity; and all ſtrict practice of chriſtian duty incurs the imputation of ſome new-found opprobrious name, one or other. No wonder then, when religion it ſelf hath ſo much decayed in its love and eſteem, if the Prieſts, its profeſſed guardians, do partake in its fortune. Nor is it to be feared, but that, when the predominant vanities of the age are ſomewhat decocted, and men grow weary of their own inconvenient follies; when-ever (not a fierce zeal for ſome whimſical model, or ſome paradoxical opinion, but) a ſober eſteem of, and a cordial affection to virtue and genuine piety do begin to revive in the breaſts of men; the love and reverence of the *Clergy* will return. For it will be ever true, what was once ſaid, (though dictated only from the reaſon and experience of a heathen) *Qui bonâ fide colit Deos, amat & Sacerdotes*; *He that ſincerely worſhips God, will heartily love his Prieſts.* But not to inſiſt longer on this reaſon. Statius, *Epiſt. Dedic. in V. lib. Sylvarum.*

II. The good of the Church requires, that the Prieſthood be well protected, well provided for, and well regarded. That men be converted from iniquity, and induced to the ſincere practice of virtue, is the chief good of the Church, that to which the favour of God is annexed, and upon which the ſalvation of ſouls doth rely. And this good mainly depends, partly upon the due execution of the Prieſtly office, partly upon the fit diſpoſition of the people to comply therewith: and to both thoſe effects the comfortable eſtate of the Prieſthood is conducible and requiſite. The Prieſt muſt be capable to inſtruct with advantage; and the people diſpoſed to learn with readineſs: He muſt lead, and they follow chearfully in the paths of righteouſneſs. Which alacrity how can he be maſter of, whoſe mind, care and grief, the inſeparable companions of a needy eſtate, do continually diſtract and diſcompoſe? whoſe ſpirit is dejected with conſtant regret and frequent diſappointments? Can he be free and expedite in the diſcharge of his duty, who is perplexed with the difficulties, and incumbred with the varieties of ſecular buſineſs, (ſuch as the exigencies of a narrow condition do neceſſarily induce?) No: few there be, that, with *Epictetus*, can philoſophate in ſlavery; or, like *Cleanthes*, can draw water all the day, and ſtudy moſt of the night.

The Prieſts are bound, (for the propagation of truth and right, and for the reclaiming of men from error and ſin, that is, for the moſt important good of the Church,) as the Apoſtles are often related to have done, παῤῥησιάζεσθαι, *to ſpeak all out*; (or to uſe an unconfined liberty of ſpeech;) to exhort to the practice of virtue, as our Saviour did, μετ' ἐξουσίας, *with licence* and *authority*; to deter from vice, as S. *Paul* enjoyns *Titus*, μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς, *with an all-commanding* and imperious *ſtrain*; and, (as thoſe faithful brethren did, encouraged by S. *Paul's* example) τολμᾶν ἀφόβως λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον, *to dare undauntedly to utter the word* of truth: they are obliged to deal impartially with all, to flatter no man; to admoniſh, yea and (with prudence ſeaſonably) to reprove the greateſt of men; not to reſpect the perſons of the rich, nor to dread the faces of the moſt terrible among men. And how ſhall this neceſſary courage be engendred, be cheriſhed, be preſerved in the breaſt of him who grovels upon the ground, and crouches under the depreſſing loads of want and diſgrace? What engines are able to raiſe the ſpirits of men above the ordinary fountains from which they ſpring, their fortunes? what props can ſuſtain them at that due pitch, deſtitute of ſolid ſtrength, wealth and reſpect? With what face ſhall a pitiful underling encounter the ſolemn looks of an oppreſſing grandee? with what hope of ſucceſs in his forlorn habit ſhall he adventure to check the vicious extravagancies of a ruffling gallant? Will he dare to contradict the opinion, or to diſallow the practice of that wealthy, or this powerful neighbour, by whoſe alms, it may be, he is relieved, and ſupported by his favour?

Acts 9. 27. & 14. 3. & 19. 8. Ephes. 6. 19; &c. Luke 4. 32. Tit. 2. 15. Phil. 1. 14.

——— *plurima ſunt quæ*
Non audent homines pertuſâ dicere læna.
Juven. *Sat.* 5.

Αἰδώς τοι πρὸς ἀπολλοῖη, θάρσος δ' πρὸς ὅλεθρον. Heſ. 1. 317.

Πρὸς ἅπαντα δειλὸς ὁ πένης ἐνὶ πρόσωπα,
Καὶ παιδὸς αὐτῷ καὶ φρονεῖν ἀπολαμβάνει.
Menand.

But admit it poſſible a man may be both extreamly indigent, and ſufficiently reſolute: (that is, ſtrong without food, and fat by digeſting the thin air:) with what regard then ſhall his free and faithful advice be entertained? Shall not his moderate confidence be accounted impudence; his open ſincerity of ſpeech be ſtyled unmannerly preſumption; his minding others of their duty adjudged a forgetfulneſs of his own condition, or a diſorderly tranſgreſſing the due limits thereof? If he be not aſhamed of the truth, will not the truth be aſhamed of him? Shall he

not prejudice more by the meanneſs of his garb, than farther by the force of his reaſon, that good cauſe which he maintains? Will men reſpect his words, whoſe perſon they deſpiſe? will they be willingly counſelled, or patiently reproved by him, whom they eſteem, yea, whom they plainly ſee, ſo much their inferior? No: the ſame words, which proceed from the mouths of men in eminent dignity, are not the ſame when they are uttered by thoſe of baſe degree. Weak and ineffectual are the moſt eloquent harangues of beggarly orators; obſcure like themſelves and unobſerved the moſt notable dictates of poor mercenary pedants The authority of the ſpeaker doth uſually more incline, than the weight of the matter. It was the obſervation of the wiſe ſon of *Sirach*: *When a rich man ſlips, he hath many helpers; he ſpeaketh things not to be ſpoken, and yet men juſtifie him: the poor man miſcarried, and they farther rebuked him; he ſpake diſcreetly, and yet could have no place. When a rich man ſpeaketh, every man holdeth his tongue; and his words they extol to the clouds: but if the poor man ſpeak, they ſay, Who is this? and if he ſtumble, they will help to overthrow him.* And *Solomon* himſelf notes the ſame: *The poor man's wiſdom is deſpiſed, and his words are not heard.* Not only thoſe that ſwell with pride, and ſwim in plenty, but even the meaneſt of the people will be apt to contemn his inſtructions, whom they perceive in few or no circumſtances of life to excell them. If the Preacher's condition be not, as well as his pulpit, ſomewhat elevated above the loweſt ſtation, few will hear him, fewer mind his words, very few obey him. *Job*'s caſe deſerves well to be conſidered. While he flouriſhed in wealth and reputation, all men attended to his counſel, and admired his diſcourſe. *The princes* (ſaith he) *refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth: The nobles held their peace, and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth. When the ear heard me, then it bleſſed me; and when the eye ſaw me, it gave witneſs to me. Unto me men gave ear, and waited, and kept ſilence at my counſel. After my words they ſpake not again, and my ſpeech dropped upon them.* So officiouſly attentive were all men to *Job* in his proſperity. But when the ſcale was turn'd, and he became depreſſed in eſtate, no man minded either him or his diſcourſe; except it were to deſpiſe and ſcorn both. *But now* (ſaith he) *they that are younger than I have me in deriſion, whoſe fathers I would have diſdained to have ſet with the dogs of my flock. I am their ſong, yea, I am their by-word. They abhor me, they fly far from me, and ſpare not to ſpit in my face: Becauſe he hath looſed my cord, and afflicted me.* If *Job*, a perſon who ſo equally and moderately, yea, * ſo humbly and courteouſly and bountifully uſed his proſperity, as we find he did, was notwithſtanding in his adverſity ſo generally ſlighted and abhorred; what ſhall their lot be who never enjoyed thoſe advantages? what regard ſhall their wholſome advice find? what efficacy their moſt pathetical exhortations obtain? what paſſion their faint breath raiſe in mens benummed hearts? No more certainly, than their mean condition ſhall procure among men either of friendſhip or eſteem.

Τὰ δ' ἀξίωμα, κἂν κακῶς λέγῃ, τὸ σόν πείσει; Λόγος γὰρ ὢν τ' ἀδοξόντων ἴσον, κἀκ τ' δοξόντων, αὐτὸς, ἀ ταυτὸν σθένει. Eurip. *in Hecuba.*

Eccluſ. 13. 22, 23.

Κάλλιστα Μουσῶν φθέγγεται παλαιῶν ἀνήρ. Eccleſ. 9. 16.

Job 29. 9, 10, 11, 21, 22.

Job 30. 1, 9, 10, 11.

Prov. 14. 20. *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends.*

* c. 30. 25.

We ſee therefore how Almighty God, that he might conciliate credit unto, and infuſe a perſuaſive energy into the words of his Prophets and Apoſtles, was pleaſed to dignifie them with extraordinary gifts of foretelling future events, and doing miraculous works: their doctrine, it ſeems, (though of it ſelf moſt reaſonable and plauſible) being not ſufficient to convince the hearers, without ſome remarkable excellency in the teachers, challenging the people's awful regard, and exciting their attention. Otherwiſe how pitifully ſcant a draught thoſe poor fiſhers of men had caught by the common allurements only of innocent life and rational diſcourſe, I leave you to imagine. And where ſuch extraordinary commendations are wanting, is it not reaſonable that the need of them ſhould be ſupplied by ordinary and probable expedients?

I might farther add, how a neceſſitous and deſpicable eſtate doth commonly not only diſturb the minds and deject the ſpirits of men; but diſtempere [illegible] ſouls, and vitiateth their manners; rendring them not only ſad and anxious, ſ[illegible] viſh and timorous, but greedy alſo and covetous, peeviſh and mutinou[illegible] ignorant: engages them in ſordid company, and tempts them to unwo[illegible] From which one cauſe how ſcandalous effects, and how prejudicial to the Church's both,

both honour and ſafety, have proceeded, I need not for to ſay, ſince woful experience too loudly proclaims it.

I might add moreover, that the Prieſts do confer to the good of the ſtate; which is ſecured and advanced by the ſincere inſtruction of men in the duties of obedience, juſtice and fidelity; and by maintenance of good conſcience among men. So that if things be rightly conſidered, it will be hard to find a better commonwealthsman, than a good Miniſter.

Seeing therefore the good of the Church, upon various accounts, is ſo much concerned in the Prieſts encouragement, welfare and reſpect; 'tis very fitting they ſhould have them. Which conſideration I conclude with that ſerious admonition of the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*; wherein the ſubſtance of what hath been ſpoken on this point is contained: *Obey your rulers*, (or *guides*,) *and ſubmit* Heb. 13. 17. *to them*; *for they watch for your ſouls, as they that are to give an account: that they may do it with joy, and not with complaint*; *for this is unprofitable for you.* Ἀλυσιτελὲς γὰρ τοῦτο· that is, *for this pays no taxes, quits no ſcores*; *turns* Μὴ στενάζοντες, *to no account, is nowiſe advantageous for you*; but rather (for there is a μείωσις in thoſe words) is hurtful and detrimental to you. But farther,

III. Common equity, and the reaſon of the caſe exacts, that ſafety, competent ſubſiſtence, and fitting reſpect be allowed to the Prieſts. If you conſider their perſonal qualities; who, I pray, do [commonly] better deſerve thoſe advantages than they? Thoſe qualities, I ſay, which reſult from a liberal, a ſober, a modeſt education, in the ſchools of wiſdom, and under the influences of good diſcipline. If birth (that is, at beſt, an imaginary relation to the gallantry of an anceſtor) entitle men to honour; if the cheap favours of fortune be ſo highly prized and admired; if riches (that is, the happy reſults of induſtry in trivial matters) do eaſily purchaſe reſpect: what may not they pretend to, whoſe conſtant (and not always unſucceſsful) endeavour it hath been to deſerve well, to cultivate their minds, and regulate their manners?

True worth indeed is not confined to any particular order of men; yet I ſhould wrong none, by ſaying it is no where more plentifully to be found than in this. What is it that doth advance men's nature, that adorns their minds, that commends their perſons to eſpecial regard? Is it knowledge? *The Prieſts lips preſerve* *Vide* Orig. *contra* Cel. *l.* 3. *p.* 129. *it*; their diſcourſe doth diffuſe it. Is it virtue? Whence have more or greater examples Mal. 2. 7. thereof proceeded than from them? Is it piety? It is their proper buſineſs, it hath been always (in ſome meaſure) their care to promote it: That ignorance and barbarity, diſſoluteneſs and irreligion have not long ſince, like a deluge, overſpread the face of the world, none, I ſuppoſe, will be ſo unjuſt, as to deny in greateſt part due to their vigilant endeavours. Even thoſe improvements of wit and eloquence, which are employed to their diſgrace and diſadvantage, muſt be acknowledged originally derived from them.

Faults they have had, and will always have; for they are men, and ſubject to the common imperfections of mortal nature: but thoſe, perhaps, leſs and fewer than any other diſtinct ſort of men; that as it is their duty, ſo it hath been their practice, to excel in virtue; and that they have commonly in effect made good S. *Ambroſe* his words, *Debet præponderare vita ſacerdotis, ſicut præponderat* *Epiſt.* 82. *gratia*; were not difficult to demonſtrate, if ſeemly to make compariſons, or to inſiſt upon ſo invidious a ſubject. Nor, were they greater than ever really they have been, or than ever malice could miſrepreſent them, ſhould it be therefore equal, that the miſcarriages of ſome ſhould derogate from the reputation, or prejudice the welfare of the whole order.

But to wave this plea; conſider their employment. Is there any office more laborious, more vexatious than theirs; accompanied with more weariſome toil, more ſolicitous care, more tedious attendance? They are deſervedly called *watch-* Heb. 13. 17. *men*, being conſtrained to ſtand always on the guard, to be always wakeful, attentive, and ready to warn the people of approaching dangers: and *Shepherds* likewiſe, being forced to endure the various hardſhips of that uneaſie life, the inconveniences of all weathers, the nipping froſts, and ſweltry heats, and all diverſities of irkſome travels; they muſt feed, they muſt guide, they muſt defend; they muſt ſeek the loſt, and reduce the ſtraying ſheep. What aſſiduity of ſtudy, what earneſt contention of ſoul are they obliged to uſe, in the continual inſtruction, exhortation and reprehenſion of the people; in rectifying their judgments, ſatisfying their ſcruples, removing their prejudices, bearing their infirmities, and ſympa-

thizing

thizing with their afflictions? 'Tis they that are engaged with all their might to withſtand the prevailing encroachments of iniquity, to ſtop the progreſs of pernicious errors, to detect the falſe pretences of impoſtors, to confute the fallacies of ſophiſters, to repel the aſſaults of all adverſaries to the truth; yea, if need be, to expoſe, not only their deareſt contents of life, but even their lives themſelves, in the defence thereof.

Lib. VI. *Euſebius* reports thus of *Maximinus*, Τὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρχοντας μόνους, ὡς αἰτίους τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδασκαλίας, ἀναιρεῖσθαι προσέταξε. *He commanded that only the governors of the Church* (that is, *the Biſhops*) *ſhould be ſlaughtered, as the authors of the growth and prevalence of evangelical doctrine.* Neither was it a ſingular practice of that bloody tyrant, but as a thing of courſe it conſtantly follows, that where-ever righteouſneſs and truth are violently impugned, the Prieſts are ſure to taſte deepeſt of that bitter cup; that their goods be in the firſt place ſequeſtred and ſpoiled, their reputation ſtained, their perſons miſuſed, their lives ſacrificed to the perſecutors outragious malice.

Is it not reaſonable then, and equal, that they who, for the ſervice of God, and benefit of the Church, undergo ſuch difficulties, and are objected to ſo great hazards, ſhould be ſuſtained, ſhould be refreſhed by proportionable encouragements? Is it not barbarous uſage, to expect ſo hard duties from them, to impoſe ſuch heavy burthens on them, and yet to grudge any ſuitable comforts, any ſatisfactory rewards to them? Good King *Hezekiah* ſurely was not ſo minded,

2 Chr. 31. 4. of whom 'tis ſaid, *He commanded the people that dwelt in Hieruſalem, to give the portion of the Prieſts and Levites, that they might be encouraged in the law of the Lord:* that is, that they might be heartned to ſtudy, to teach, to perform the duties required of them by the divine law. And St. *Paul* thus rationally expoſtulates in the Prieſts behalf: *Who ever goeth to war at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof; or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things; is it a great thing, if we ſhall reap your carnal things? Is it a great thing?* do you think much of it? If you do, you are unreaſonable, you are unjuſt, you are ingrateful. And otherwhere he thus very emphatically admoniſhes; *We beſeech you, brethren, to * mind them which labour among you, and ‡ preſide over you in the Lord, and that admoniſh you; and to eſteem them more than exceedingly* (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ) *in love, for their work* (or, *for their office*) *ſake:* (ſo ἔργον frequently ſignifies in ſuch caſes.) And again, *Let the Elders* (or *Prieſts*, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι,) *which rule well be counted worthy of double honour* (or *of double recompence:* ſo τιμὴ alſo imports.) Prieſts as ſo, for their office ſake, have honour and reward due to them; which, according to the good management of that office, are proportionably to be augmented and multiplied.

1 Cor. 9. 7, 11.

Vid. Rom. 15. 27.

1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13.

* Εἰδέναι.

‡ Ὑμῶν προϊσταμένους.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

But farther yet, abſtracting from both their perſonal worth, and the merit of their ſervice, conſider their condition in this world, and ſee whether it doth not in equity challenge ſome reaſonable proviſion to be made for them. Are they not, by the nature of their profeſſion, ſecluded from all ordinary means of temporal advancement? Be not thoſe uſual inlets of wealth, the court, the camp, and the exchange, ſhut upon them, yea barr'd againſt them, by thoſe inſuperable obſtacles of law and cuſtom? Can they grow rich by trade, or famous by feats of arms? May they plead for others? 'Tis well if they be allowed to do it for themſelves before equal judges. Yet are they not men, endued with humane paſſions and reſentments? Are they not citizens, partaking in the common intereſts of the weal publick? Are they not ſenſible of the inconveniences, and capable of enjoying the benefits of this life? Are they not equally obliged, and would they not be glad, as well as others, to be in a capacity to requite courteſies, to help relations, to gratifie friends, to relieve the poor, to expreſs reſpectively their humanity, and their gratitude? Skill they not to uſe the goods of fortune (or rather the gifts of providence) with as much diſcretion, as much ſobriety, as much honour, as others? Compare things rightly, and let reaſon judge; let experience be examined; let thoſe eternal monuments of their piety, their charity, their hoſpitality, declare and teſtifie. Shall the fruits of painful ſtudy, the improvement of hopeful parts, the flower of vigorous age and ſtrength ſpent in the publick ſervice, tend only hither, to put a man

man into a ſtate of ſtruggling with extreme contempt and penury? if this be not, what, I pray you, is monſtrous iniquity?

Since therefore it appears (upon ſo many ſeveral ſcores) reaſonable, that almighty God ſhould undertake the protection, and aſſert the honour of his Prieſts; we may not only praiſe the goodneſs, but approve alſo the wiſdom of this promiſe; and by the contemplation thereof ſtrengthen our faith in reliance thereon. To which purpoſe one conſideration more may very much conduce, and withal may provoke our gratitude to celebrate his truth and faithfulneſs, in making good, as well as his goodneſs and wiſdom, in making this promiſe; *viz.* the conſidering how continually hitherto God hath been pleaſed effectually to *cloath* his *Prieſts with ſalvation*, to provide abundantly for their ſafety, their accommodation, their reſpect in this world; and to deliver them from the oppoſite inconveniences.

If we reflect our thoughts on the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, (not more diſmal for ſuffering, than glorious for piety,) 'tis admirable to ſee how ſincerely and paſſionately the Chriſtian people did then love their Prieſts and Paſtors; how liberally, out of their ſlender ſtock, and the ſhipwrecks of their ſpoiled fortunes, they contributed to their maintenance; what exceeding veneration they bore them; with what incredible alacrity they ſubmitted to the moſt ſevere diſciplines injoined by them; how willingly they followed them, though leadding into the jaws of death and cruel torture: ſo that, although it was then neceſſary for the Chriſtian Prieſts to undergo the greateſt hardſhips; according to the deſign of Chriſtian religion; (which was to be propagated, not by terror of power, nor by politick artifice, but by the invincible faith, reſolution and patience of the Profeſſors and Teachers thereof;) yet never more may they have ſeemed to thrive and proſper, than in that juncture of time, when they enjoyed the univerſal good will and applauſe of good people, when they unconſtrainedly embraced affliction for righteouſneſs ſake, and acquired thereby the certain fruition of a more excellent ſalvation.

But in the ſucceeding times, when Chriſtianity, breaking out of the clouds of perſecution, began to ſhine over all with brighteſt luſtre; of the glories and happy fruits of that illuſtrious triumph none did partake more fully, than they, who had ſuſtained the hardeſt brunts of the foregoing conflict, and had been the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs. Then the joyful acclamations of the faithful people reſounded in the praiſe of their victorious champions: then did the Emperors themſelves, with arms out-ſtretched, and hearts enlarged, with affection embrace the authors of their happy converſion; then all laws prejudicial to their welfare were reſcinded, and new ones were ſubſtituted, abundantly providing for their ſecurity, honeſt livelihood and due reverence; which in progreſs of time, not in the *Roman* empire only, but in all other nations (that afterwards did entertain Chriſtianity) were no wiſe impaired, but were rather ampliated and fortified by the pious favour of Princes: The barbarous *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Lombards*, being no ſooner endued with any degree of civility, or any ſenſe of religion, than poſſeſſed with a hearty reverence of their Biſhops and Prieſts.

And ever ſince, (which is not to be imputed, as ſome raſhly, if not impiouſly, averr, to the prevalence of antichriſtian iniquity, but rather to the providence of Divine benignity; ever ſince, I ſay) till the late commotions and alterations in Chriſtendom, they have been the guardians of others ſafety, not themſelves deprived of protection; have abounded with wealth, rather than wanted ſuſtenance; have been the objects of envy, more than of contempt. Princes have loved and cheriſhed them, have relied upon their advice, and intruſted them with their higheſt concernments. Nobles have not been aſhamed to yield them place. The ſacerdotal robe hath been often dyed with purple; and the ſons of mighty Monarchs have not thought themſelves degraded by entring into their order. And if in ſome particular places (before or ſince thoſe changes) their condition hath not been ſo high and plentiful; yet hath it been (almoſt ever) tolerable; the countenance of authority, and the reſpect of the people being in good degree vouchſafed them. Even in thoſe Churches which till this day groan under the oppreſſion of infidel Princes, the Prieſts (by the free permiſſion of thoſe Princes) retain their juriſdiction in a manner as great

great as ever; and withal enjoy a maintenance not altogether inconſiderable.

So favourable hitherto hath God been unto his Prieſts, ſo faithful to his promiſe: which doth oblige us to thank him; which may encourage us to hope in him; which may arm us with confidence againſt the preſent ill will of thoſe that wiſh, and againſt the practices of thoſe that deſign our ruine.

'Tis true, this promiſe is not affixed to all parts of time, to all particularities of place, to all determinate circumſtances of things. The Prieſts may now and then, here and there, in this or that ſuffer highly; they may be ejected, be plundered, be degraded, as experience hath ſhewed us. But they may be alſo ſoon reſtored, repoſſeſſed, readvanced, and (I had almoſt ſaid) revenged too; as the like experience doth aſſure us. 'Tis not impoſſible, I confeſs, we may relapſe into the ſame, or into a more calamitous eſtate; the obſtinate diſaffections of men threaten it, and our own miſcarriages more dangerouſly; yet the moſt offenſive of theſe (which many honeſt men diſlike, and moſt exclaim againſt) have been in as bitter terms complained of in almoſt the firſt ages. "*Inhiant* "*poſſeſſionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, quæſtui per omnia ſtudent,*
Sulp. Sev. *Lib. 1. c. 43.* ſaid a devout writer of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory about 1300 years ago. And ſo much no man (without extreme uncharitableneſs and falſhood) can in ſo general terms impute to the preſent Clergy: notwithſtanding which, God did continue to vouchſafe his protection to them. They were ſometimes, (by the inundations of barbarous people,) and we may again (by national concuſſions) be ſeverely chaſtiſed for our faults: Yet were not they, nor ſhall we be (at leaſt every where,
Pſal. 89. 32, 33, 34. and for ever) utterly rejected. God may *viſit our tranſgreſſions with the rod, and our iniquity with ſtripes; nevertheleſs his loving kindneſs will he not utterly take from us, nor ſuffer his faithfulneſs to fail. His covenant he will not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of his lips.* God may for a time hide his face from us; but he will not for ever turn his back upon us: the honour of the Prieſthood may for a while be over-clouded in ſome part of the world; but ſhall never totally be eclipſed, nor ſwallowed up in a perpetual night. While God continues his reſidence in *Sion*, and defends his Church againſt *the gates of hell*, and *powers of darkneſs*; while religion retains any ſway in the hearts of men, and truth poſſeſſes any room upon earth; the Prieſts ſhall not be left deſtitute and naked, but everlaſtingly be *cloathed with ſalvation*. Which that it may (to the glory of God, and good of his Church) more ſurely come to paſs, let us convert this promiſe into a prayer, and ſay with *Solo-*
2 Chron. 6. 41. *man, Now therefore ariſe, O Lord God, thou and the ark of thy ſtrength: Let thy Prieſts, O Lord God, be cloathed with ſalvation, and let thy Saints rejoyce in goodneſs.* Amen.

SER-

SERMON XIII.

Not to Offend in Word, an Evidence of a High Pitch of Virtue.

St. JAM. III. 2.

If any man offend not in word, he is a perfect man.

THIS ſentence ſtands in the head of a diſcourſe concerning the tongue, (that doubtful engine of good and evil,) wherein how excellent benefits, and how grievous miſchiefs, it, as rightly or perverſely wielded, is apt to produce, how it is both a ſweet inſtrument of all goodneſs, and a ſharp weapon of all iniquity, is poſitively laid down, and by fit compariſons illuſtrated. But ſecluding all relation to the context, the words may well be conſidered ſingly by themſelves; and as ſuch they inſtruct us, aſſerting a certain truth; they direct us, implying a good duty. They aſſert that man to be perfect, who offends not in ſpeech; and they conſequently imply, that we ſhould ſtrive to avoid offending therein: for to *be perfect*, and to *go on to perfection*, are precepts, the obſervance whereof is incumbent on us. We ſhall firſt briefly explain the aſſertion, and then declare its truth; afterwards we ſhall preſs ſomewhat couched in the duty.

Deut. 18. 13. Luke 6. 40. Matt. 5. 48. & 19. 21. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Heb. 6. 1.

To *OFFEND* originally ſignifies to *impinge*, that is, to ſtumble, or hit dangerouſly upon ſomewhat lying croſs our way, ſo as thereby to be caſt down, or at leaſt to be diſordered in our poſture, and ſtopt in our progreſs: whence it is well transferr'd to denote our being through any incident temptation brought into ſin, whereby a man is thrown down, or bowed from his upright ſtate, and interrupted from proſecuting a ſteddy courſe of piety and virtue. By an uſual and appoſite manner of ſpeaking, our tenour of life is called *a way*, our converſation *walking*, our actions *ſteps*, our obſerving good laws, *uprightneſs*, our tranſgreſſion of them *tripping, faultring, falling*.

Εἴ τις οὐ πταίει λόγῳ οὗτος τέλειος.

Pſal. 37. 23, 24.

By *NOT OFFENDING IN WORD*, we may eaſily then conceive to be underſtood ſuch a conſtant reſtraint, and ſuch a careful guidance of our tongue, that it doth not tranſgreſs the rules preſcribed unto it by divine law, or by good reaſon; that it thwarteth not the natural ends and proper uſes for which it was framed, to which it is fitted; ſuch as chiefly are promoting God's glory, our neighbours benefit, and our own true welfare.

By *A PERFECT MAN* is meant a Perſon accompliſhed and compleat in goodneſs, one of ſingular worth and integrity, a brave and excellent man, who, as to the continual tenour of his life, is free from all notorious defects, and hainous faults; like *David, fulfilling all God's will*, and *having reſpect to all God's commandments*; like *Zachary* and *Elizabeth, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameleſs*. Thus was *Noah*, thus was *Abraham*, thus was *Job* perfect. This is the notion of *perfection* in holy ſcripture: not an abſolute exemption from all blemiſh of ſoul, or blame in life; for ſuch a perfection is inconſiſtent with the nature and ſtate of man here, where none with modeſty or with truth can ſay, *I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my ſin*; where every man muſt confeſs with *Job, If I juſtifie my ſelf, mine own mouth ſhall condemn me; if I ſay, I am perfect, it ſhall prove me perverſe*. For, *There is not* (as the preacher aſſures) *a juſt man upon earth, that doth good, and ſinneth not*; and, *In many things, we offend all*, is our Apoſtle's aſſertion, immediately preceding my text; which words may ſerve to expound theſe. *In many things,*

Jam. 1. 4. Acts 13. 22. Pſal. 119. 6. Luke 1. 6. Gen. 6. 9. & 17. 1. Job 1. 1. Prov. 20. 9. Job 9. 20. Eccleſ. 7. 20.

things, ſaith he, *we offend all*, that is, there is no man abſolutely perfect: but *if any man offend not in word*, (that is, if a man conſtantly govern his tongue well) *that man is perfect*; perfect in ſuch a kind and degree as humane frailty doth admit; he is eminently good; he may be reaſonably preſumed upright and blameleſs in all the courſe of his practice; *able* (as it follows) *to bridle the whole body*, that is, qualified to order all his actions juſtly and wiſely. So that in effect the words import this. That a conſtant governance of our ſpeech according to duty and reaſon is a high inſtance, and a ſpecial argument of a throughly ſincere and ſolid goodneſs.

The truth of which aphoriſm may from ſeveral conſiderations appear.

1. A good governance of ſpeech is a ſtrong evidence of a good mind; of a mind pure from vicious deſires, calm from diſorderly paſſions, void of diſhoneſt intentions. For ſince ſpeech is a child of thought, which the mind always travelleth and teemeth with, and which after its birth is wont in features to reſemble its parent; ſince every man naturally is ambitious to propagate his conceits, and without a painful force cannot ſmother his reſentments; ſince eſpecially bad affections (like ſtum or poiſon) are impetuous and turgid, ſo agitating all the ſpirits, and ſo ſwelling the heart, that it cannot eaſily compoſe, or contain them; ſince a diſtempered conſtitution of mind, as of body, is wont to weaken the retentive faculty, and to force an evacuation of bad humours; ſince he that wanteth the principal wiſdom of well ordering his thoughts, and maſtering his paſſions, can hardly be conceived ſo prudent, as long to refrain, or to regulate their dependence, ſpeech; conſidering theſe things, I ſay, it is ſcarce poſſible, that he which commonly thinks ill, ſhould conſtantly either be well ſilent, or ſpeak well. To conceal fire, to check lightning, to confine a whirlwind, may perhaps be no leſs fecible, than to keep within due compaſs the exorbitant motions of a ſoul, wherein reaſon hath loſt its command, ſo that *quà data porta*, where the next paſſage occurs, they ſhould not ruſh forth, and vent themſelves. A vain mind naturally will bubble forth or fly out in frothy expreſſions; wrath burning in the breaſt will flame out, or at leaſt ſmoak through the mouth; rancorous impoſtumes of ſpite and malice will at length diſcharge purulent matter; luſt boiling within will ſoon foam out in lewd diſcourſe. If the fountain it ſelf is polluted, or infected, how can the ſtreams be clear, or wholſome; *How can ye, being evil, ſpeak good things?* (ſaith our Lord) *for from the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh. A good man* (addeth he) *out of the good treaſure of the heart bringeth forth good things; and an evil man out of the evil treaſure bringeth forth evil things:* ἐκβάλλει πονηρά, *he caſteth forth ill things*, as a fountain doth its waters by a natural and neceſſary ebullition. It is true, that in ſome particular caſes, or at ſome times, a foul heart may be diſguiſed by fair words, or covered by demure reſervedneſs: Shame, or fear, or crafty deſign, may often repreſs the declaration of ill thoughts and purpoſes. But ſuch fits of diſſimulation cannot hold; men cannot abide quiet under ſo violent conſtraints; the inteſtine jars, or unkindly truces, between heart and tongue (thoſe natural friends) cannot be be perpetual, or very durable: No man can hold his breath long, or live without evaporating through his mouth thoſe ſteams of paſſion which ariſe from fleſh and blood. *My heart was hot within me, while I was muſing, the fire burned; then ſpake I with my tongue*, ſaith *David*, expreſſing the difficulty of obſtructing the eruption of our affections into language. Hence it is, that ſpeech is commonly judged the trueſt character of the mind, and the ſureſt teſt of inward worth; as that which diſcloſeth the *hidden man of the heart*, which unlocketh the cloſets of the breaſt, which draws the ſoul out of her dark receſſes into open light and view, which rendreth our thoughts viſible, and our intentions palpable. Hence, *Loquere, ut te videam*, ſpeak, that I may ſee you, or know what kind of man you are, is a ſaying which all men, at firſt meeting, do in their hearts direct one to another: neither commonly doth any man require more to ground a judgment upon concerning the worth or ability of another, than opportunity of hearing him to diſcourſe for a competent time: yea often, before a man hath ſpoken ten words, his mind is caught, and a formal ſentence is paſſed upon it. Such a ſtrict affinity and connexion do all men ſuppoſe between thoughts and words.

Eccluſ 19.11. *A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.*

Matt. 12. 34.

Pſal. 39. 3.

Ἀνδρὸς χαρακτὴρ ἐκ λόγου γινώσκεται. 1 Pet. 3. 4.

2. From hence, that the uſe of ſpeech is it ſelf a great ingredient into our practice, and hath a very general influence upon whatever we do, may be inferred, that

that whoever governeth it well, cannot alſo but well order his whole life. The extent of ſpeech muſt needs be vaſt, ſince it is nearly commenſurate to thought it ſelf, which it ever cloſely traceth, widely ranging through all the immenſe variety of objects; ſo that men almoſt as often ſpeak incogitantly, as they think ſilently. Speech is indeed the rudder that ſteereth humane affairs, the ſpring that ſetteth the wheels of action on going; the hands work, the feet walk, all the members and all the ſenſes act by its direction and impulſe; yea, moſt thoughts are begotten, and moſt affections ſtirred up thereby: it is it ſelf moſt of our employment, and what we do beſide it, is however guided and moved by it. It is the profeſſion and trade of many, it is the practice of all men, to be in a manner continually talking. The chief and moſt conſiderable ſort of men manage all their concernments merely by words; by them princes rule their ſubjects, generals command their armies, ſenators deliberate and debate about the great matters of ſtate: by them advocates plead cauſes, and judges decide them; divines perform their offices, and miniſter their inſtructions; merchants ſtrike up their bargains, and drive on all their traffick. Whatever almoſt great or ſmall is done in the court or in the hall, in the Church, or at the exchange, in the ſchool, or in the ſhop, it is the tongue alone that doth it: 'tis the force of this little machine, that turneth all the humane world about. It is indeed the uſe of this ſtrange organ which rendreth humane life, beyond the ſimple life of other creatures, ſo exceedingly various and compounded; which creates ſuch a multiplicity of buſineſs, and which tranſacts it; while by it we communicate our ſecret conceptions, transfuſing them into others; while therewith we inſtruct and adviſe one another; while we conſult about what is to be done, conteſt about right, diſpute about truth; while the whole buſineſs of converſation, of commerce, of government, and adminiſtration of juſtice, of learning, and of religion, is managed thereby; yea, while it ſtoppeth the gaps of time, and filleth up the wide intervals of buſineſs, our recreations and divertiſements (the which do conſtitute a great portion of our life) mainly conſiſting therein: ſo that, in compariſon thereof, the execution of what we determine and all other action do take up ſmall room; and even all that uſually dependeth upon foregoing ſpeech, which perſuadeth, or counſelleth, or commandeth it. Whence the province of ſpeech being ſo very large, it being ſo univerſally concerned, either immediately as the matter, or by conſequence as the ſource of our actions, he that conſtantly governeth it well, may juſtly be eſteemed to live very excellently.

3. To govern the tongue well is a matter of exceeding difficulty, requiring not only hearty goodneſs, but great judgment and art, together with much vigilance and circumſpection; whence the doing it argues a high pitch of virtue. For ſince the tongue is a very looſe and verſatile engine, which the leaſt breath of thought doth ſtir, and ſet on going any way, it cannot but need much attention to keep it either in a ſteddy reſt, or in a right motion. Since numberleſs ſwarms of things roving in the fancy do thence inceſſantly obtrude themſelves upon the tongue, very much application of mind and great judgment are requiſite to ſelect out of them thoſe few which are good and fit, rejecting all that is bad, and improper to be ſpoken. Since continually temptations occur provoking or alluring to miſcarriage in this kind, (for beſide internal propenſions and commotions of ſoul, every object we behold, every company we are engaged in, every accident befalling us doth ſuggeſt ſomewhat inviting thereto; the condition of our neighbour moving us, if high, to flatter; if low, to inſult; our own fortune prompting, if proſperous, to boaſt; if croſs, to murmur; any action drawing from us, if it pleaſeth us, fond admiration, if it diſliketh, harſh cenſure: ſince, I ſay, we are thus at every turn obnoxious to ſpeak amiſs) it muſt be a matter of huge skill and caution, of mighty induſtry and reſolution, to decline it. We for that purpoſe need to imitate that earneſt and watchful care of the holy *Pſalmiſt*, which he thus expreſſeth; *I have* (ſaith he) *purpoſed that my mouth ſhall not offend*: and, *I ſaid* (ſaith he again) *I will take heed to my ways, that I ſin not with my tongue*; *I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me*. And thus to maintain a conſtant guard over his heart and ways, thus in conſequence thereof to curb and rule his ſpeech well, muſt aſſuredly be the mark of a very good perſon. Eſpecially conſidering, that, Pſal. 17. 3. Pſal. 39. 1.

4. Irregular ſpeech hath commonly divers more advantages for it, and fewer checks upon it, than other bad practice hath. A man is apt (I mean) to ſpeak ill

with leſs diſſatisfaction and regret from within; he may do it with leſs control and leſs hazard from without, than he can act ill. Bad actions are groſs and bulky, taking up much time, and having much force ſpent on them, whence men eaſily obſerve and conſider them in themſelves and others: but ill words are ſubtile and tranſient, ſoon born, and as ſoon deceaſed; whence men raſhly utter them without much heed before them, or much reflection after them. Bad actions have alſo uſually viſible effects, immediately conſequent on them: but words operate inſenſibly, and at diſtance; ſo that men hardly diſcern what will follow them, or what they have effected. There are alſo frequent occaſions of ſpeaking ill upon preſumption of ſecrecy, and thence of indiſturbance and impunity; yea, doing ſo is often entertained with complacence, and encouraged with applauſe: the vileſt abuſes of ſpeech (even blaſphemy, treaſon and ſlander themſelves) may be ſafely whiſpered into ears, which will receive them with pleaſure and commendation. Bad language alſo in moſt caſes is neither ſtrictly prohibited, nor ſeverely chaſtiſed by humane laws, as bad action is. Whence ordinarily the guilt of this misbehaviour ſeems little or none; and perſons much practiſing it, both in their own conceit, and in the opinion of others, do often paſs for innocent. Men indeed here will hardly diſcern any rule, or acknowledge any obligation: the tongue they deem is free, and any words may be diſpenſed with: it is ſufficient if they abſtain from doing groſs wrong or miſchief, they have a right and liberty to ſay
Pſal. 12. 4. any thing. *Our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?* ſo are men commonly prone to ſay, with thoſe in the *Pſalm*. Hence whoſoever, notwithſtanding ſuch encouragements to offend herein, and ſo few reſtraints from it, doth yet carefully forbear it, governing his tongue according to rules of duty and reaſon, may juſtly be reputed a very good man. Furthermore,

5. Whereas moſt of the enormities, the miſchiefs and the troubles whereby the ſouls of men are defiled, their minds diſcompoſed, and their lives diſquieted, are the fruits of ill-governed ſpeech; it being that chiefly which perverteth juſtice, which ſoweth diſſentions, which raiſeth all bad paſſions and animoſities, which embroileth the world in ſeditions and factions, by which men wrong and abuſe, deceive and ſeduce, defame and diſgrace one another, whereby conſequently innumerable vexations and diſturbances are created among men; he that by well-governing his ſpeech preſerveth himſelf from the guilt, diſengageth his mind and life from the inconveniences of all ſuch evils, (from the diſcreet and honeſt management thereof, enjoying both innocence and peace) muſt neceſſarily be as a very wiſe and happy, ſo a very good and worthy perſon.

6. His tongue alſo ſo ruled cannot but produce very good fruits of honour to God, of benefit to his neighbour, of comfort to himſelf: it will be ſweet and pleaſant, it will be wholſome and uſeful; endearing converſation, cementing peaceful ſociety, breeding and nouriſhing love, inſtructing and edifying, or chearing and
Prov. 12. 18. 10. 11. & 15. 4. Prov. 15. 7. Prov. 12. 14. & 13. 2, 3. & 15. 23. Prov. 24. 26. comforting the hearers. His *tongue is health*; His *mouth is a well* and *tree of life*; His *lips diſperſe knowledge*; He *ſhall be ſatisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth*; *Every man ſhall kiſs his lips*: Such (as the Wiſe man telleth us) are the effects of innocent, ſober, and well-ordered diſcourſe; the which do much commend their author, and declare the excellent virtue of that tree from which ſuch fruits do grow.

7. Laſtly, The obſervation, how unuſual this practice is, (in any good degree) may ſtrongly aſſure the excellency thereof. For the rarer (eſpecially in morals) any good thing is, the more noble and worthy it is; that rarity arguing ſomewhat of peculiar difficulty in the attainment or atchievement thereof. Nothing is more obvious to common experience, than that perſons, who in the reſt of their demeanour and dealings appear blameleſs, yea, who in regard to other points of duty would ſeem nice and preciſe, are extremely peccant in this kind. We may ſee divers, otherwiſe much reſtraining and much denying themſelves, who yet indulge themſelves a ſtrange licentiouſneſs in ſpeaking whatever their humour or their paſſion dictates. Many, in other reſpects harmleſs, (who would not for any thing ſmite or ſlay folks) we may obſerve with their tongue to commit horrible outrages upon any man that comes in their way. Frequently perſons very punctual in their dealings, are very unjuſt in their language, cheating and robbing their neighbour of his reputation by envious detraction and hard cenſure. They who abhor ſhedding a man's blood, will yet without any ſcruple or remorſe, by calumnious tales

and

and virulent reproaches, aſſaſſinate his credit, and murther his good name, although to him perhaps far more dear and precious than his life. Commonly ſuch as are greatly ſtaunch in other enjoyments of pleaſure, are enormouſly intemperate in ſpeaking, and very incontinent of their tongue: men in all other parts of morality rigorouſly ſober, are often in this very wild and diſſolute. Yea, not ſeldom we may obſerve, that even mighty pretenders to godlineſs, and zealous practiſers of devotion, cannot forbear ſpeaking things plainly repugnant to God's law, and very prejudicial to his honour. Thus it is obſervable to be now, and thus we may ſuppoſe that it always hath been. So of his time St. *Hierome* (or rather St. *Paulinus*, in his excellent epiſtle to *Celantia*) teſtifies: * *Such a luſt* (ſaith he, concerning the ill governance of ſpeech) *of this evil hath invaded the minds of men, that even thoſe who have far receded from other vices, do yet fall into this, as into the laſt ſnare of the Devil.* So it appears, that among all ſorts of good practice, the ſtrict governance of the tongue is leaſt ordinary, and conſequently, that it is moſt admirable and excellent. And this is all I ſhall ſay for confirmation of the point aſſerted.

* *Tanta hujus mali libido mentes hominum invaſit, ut etiam qui procul ab aliis vitiis receſſerunt, in iſtud tamen, quaſi in extremum Diaboli laqueum, incidant.* Ad Celant.

NOW then, as it is our duty to aim at perfection, or to endeavour the attainment of integrity in heart and life, ſo we ſhould eſpecially labour to govern our tongue, and guard it from offence. To which purpoſe it is requiſite, that we ſhould well underſtand and conſider the nature of thoſe ſeveral offences to which ſpeech is liable, together with the ſpecial pravity, deformity and inconvenience of each: for did we know and weigh them, we ſhould not ſurely either like, or dare to incur them.

The offences of ſpeech are many and various in kind; ſo many as there be of thought and of action, unto which they do run parallel: accordingly they well may be diſtinguiſhed from the difference of objects which they do ſpecially reſpect. Whence, 1. ſome of them are committed againſt God, and confront piety; 2. others againſt our neighbour, and violate juſtice, or charity, or peace; 3. others againſt our ſelves, infringing ſobriety, diſcretion, or modeſty; or, 4. ſome are of a more general and abſtracted nature, rambling through all matters, and croſſing all the heads of duty. It is true, that in moſt, or in all offences of ſpeech, there is a complication of impiety, iniquity and imprudence; for that by all ſorts of ill ſpeaking we ſin againſt God, and break his commandment; we injure our neighbour, at leaſt by contagion and bad example: we abuſe our ſelves, contracting guilt, and expoſing our ſelves to puniſhment: alſo the general vices of ſpeech (unadviſedneſs and vanity) do conſtantly adhere to every bad word: Yet commonly each evil ſpeech hath a more direct and immediate aſpect upon ſome one of thoſe objects, (God, our neighbour, or our ſelves,) and is peculiarly repugnant to one of thoſe capital virtues (piety, charity and ſobriety) unto which all our duty is reduced. Now according to this diſtinction, I ſhould, if time would give leave, deſcribe, and diſſuade particularly all theſe ſorts of offence: but (ſince I muſt be reſpectful to patience, and careful my ſelf not to offend in ſpeech) I ſhall confine the reſt of my preſent diſcourſe to the firſt ſort, the offences againſt piety; and even of them I ſhall (waving the reſt) only touch two or three, inſinuating ſome reaſons why we ſhould eſchew them. Theſe are,

I. Speaking blaſphemouſly againſt God, or reproachfully concerning religion, or to the diſgrace of piety, with intent to ſubvert mens faith in God, or to impair their reverence of him. There hath been a race of men (and would to God that race were not even till now continued) concerning whom the *Pſalmiſt* ſaid, *They ſpeak loftily, they ſet their mouth againſt the heavens*; who, like the proud *Senacherib, lift up their eyes, and exalt their voice againſt the holy one of Iſrael*; who, with the profane *Antiochus, ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods*. This of all impieties is the moſt prodigiouſly gigantick, the moſt ſignal practice of enmity towards God, and downright waging of war againſt heaven. Of all *weapons formed againſt God*, the tongue moſt notoriouſly doth impugn him: for we cannot reach heaven with our hands, or immediately aſſault God by our actions: other ill practice indeed obliquely, or by conſequence diſhonoureth God, and defameth goodneſs; but profane diſcourſe is directly levelled at them, and doth immediately touch them, as its formal objects. Now doing thus argueth an extremity both of folly and naughtineſs: for he that doth

(Pſal. 78. 19. Num. 21. 5. Job 34. 37.) Pſal. 73. 8, 9. Iſa. 37. 23. 2 Chron. 32. 19. Dan. 11. 36. Iſa. 54. 17.

it,

it, either believeth the exiſtence of God, and the truth of religion; or he diſtruſts them. If he doth believe them, what a deſperate madneſs is it in him, adviſedly to invite certain miſchief to his home, and pull down heavieſt vengeance on his own head, by oppoſing the irreſiſtible power, and provoking the inflexible juſtice of God? What an abominable villany and baſeneſs is it, thus to abuſe God's immenſe goodneſs and mercy, offering ſuch deſpight to the author of his being, and free donor of all the good he enjoys? What a monſtrous conſpiracy is it of ſtupidity and perverſeneſs in him, thus wilfully to defie his own welfare, to forfeit all capacity of happineſs; to precipitate and plunge himſelf into a double hell, that of bitter remorſe here, that of endleſs pain hereafter? But if he that reproacheth God and religion be ſuppoſed diſtruſtful of their being and reality, neither ſo is he excuſable from like degrees of folly and pravity: for, beſide the wild extravagance of ſuch disbelief, againſt legions of cogent arguments and pregnant teſtimonies, againſt all the voice of nature and faith of hiſtory, againſt the ſettled judgment of wiſe and ſober perſons, who have ſtudied and conſidered the point, againſt the current tradition of all ages, and general conſent of mankind; all which to withſtand, no leſs demonſtrateth high indiſcretion than arrogance; beſide alſo the palpable fillineſs which he diſplays, in cauſeleſly (or for no other cauſe than ſoothing a phantaſtick humour) drawing upon himſelf the anger and hatred of all men, who are concerned for the intereſts of their religion, thruſting himſelf into great dangers and miſchiefs thence imminent to him both from private zeal, and publick law; beſide (I ſay) theſe evident follies, there is an unſufferable inſolence and horrible malice apparent in this practice; for 'tis no leſs than the height of inſolence, thus to affront mankind in matters of higheſt conſideration, and deepeſt reſentment with it; not only thwarting its common notions, but vilifying the chief objects of its higheſt reſpect and affection, of its main care and concernment; ſo making the fierceſt invaſion that can be on its credit, and charging it with greateſt fondneſs. Who can endure, that he, whom he apprehends to be his grand parent, his beſt friend and benefactor, his great patron and ſovereign, ſhould in downright terms be defamed or diſparaged? Who can patiently bear, that wherein he placeth his utmoſt hopes, and ſupreme felicity, to be expreſſly ſlighted or ſcorned? Who can take the offering to do this, otherwiſe than for a moſt injurious reflection upon his judgment and his practice? If he cannot believe in God, he may let them alone who do: if he will not practice religion, he may forbear to perſecute it. He cannot pretend any zeal; 'tis therefore only pride that moves him to diſturb us. So may every man with all the reaſon in the world complain againſt the profane talker. Seeing alſo it is moſt evident, that hearty reverence of God, and a conſcientious regard to religion, do produce great benefits to mankind, being indeed the main ſupports of common honeſty and ſobriety, the ſole curbs, effectually reſtraining men from unjuſt fraud and violence, from brutiſh luſts and paſſions; ſince apparently religion preſcribeth the beſt rules, and impoſeth the ſtrongeſt engagements to the performance of thoſe actions, whereby not only mens private welfare is promoted, and ordinary converſation is ſweetned, and common life is adorned, but alſo whereby publick order and peace are maintained; ſince (as *Cicero* with good reaſon judged) *piety being removed, 'tis probable that juſtice it ſelf* (of all Virtues the beſt guarded and fortified by humane power) *could not ſubſiſt, no faith could be ſecured, no ſociety could be preſerved among men*; it being manifeſtly vain to fancy, that aſſuredly without religious conſcience any one will be a good ſubject, a true friend, or an honeſt man; or that any other conſideration can induce men to prefer duty to their prince, the proſperity of their Countrey, fidelity toward their friends or neighbours, before their own preſent intereſts and pleaſure: Since, I ſay, the credit of religion is ſo very beneficial and uſeful to mankind, 'tis plain, that he muſt be exceedingly ſpiteful and malicious, who ſhall by profane diſcourſe endeavour to ſupplant or ſhake it. He that ſpeaketh againſt God or providence, hath aſſuredly a pique at goodneſs, and would not have it predominant in the hearts of men. He that diſparage[illegible] certainly take his aim againſt virtue, and would not have it pra[illegible] his meaning plainly is, to effect, if he can, that men ſhould [illegible] foul impurities, or like fiends in miſchievous iniquities. Such [illegible] not to be taken as a ſimple embracer of error, but as a ſpite-

Haud ſcio an, pietate adverſus Deos ſublatâ, fides etiam & ſocietas humani generis, & unà excellentiſſima virtus juſtitia tollatur. Cic.

a ſpiteful deſigner againſt common good. For indeed, were any man aſſured (as none can upon ſo much as probable grounds think it) that religion had been only deviſed by men, as a ſupplemental aid to reaſon and force, (drawing them whom the one could not perſuade, nor the other compel, to the practice of things conducible to the publick weal;) that it were merely an implement of policy, or a knack to make people loyal to their Prince, upright in their dealings, ſober in their converſations, moderate in their paſſions, virtuous in all their doings; it were yet a moſt barbarous naughtineſs and inhumanity in him to aſſay the overthrow thereof, with the defeating ſo excellent purpoſes: he that ſhould attempt it, juſtly would deſerve to be reputed an enemy to the welfare of mankind, to be treated as a peſtilent diſturber of the world.

Ut quos ratio non poſſet, eos ad officium religio duceret. Cic.

II. Another like offence againſt piety is, to ſpeak looſely and wantonly about holy things, (things nearly related to God or to religion,) to make ſuch things the matter of ſport and mockery, to play and trifle with them. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another diſcourſe.

III. Another grand offence againſt piety is, raſh and vain ſwearing in common diſcourſe; an offence which now ſtrangely reigns and rages in the world, paſſing about in a ſpecious garb, and under glorious titles, as a gentile and graceful quality, a mark of fine breeding, and a point of high gallantry. Who, forſooth, now is the brave ſpark, and complete gentleman, but he that hath the skill and confidence (O heavens! how mean a skill! how mad a confidence!) to lard every ſentence with an oath or a curſe; making bold at every turn to ſalute God, fetching him down from heaven to avouch any idle prattle, to ſecond any giddy paſſion, to concern himſelf in any trivial affair of his; yea, calling and challenging the almighty to damn and deſtroy him? But ſomewhat to repreſs theſe fond conceits and vile practices, let us, I pray, conſider,

1. That ſwearing thus is moſt expreſſly and ſtrictly prohibited to us. *I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all: But let your converſation be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of evil:* ſo our Lord forbids it. *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not —— leſt you enter into condemnation:* ſo doth St. *James* warn againſt it. And is it not then prodigious, that in Chriſtendom any man ſhould affect to break laws ſo plain and ſo ſevere; that it ſhould paſs here not only for a tolerable, but even for a commendable practice, to violate ſo manifeſt and ſo important a duty; that ſo directly to thwart our Lord himſelf ſhould be a thing not in uſe only, but in credit and requeſt among Chriſtians? What more palpable affront could be offered to our religion, and to all that is ſacred among us? For, what reſpect or force can we imagine reſerved to religion, while a practice ſo indiſputably oppoſite thereto, in a high degree, is ſo current and prevalent? Mat. 5.34,37. Jam. 5. 12.

2. Again, according to the very nature and reaſon of things, it is evidently an intolerable profaneneſs, thus unadviſedly to make addreſſes and appeals to God, invoking his teſtimony, and demanding his judgment about trifles; far more ſuch, than it were a high preſumption and encroachment upon the majeſty of a Prince, on every petty occaſion to break into his preſence, and to aſſail his ears, dragging him to hear and determine concerning it. Whence the very light of nature condemns this practice, and even heathens have loudly declared againſt it, as derogatory to the reverence of the duty, and unſuitable to the gravity of a worthy man.

3. Swearing indeed is by our holy oracles worthily repreſented to us, as an eſpecial piece of worſhip and devotion toward God; wherein, duly performed, we piouſly acknowledge his chief attributes, and ſingular prerogatives: (his being every where preſent, and conſcious of all we ſay or do; his goodneſs, and Fidelity, in favouring truth, and protecting right; his juſtice, in rewarding veracity and equity, in avenging falſhood and iniquity; his being the ſupreme lord of all perſons, and laſt judge in all cauſes: to ſignifie and avow theſe things to God's glory, ſwearing was inſtituted, and naturally ſerveth:) wherefore, as all other acts of devotion, ſo this grand one eſpecially ſhould never be performed without all ſerious conſideration and humble reverence; the cauſe ſhould be certainly juſt and true, the matter worthy and weighty, the manner grave and ſolemn, the mind framed to earneſt attention, and furniſhed with devout affections. Thoſe conditions are always carefully to be obſerved, which the prophet

phet intimates, when he chargeth thus; *Thou ſhalt ſwear, the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs.* It is therefore horrible mockery and profanation of a moſt ſacred ordinance, when men preſume to uſe it without any care or conſideration, without any reſpect or awe, upon any ſlight or vain occaſion.

Jer. 4. 2.

4. The doing ſo is alſo very prejudicial to humane ſociety; for the deciſion of right, the ſecurity of government, and the preſervation of peace, do much depend upon an awful regard to oaths; and therefore upon their being only uſed in due manner, and ſeaſon; the ſame do greatly ſuffer by the contempt or diſregard of them, and conſequently by their common and careleſs uſe. They are the ſureſt bonds by which the conſciences of men are tied to the atteſtation of truth, and obſervance of faith; the which, as by rare and reverent uſe they are kept firm and faſt, ſo by frequent and negligent application of them (by their proſtitution to every light and toyiſh matter) they are quite diſſolved, or much ſlackned. Whence the publick ſeems much concerned, that this enormity ſhould be retrenched. For if oaths generally become cheap and vile, what will that of allegeance ſignifie? if men are wont to dally with ſwearing every where, can they be expected to be ſtrict and ſerious therein at the bar, or in the Church? Will they regard the teſtimony of God, or dread his judgment, in one place, or at one time, when as every where continually (upon any, upon no occaſion) they dare to confront and contemn them?

5. This way of ſwearing is alſo a very uncivil and unmannerly practice. It is not only a groſs rudeneſs toward the main body of men, who juſtly reverence the name of God, and loath ſuch abuſes thereof; not only an inſolent defiance to the common profeſſion and law of our Country, which diſallows and condemns it; but it is very odious and offenſive to any particular ſociety, if at leaſt there be one ſober perſon therein; for to any ſuch perſon (who retains a ſenſe of goodneſs, or is any wiſe concerned for God's honour) no language or behaviour can be more diſguſtful; nothing can more grate the ears, or fret the heart of ſuch an one, than this kind of talk: to give him the lie were a complement, to ſpit in his face were an obligation, in compariſon thereto. Wherefore 'tis a wonder, that any perſon, having in him a ſpark of ingenuity, or at all pretending to good manners, ſhould find in his heart or deign to uſe it.

6. This practice alſo much derogateth from the credit of him that uſeth it, rendring the truth of whatever he ſays in reaſon and juſtice ſuſpected. For he that is ſo void of conſcience, as to ſwear vainly, what can engage him to ſpeak truly? He that is ſo looſe in one ſuch point of obedience to God and reaſon, why ſhould we conceive him ſtrict in regard to another?

7. It can be ſurely no wrong to diſtruſt him, ſince he implies himſelf not to be, even in his own opinion, a credible perſon; ſince he judges not his own bare affirmation to deſerve belief. For why, if he takes his word to be competently good, doth he back it with ſuch aſſeverations? why unprovoked calls he God to witneſs, if he thinks his own honeſty ſufficient to aſſure the truth of what he ſays? An honeſt man, methinks, ſhould ſcorn thus to invalidate his own credit, or to detract from the authority of his word, which ſhould ſtand firm upon it ſelf, and not want an oath to ſupport it.

Tantus in te ſit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, juratum putes. Hier.

8. To excuſe this, the ſwearer muſt be forced to confeſs another ugly fault in ſpeaking, that is, impertinence, or uſing of waſte and inſignificant words; to be charged wherewith he is indeed however unavoidably liable. For oaths, as they paſs commonly, are mere excreſcences of ſpeech, which do nothing elſe but encumber and deform it: they embelliſh diſcourſe, juſt as a wen or a ſcab does beautifie a face; as a ſpot or a patch does adorn a garment. For to what purpoſe (I pray) is God's name haled into our idle talk? why ſhould we ſo often mention him, when we never mean any thing about him? Into every ſentence a horſe, would altogether be as proper and pertinent. Theſe ignify nothing, but that the ſpeaker little skilleth the uſe of le of converſation, but meaneth to prate any thing without wit or judgment; that his fancy is very beggarly, and craves the aid of to relieve it. One would think, that a man of ſenſe ſhould ears, or incline his attention to ſuch putid ſtuff; that without

Πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου. Hier.

without nauſeating he ſhould not endure to ſee men laviſh time, and ſquander breath ſo frivolouſly.

9. In fine, this offence is particularly moſt inexcuſable, in that it ſcarce hath any temptation to it, or bringeth with it any advantage; ſo that it is unaccountable what (beſide mere vanity or perverſeneſs) ſhould diſpoſe men thereto. It gratifieth no ſenſe, it yieldeth no profit, it procureth no honour: for the ſound of it is not very melodious, nor ſurely was any man ever preferred for it, or got an eſtate thereby; it rather to any good ear maketh a horrid and jarring noiſe, it rather produceth diſpleaſure, damage and diſgrace. Wherefore of all dealers in ſin the ſwearer is apparently the ſilleſt, and maketh the worſt bargains for himſelf; for he ſinneth *gratis*, and (like thoſe in the prophet) *ſelleth his ſoul for nothing*. An *Epicure* hath ſome reaſon, and an extortioner is a man of wiſdom, if compared to him; for they enjoy ſome pleaſure, or acquire ſome gain here, in lieu of their ſalvation hereafter. But he offends heaven, and abandons happineſs, he knows not why, nor for what; a fond humour poſſeſſes him, he inconſiderately follows a herd of fops, he affects to play the ape, that is all he can ſay for himſelf. Let me be pardoned, if juſt indignation againſt a wickedneſs ſo contemptible, ſo heinous, and ſo ſenſeleſs, and withal ſo notorious, and ſo rife among us, doth extort from me language ſomewhat tart and vehement. Iſa. 52. 3.

If men would then but a little conſider things, ſurely this ſcurvy faſhion would be ſoon diſcarded, much fitter for the ſcum of the people, than for the flower of the gentry; yea rather, much below any man endued with a ſcrap of reaſon, not to ſay with a grain of religion. Could we bethink our ſelves, certainly modeſt, ſober and pertinent diſcourſe would appear far more generous and manly, than ſuch wild hectoring God almighty, ſuch rude inſulting over the received laws, ſuch ruffianly ſwaggering againſt ſobriety and goodneſs. If gentlemen would regard the virtues of their anceſtors, (that gallant courage, that ſolid wiſdom, that noble courteſie, which firſt advanced their families, and ſevered them from the vulgar,) this degenerate wantonneſs and dirtineſs of ſpeech would return to the dunghil, or rather (which God grant) would be quite baniſhed from the world.

Finally, as to this whole point, about not offending in our ſpeech againſt piety, we ſhould conſider, that as we our ſelves, with all our members and powers, were chiefly deſigned and framed to ſerve and glorifie our maker; (it being withal the greateſt perfection of our nature, and the nobleſt privilege thereof ſo to do;) eſpecially our tongue and ſpeaking faculty were given us to declare our admiration and reverence of him, to expreſs our love and gratitude toward him, to celebrate his praiſes, to acknowledge his benefits, to promote his honour and ſervice. This conſequently is the moſt proper and worthy uſe thereof; from this it becomes in effect what the Pſalmiſt ſo often terms it, our *glory*, and the beſt member we have; as that whereby we far excel all creatures here below; that whereby we conſort with the bleſſed angels above, in diſtinct utterance of praiſe to our Creator. Wherefore applying it to any impious diſcourſe, (tending any wiſe to the diſhonour of God, or diſparagement of religion) is a moſt unnatural abuſe thereof, and a vile ingratitude toward him that gave it to us. From which, and from all other offences, God in his mercy preſerve us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, unto whom for ever with heart and tongue let us ſtrive to render all glory and praiſe. *Amen*. Pſal. 16. 9. & 30. 12. & 57. 8. & 108. 1.

T SER-

SERMON XIV.

Againſt fooliſh talking and jeſting.

EPHES. V. 4.

---Nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient.

MORAL and political aphoriſms are ſeldom couched in ſuch terms, that they ſhould be taken as they ſound preciſely, or according to the wideſt extent of ſignification; but do commonly need expoſition, and admit exception: otherwiſe frequently they would not only claſh with reaſon and experience, but interfere, thwart and ſupplant one another. The beſt maſters of ſuch wiſdom are wont to interdict things, apt by unſeaſonable or exceſſive uſe to be perverted, in general forms of ſpeech, leaving the reſtrictions, which the caſe may require or bear, to be made by the hearers or interpreters diſcretion: whence many ſeemingly formal prohibitions are to be received only as ſober cautions. This obſervation may be particularly ſuppoſed applicable to this precept of St. *Paul*, which ſeemeth univerſally to forbid a practice commended (in ſome caſes and degrees) by philoſophers as virtuous, not diſallowed by reaſon, commonly affected by men, often uſed by wiſe and good perſons; from which conſequently if our religion did wholly debar us, it would ſeem chargeable with ſomewhat too uncouth auſterity and ſourneſs: from imputations of which kind as in its temper and frame it is really moſt free, (it never quenching natural light, or cancelling the dictates of ſound reaſon, but confirming and improving them;) ſo it carefully declineth them, injoyning us, that * *if there be any things* προσφιλῆ, (*lovely*, or grateful to men,) *any things* εὔφημα, (*of good report* and repute,) *if there be any virtue and any praiſe*, (any thing in the common apprehenſions of men held worthy and laudable,) we ſhould *mind thoſe things*, that is, ſhould yield them a regard anſwerable to the eſteem they carry among rational and ſober perſons.

οἱ μὲν εὐτρά-πελοι τῆς μωδίας γελοῖοι, τοῖς τι λέγουσι δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἀστεῖοι καὶ σκληροὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 8.

* Phil. 4. 8.

Whence it may ſeem requiſite ſo to interpret and determine St. *Paul*'s meaning here concerning *Eutrapelia*, (that is, facetious ſpeech, or raillery, by our tranſlators rendred *jeſting*,) that he may conſiſt with himſelf, and be reconciled to *Ariſtotle*, who placeth this practice in the rank of virtues; or that religion and reaſon may well accord in the caſe; ſuppoſing, that if there be any kind of facetiouſneſs innocent and reaſonable, conformable to good manners, (regulated by common ſenſe, and conſiſtent with the tenor of Chriſtian duty, that is, not tranſgreſſing the bounds of piety, charity and ſobriety,) St. *Paul* did not intend to diſcountenance or prohibit that kind.

For thus expounding and limiting his intent, we have ſome warrant from himſelf, ſome fair intimations in the words here. For firſt, what ſort of facetious ſpeech he aimeth at, he doth imply by the fellow he coupleth therewith; μωρολογία, (ſaith he) ἢ εὐτραπελία, *fooliſh talking, or facetiouſneſs:* ſuch facetiouneſs therefore he toucheth as doth include folly, in the matter or manner thereof. Then he farther determineth it by adjoyning a peculiar quality thereof, unprofitableneſs, or impertinency; τὰ μὴ ἀνήκοντα, *which are not pertinent*, or conducible to any good purpoſe: whence may be collected, that it is a frivolous and idle ſort of facetiouſneſs which he condemneth.

But however manifeſt it is, that ſome kind thereof he doth earneſtly forbid: when[illegible] the guidance of our practice, it is needful to diſtinguiſh the kinds, [illegible] which is allowable from that which is unlawful; that ſo we may [illegible] he caſe, and not on the one hand ignorantly trangreſs our duty, [illegible]er trouble our ſelves with ſcruples, others with cenſures, upon the [illegible]table liberty therein.

And

And ſuch a reſolution ſeemeth indeed eſpecially needful in this our age, (this pleaſant and jocular age,) which is ſo infinitely addicted to this ſort of ſpeaking, that it ſcarce doth affect or prize any thing near ſo much; all reputation appearing now to veil and ſtoop to that of being a wit: to be learned, to be wiſe, to be good, are nothing in compariſon thereto; even to be noble and rich are inferior things, and afford no ſuch glory. Many at leaſt, (to purchaſe this glory, to be deemed conſiderable in this faculty, and enrolled among the wits,) do not only *make ſhipwreck of conſcience*, abandon virtue, and forfeit all pretences to wiſdom; but neglect their eſtates, and proſtitute their honour: ſo to the private damage of many particular perſons, and with no ſmall prejudice to the publick, are our times poſſeſſed and tranſported with this humour. To repreſs the exceſs and extravagance whereof, nothing in way of diſcourſe can ſerve better, than a plain declaration when and how ſuch a practice is allowable or tolerable; when it is wicked and vain, unworthy of a man endued with reaſon, and pretending to honeſty or honour.

This I ſhall in ſome meaſure endeavour to perform.

But firſt it may be demanded what the thing we ſpeak of is, or what this facetiouſneſs doth import? To which queſtion I might reply as *Democritus* did to him that asked the definition of a man, *'Tis that which we all ſee and know:* any one better apprehends what it is by acquaintance, than I can inform him by deſcription. It is indeed a thing ſo verſatile and multiform, appearing in ſo many ſhapes, ſo many poſtures, ſo many garbs, ſo variouſly apprehended by ſeveral eyes and judgments, that it ſeemeth no leſs hard to ſettle a clear and certain notion thereof, than to make a pourtraict of *Proteus*, or to define the figure of the fleeting air. Sometimes it lieth in pat alluſion to a known ſtory, or in ſeaſonable application of a trivial ſaying, or in forging an appoſite tale: ſometimes it playeth in words and phraſes, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their ſenſe, or the affinity of their ſound; ſometimes it is wrapped in a dreſs of humorous expreſſion; ſometimes it lurketh under an odd ſimilitude; ſometimes it is lodged in a ſly queſtion, in a ſmart anſwer, in a quirkiſh reaſon, in a ſhrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting, or cleverly retorting an objection: ſometimes it is couched in a bold ſcheme of ſpeech, in a tart irony, in a luſty hyperbole, in a ſtartling metaphor, in a plauſible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonſenſe: ſometimes a ſcenical repreſentation of perſons or things, a counterfeit ſpeech, a mimical look or geſture paſſeth for it: ſometimes an affected ſimplicity, ſometimes a preſumptuous bluntneſs giveth it being: ſometimes it riſeth only from a lucky hitting upon what is ſtrange, ſometimes from a crafty wreſting obvious matter to the purpoſe: often it conſiſteth in one knows not what, and ſpringeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable, being anſwerable to the numberleſs rovings of fancy and windings of language. It is, in ſhort, a manner of ſpeaking out of the ſimple and plain way, (ſuch as reaſon teacheth and proveth things by) which by a pretty ſurprizing uncouthneſs in conceit or expreſſion doth affect and amuſe the fancy, ſtirring in it ſome wonder, and breeding ſome delight thereto. It raiſeth admiration, as ſignifying a nimble ſagacity of apprehenſion, a ſpecial felicity of invention, a vivacity of ſpirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar: it ſeeming to argue a rare quickneſs of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable; a notable skill, that he can dexterouſly accommodate them to the purpoſe before him, together with a lively briskneſs of humour, not apt to damp thoſe ſportful flaſhes of imagination. (Whence in *Ariſtotle* ſuch perſons are termed δεξιοὶ, *dexterous* men; and εὔτροποι, men of facil or verſatile manners, who can *eaſily turn* themſelves to all things, or turn all things to themſelves.) It alſo procureth delight, by gratifying curioſity with its rareneſs, or ſemblance of difficulty; (as monſters, not for their beauty, but their rarity; as juggling tricks, not for their uſe, but their abſtruſeneſs, are beheld with pleaſure;) by diverting the mind from its road of ſerious thoughts; by inſtilling gayety and airineſs of ſpirit; by provoking to ſuch diſpoſitions of ſpirit in way of emulation or complaiſance; and by ſeaſoning matters, otherwiſe diſtaſtful or inſipid, with an unuſual, and thence grateful tang.

Eadem qua, ſi imprudentibus excidunt, ſtulta ſunt, ſi imitamur, venuſta creduntur. Quint. 6. 3.

Et hercle omnis falsè dicendi ratio in eo eſt, ut aliter quàm eſt rectum verumque dicatur. Quint.

Eth. 4. 8. Εὐτραπέλου] ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ παντοδαπὸς, ὁ ἄπαλος, ὁ εὐκόλος, ὁ πάντα γινόμενος. Chryſ. *in Eph.* Or. 17.

But ſaying no more concerning what it is, and leaving it to your imagination and experience to ſupply the defect of ſuch explication, I ſhall addreſs my ſelf to ſhew,

ſhew, firſt, when and how ſuch a manner of ſpeaking may be allowed; then, in what matters and ways it ſhould be condemned.

I. Such facetiouſneſs is not abſolutely unreaſonable or unlawful, which miniſtreth harmleſs divertiſement, and delight to converſation: (harmleſs, I ſay, that is, not intrenching upon piety, not infringing charity or juſtice, not diſturbing peace.) For chriſtianity is not ſo tetrical, ſo harſh, ſo envious, as to bar us continually from innocent, much leſs from wholſome and uſeful pleaſure, ſuch as humane life doth need or require. And if jocular diſcourſe may ſerve to good purpoſes of this kind; if it may be apt to raiſe our drooping ſpirits, to allay our irkſome cares, to whet our blunted induſtry, to recreate our minds being tired and cloyed with graver occupations; if it may breed alacrity, or maintain good humour among us; if it may conduce to ſweeten converſation and endear ſociety; then is it not inconvenient, or unprofitable. If for thoſe ends we may uſe other recreations, employing on them our ears and eyes, our hands and feet, our other inſtruments of ſenſe and motion; why may we not as well to them accommodate our organs of ſpeech, and interiour ſenſe? Why ſhould thoſe games which excite our wits and fancies be leſs reaſonable, than thoſe whereby our groſſer parts and faculties are exerciſed? Yea, why are not thoſe more reaſonable, ſince they are performed in a manly way, and have in them a ſmack of reaſon; ſeeing alſo they may be ſo managed, as not only to divert and pleaſe, but to improve and profit the mind, rouzing and quickning it, yea ſometimes enlightning and inſtructing it, by good ſenſe conveyed in jocular expreſſion?

It would ſurely be hard, that we ſhould be tied ever to knit the brow, and ſqueeze the brain, (to be always ſadly dumpiſh; or ſeriouſly penſive) that all divertiſement of mirth and pleaſantneſs ſhould be ſhut out of converſation: and how can we better relieve our minds, or relax our thoughts; how can we be more ingenuouſly chearful, in what more kindly way can we exhilarate our ſelves and others, than by thus *ſacrificing to the graces*, as the ancients call'd it? Are not ſome perſons always, and all perſons ſometimes, uncapable otherwiſe to divert themſelves, than by ſuch diſcourſe? Shall we, I ſay, have no recreation: or muſt our recreations be ever clowniſh, or childiſh, conſiſting merely in ruſtical efforts, or in petty ſleights of bodily ſtrength and activity? Were we in fine obliged ever to talk like philoſophers, aſſigning dry reaſons for every thing, and dropping grave ſentences upon all occaſions, would it not much deaden humane life, and make ordinary converſation exceedingly to languiſh? Facetiouſneſs therefore in ſuch caſes, and to ſuch purpoſes, may be allowable.

2. Facetiouſneſs is allowable, when it is the moſt proper inſtrument of expoſing things apparently baſe and vile to due contempt. It is many times expedient, that things really ridiculous ſhould appear ſuch, that they may be ſufficiently loathed and ſhunned; and to render them ſuch is the part of a facetious wit, and uſually can only be compaſſed thereby. When to impugn them with downright reaſon, or to check them by ſerious diſcourſe, would ſignify nothing; then repreſenting them in a ſhape ſtrangely ugly to the fancy, and thereby raiſing deriſion at them, may effectually diſcountenance them. Thus did the Prophet *Elias* expoſe the wicked ſuperſtition of thoſe who worſhipped *Baal*: *Elias* (ſaith the text) *mocked them, and ſaid, Cry aloud; for he is a God, either he is talking, or he is purſuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he ſleeps, and muſt be awaked.* By which one pregnant inſtance, it appeareth, that reaſoning pleaſantly abuſive in ſome caſes may be uſeful. The Holy Scripture doth not indeed uſe it frequently; (it not ſuiting the divine ſimplicity and ſtately gravity thereof to do ſo;) yet its condeſcenſion thereto at any time ſufficiently doth authorize a cautious uſe thereof. When ſarcaſtical twitches are needful to pierce the thick skins of men to correct their lethargick ſtupidity, to rouze them out of their drouzy negligence; then may they well be applied: when plain declarations will not enlighten people, to diſcern the truth and weight of things, and blunt arguments will not penetrate, to convince or perſuade them to their duty; then doth reaſon freely reſign its place [illegible] allowing it to undertake its work of inſtruction and reproof.

3. Fac[illegible]le particularly may be commodious for reproving ſome vices, and recla[illegible]erſons; (as ſalt for cleanſing and curing ſome ſores.) It commonly [illegible] more eaſie acceſs to the ears of men, and worketh a ſtronger impreſſion [illegible]arts, than other diſcourſe could do. Many who will not

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Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ εὐτραπελία καὶ ἡ παιδιὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ εἶναι ἀνεπιτήδειον. Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 8.

Danda eſt remiſſio animis; meliores acriores ſque requieti ſurgent, &c. Sen. *de Tranq.* 15.

— ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?

Θύειν ταῖς χάρισι· ἰὰ Plato *Xenocratem moroſiorem monuit*

1 King. 18. 27.

ſtand a direct reproof, and cannot abide to be plainly admoniſhed of their fault, will yet endure to be pleaſantly rubb'd, and will patiently bear a jocund wipe; though they abominate all language purely bitter or ſour, yet they can reliſh diſcourſe having in it a pleaſant tartneſs: you muſt not chide them as their maſter, but you may gibe with them as their companion: if you do that, they will take you for pragmatical and haughty; this they may interpret friendſhip and freedom. Moſt men are of that temper; and particularly the genius of divers perſons, whoſe opinions and practices we ſhould ſtrive to correct, doth require not a grave and ſevere, but a free and merry way of treating them. For what can be more unſuitable and unpromiſing, than to ſeem ſerious with thoſe who are not ſo themſelves, or demure with the ſcornful? If we deſign either to pleaſe or vex them into better manners, we muſt be as ſportful in a manner, or as contemptuous as themſelves. If we mean to be heard by them, we muſt talk in their own faſhion, with humour and jollity: if we will inſtruct them, we muſt withal ſomewhat divert them: we muſt ſeem to play with them, if we think to convey any ſober thoughts into them. They ſcorn to be formally adviſed or taught; but they may perhaps be ſlily laughed and lured into a better mind. If by ſuch complaiſance we can inveigle thoſe Dottrels to hearken to us, we may induce them to conſider farther, and give reaſon ſome competent ſcope, ſome fair play with them. Good reaſon may be apparelled in the garb of wit, and therein will ſecurely paſs, whither in its native homelineſs it could never arrive: and being come thither, it with eſpecial advantage may impreſs good advice; making an offender more clearly to ſee, and more deeply to feel his miſcarriage; being repreſented to his fancy in a ſtrain ſomewhat rare and remarkable, yet not ſo fierce and frightful. The ſeverity of reproof is tempered, and the reprover's anger diſguiſed thereby. The guilty perſon cannot but obſerve, that he who thus reprehends him is not diſturb'd or out of humour, and that he rather pitieth than hateth him; which breedeth a veneration to him, and imparteth no ſmall efficacy to his wholſome ſuggeſtions. Such a reprehenſion, while it forceth a ſmile without, doth work remorſe within; while it ſeemeth to tickle the ear, doth ſting the heart. In fine, many whoſe foreheads are brazed and hearts ſteeled againſt all blame, are yet not of proof againſt deriſion; divers who never will be reaſoned, may be rallied into better order: in which caſes raillery, as an inſtrument of ſo important good, as a ſervant of the beſt charity, may be allowed.

4. Some errors likewiſe in this way may be moſt properly and moſt ſucceſsfully confuted; ſuch as deſerve not, and hardly can bear a ſerious and ſolid confutation. He that will conteſt things apparently decided by ſenſe and experience, or who diſavows clear principles of reaſon, approved by general conſent, and the common ſenſe of men, what other hopeful way is there of proceeding with him, than pleaſantly to explode his conceits? To diſpute ſeriouſly with him, were trifling; to trifle with him is the proper courſe: ſince he rejecteth the grounds of reaſoning, 'tis vain to be in earneſt; what then remains, but to jeſt with him? To deal ſeriouſly, were to yield too much reſpect to ſuch a baffler, and too much weight to his fancies; to raiſe the man too high in his courage and conceit; to make his pretences ſeem worthy the conſidering and canvaſing. Briefly, perverſe obſtinacy is more eaſily quelled, petulant impudence is ſooner daſhed, ſophiſtical captiouſneſs is more ſafely eluded, ſceptical wantonneſs is more ſurely confounded in this, than in the ſimple way of diſcourſe.

5. This way is alſo commonly the beſt way of defence againſt unjuſt reproach and obloquy. To yield to a ſlanderous reviler a ſerious reply, or to make a formal plea againſt his charge, doth ſeem to imply, that we much conſider, or deeply reſent it; whereas by pleaſant reflection on it we ſignify, the matter only deſerves contempt, and that we take our ſelves unconcerned therein. So eaſily without care or trouble may the brunts of malice be declined or repelled.

6. This way may be allowed in way of counterbalancing, and in compliance to the faſhion of others. It would be a diſadvantage unto truth and virtue, if their defenders were barred from the uſe of this weapon; ſince it is that eſpecially whereby the patrons of error and vice do maintain and propagate them. They being deſtitute of good reaſon, do uſually recommend their abſurd and peſtilent notions by a pleaſantneſs of conceit and expreſſion, bewitching the fancies of ſhallow hearers, and inveigling heedleſs perſons to a liking of them: and if, for reclaiming

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ſuch people, the folly of thoſe ſeducers may in the like manner be diſplayed as ridiculous and odious, why ſhould that advantage be refuſed? It is wit that wageth the war againſt reaſon, againſt virtue, againſt religion; wit alone it is that perverteth ſo many, and ſo greatly corrupteth the world: It may therefore be needful, in our warfare, for thoſe deareſt concerns, to ſort the manner of our fighting with that of our adverſaries, and with the ſame kind of arms to protect goodneſs, whereby they do aſſail it. If wit may happily ſerve under the banner of truth and virtue, we may impreſt it for that ſervice; and good it were to reſcue ſo worthy a faculty from ſo vile abuſe. It is the right of reaſon and piety, to command that and all other endowments; folly and impiety do only uſurp them: juſt and fit therefore it is, to wreſt them out of ſo bad hands, to revoke them to their right uſe and duty.

It doth eſpecially ſeem requiſite to do it in this age, wherein plain reaſon is deemed a dull and heavy thing. When the mental appetite of men is become like the corporeal, and cannot reliſh any food without ſome piquant ſawce, ſo that people will rather ſtarve, than live on ſolid fare; when ſubſtantial and ſound diſcourſe findeth ſmall attention, or acceptance; in ſuch a time, he that can, may in complaiſance, and for faſhion's ſake, vouchſafe to be facetious; an ingenious vein coupled with an honeſt mind, may be a good talent; he ſhall employ wit commendably, who by it can further the intereſts of goodneſs, alluring men firſt to liſten, then inducing them to conſent unto its wholſome dictates and precepts.

Since men are ſo irreclaimably diſpoſed to mirth and laughter, it may be well to ſet them in the right pin, to divert their humour into the proper chanel, that they may pleaſe themſelves in deriding things which deſerve it, ceaſing to laugh at that which requireth reverence or horrour.

It may alſo be expedient to put the world out of conceit, that all ſober and good men are a ſort of ſuch lumpiſh or ſour people, that they can utter nothing but flat and drowzy ſtuff; by ſhewing them, that ſuch perſons, when they ſee cauſe, in condeſcenſion, can be as brisk and ſmart as themſelves; when they pleaſe, can ſpeak pleaſantly and wittily, as well as gravely and judiciouſly. This way at leaſt, in reſpect to the various palates of men, may for variety ſake be ſometimes attempted, when other means do fail: when many ſtrict and ſubtle arguings, many zealous declamations, many wholſome ſerious diſcourſes have been ſpent, without effecting the extirpation of bad principles, or converſion of thoſe who abet them; this courſe may be tried, and ſome perhaps may be reclaimed thereby.

7. Furthermore, the warrantableneſs of this practice in ſome caſes may be inferr'd from a parity of reaſon, in this manner: If it be lawful, (as by the beſt authorities it plainly doth appear to be) in uſing rhetorical ſchemes, poetical ſtrains, involutions of ſenſe in allegories, fables, parables and riddles, to diſcoaſt from the plain and ſimple way of ſpeech; why may not facetiouſneſs, iſſuing from the ſame principles, directed to the ſame ends, ſerving to like purpoſes, be likewiſe uſed blameleſſly? If thoſe exorbitancies of ſpeech may be accommodated to inſtill good doctrine into the head, to excite good paſſions in the heart, to illuſtrate and adorn the truth, in a delightful and taking way; and facetious diſcourſe be ſometime notoriouſly conducible to the ſame ends; why, they being retained, ſhould it be rejected? eſpecially conſidering how difficult often it may be, to diſtinguiſh thoſe forms of diſcourſe from this, or exactly to define the limits which ſever rhetorick and raillery. Some elegant figures and tropes of rhetorick (biting ſarcaſms, ſly ironies, ſtrong metaphors, lofty hyperboles, paronomaſies, oxymorons, and the like, frequently uſed by the beſt ſpeakers, and not ſeldom even by ſacred writers) do lie very near upon the confines of jocularity, and are not eaſily differenced from thoſe ſallies of wit, wherein the lepid way doth conſiſt: ſo that were this wholly culpable, it would be matter of ſcruple, whether one hath committed a fault or no, when he meant only to play the orator, or the poet; and hard ſurely it would be to find a judge, who could preciſely ſet out the difference between a jeſt and a flouriſh.

8. I ſhall only add, that of old even the ſageſt and graveſt perſons (perſons of moſt rigid and ſevere virtue) did much affect this kind of diſcourſe, and did apply it to noble purpoſes. The great introducer of moral wiſdom among the pagans did practiſe it ſo much, (by it repreſſing the windy pride and fallacious vanity of ſophiſters

ſophiſters in his time) that he thereby got the name of ὁ εἴρων, *the droll:* and the reſt of thoſe who purſued his deſign, do by numberleſs ſtories and apophthegms recorded of them appear well skilled, and much delighted in this way. Many great princes, (as *Auguſtus Cæſar* for one, many of whoſe jeſts are extant in *Macrobius*) many grave ſtateſmen, (as *Cicero* particularly, who compoſed ſeveral books of jeſts) many famous captains, (as *Fabius M. Cato* the cenſor, *Scipio Africanus*, *Epaminondas*, *Themiſtocles*, *Phocion*; and many others, whoſe witty ſayings, together with their martial exploits, are reported by hiſtorians) have pleaſed themſelves herein, and made it a condiment of their weighty buſineſſes. * So that practiſing thus, (within certain rule and compaſs) we cannot err without great patterns, and mighty patrons.

Cic. *de Orat.* 2.

* *The two greateſt men and graveſt Divines of*

their time, (*S.* Greg. Naz. *and S.* Baſil) *could entertain one another with facetious Epiſtles.* Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 7. *ad* Baſil. Σὺ σκῶπτε καὶ ἀμύνῃ, &c. *Et Ep.* 8.)

9. In fine, ſince it cannot be ſhewn, that ſuch a ſportfulneſs of wit and fancy doth contain an intrinſick and inſeparable turpitude; ſince it may be ſo cleanly, handſomely and innocently uſed, as not to defile or diſcompoſe the mind of the ſpeaker, nor to wrong or harm the hearer, not to derogate from any worthy ſubject of diſcourſe, not to infringe decency, to diſturb peace, to violate any of the grand duties incumbent on us, (piety, charity, juſtice, ſobriety,) but rather ſometimes may yield advantage in thoſe reſpects; it cannot well abſolutely and univerſally be condemned: and when not uſed upon improper matter, in an unfit manner, with exceſſive meaſure, at undue ſeaſon, to evil purpoſe, it may be allowed. It is bad objects, or bad adjuncts, which do ſpoil its indifference and innocence: it is the abuſe thereof, to which (as all pleaſant things are dangerous, and apt to degenerate into baits of intemperance and exceſs) it is very liable, that corrupteth it; and ſeemeth to be the ground, why in ſo general terms it is prohibited by the Apoſtle. Which prohibition to what caſes, or what ſorts of jeſting it extendeth, we come now to declare.

Τὶ γελᾶν, καὶ ἀσελγῶς λέγειν, ἢ δοκεῖ μὴ ἀμολογημένον ἁμάρτημα εἶναι· ἄγει γὰρ, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιε'.

Ὁ δύσκαπτε λοιδόρημα καὶ γέλωτος ἴσαι ταχέως. Chryſ.

II. 1. All profane jeſting, all ſpeaking looſely and wantonly about holy things, (things nearly related to God and religion) making ſuch things the matters of ſport and mockery, playing and trifling with them, is certainly prohibited, as an intolerably vain and wicked practice. It is an infallible ſign of a vain and light ſpirit, which conſidereth little, and cannot diſtinguiſh things, to talk ſlightly concerning perſons of high dignity, to whom eſpecial reſpect is due; or about matters of great importance, which deſerve very ſerious conſideration. No man ſpeaketh, or ſhould ſpeak, of his prince that which he hath not weighed, whether it will conſiſt with that veneration which ſhould be preſerved inviolate to him: And is not the ſame, is not much greater care to be uſed in regard to the incomparably great and glorious Majeſty of Heaven? Yes ſurely: as we ſhould not without great awe think of him; ſo we ſhould not preſume to mention his name, his word, his inſtitutions, any thing immediately belonging to him, without profoundeſt reverence and dread. It is the moſt enormous ſaucineſs that can be imagined, to ſpeak petulantly or pertly concerning him; eſpecially conſidering, that whatever we do ſay about him, we do utter it in his preſence, and to his very face. *For there is not* (as the holy Pſalmiſt conſidered) *a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knoweſt it altogether.* No man alſo hath the heart to droll, or thinks raillery convenient in caſes nearly touching his life, his health, his eſtate, or his fame: and are the true life and health of our ſoul, are intereſt in God's favour and mercy, are everlaſting glory and bliſs, affairs of leſs moment? are the treaſures and joys of paradiſe, are the damages and torments in hell more jeſting matters? No certainly, no: in all reaſon therefore it becometh us, and it infinitely concerneth us, whenever we think of theſe things, to be in beſt earneſt, always to ſpeak of them in moſt ſober ſadneſs.

Pſal. 139. 4.

The proper objects of common mirth and ſportful divertiſement are mean and petty matters; any thing at leaſt is by playing therewith made ſuch: great things are thereby diminiſhed and debaſed; eſpecially ſacred things do grievouſly ſuffer thence, being with extreme indecency and indignity depreſſed beneath themſelves, when they become the ſubjects of flaſhy wit, or the entertainments of frothy merriment; to ſacrifice their honour to our vain pleaſure, being like the ridiculous fondneſs of that people, which (as *Ælian* reporteth) worſhipping a fly, did

offer up an ox thereto. Theſe things were by God inſtituted, and propoſed to us for purpoſes quite different; to compoſe our hearts, and ſettle our fancies in a moſt ſerious frame; to breed inward ſatisfaction, and joy purely ſpiritual; to exerciſe our moſt ſolemn thoughts, and employ our graveſt diſcourſes: all our ſpeech therefore about them ſhould be *wholſome*, apt to afford good inſtruction, or to excite good affections; *good*, (as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh) *for the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers.*

Tit. 2. 8. Eph. 4. 29.

If we muſt be facetious and merry, the field is wide and ſpacious; there are matters enough in the world beſide theſe moſt auguſt and dreadful things, to try our faculties, and pleaſe our humour with; every where light and ludicrous things occur: it therefore doth argue a marvellous poverty of wit, and barrenneſs of invention, (no leſs than a ſtrange defect of goodneſs, and want of diſcretion,) in thoſe who can deviſe no other ſubjects to frolick upon beſide theſe, of all moſt improper and perillous; who cannot ſeem ingenious under the charge of ſo highly treſpaſſing upon decency, diſclaiming wiſdom, wounding the ears of others, and their own conſciences. Seem ingenious, I ſay; for ſeldom thoſe perſons really are ſuch, or are capable to diſcover any wit in a wiſe and manly way. 'Tis not the excellency of their fancies, which in themſelves uſually are ſorry and inſipid enough, but the uncouthneſs of their preſumption; not their extraordinary wit, but their prodigious raſhneſs, which is to be admired. They are gazed on, as the doers of bold tricks, who dare perform that which no ſober man will attempt: they do indeed rather deſerve themſelves to be laughed at, than their conceits. For what can be more ridiculous, than we do make our ſelves, when we thus fiddle and fool with our own ſouls; when, to make vain people merry, we incenſe God's earneſt diſpleaſure; when, to raiſe a fit of preſent laughter, we expoſe our ſelves to endleſs wailing and woe; when, to be reckon'd wits, we prove our ſelves ſtark wild? Surely to this caſe we may accommodate that of a truly great wit, King *Solomon*; *I ſaid of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doeth it?*

Eccleſ. 2. 2.

2. All injurious, abuſive, ſcurrilous jeſting, which cauſeleſſly or needleſſly tendeth to the diſgrace, damage, vexation, or prejudice in any kind of our neighbour, (provoking his diſpleaſure, grating on his modeſty, ſtirring paſſion in him,) is alſo prohibited. When men, to raiſe an admiration of their wit, to pleaſe themſelves, or gratifie the humour of other men, do expoſe their neighbour to ſcorn and contempt, making ignominious reflections upon his perſon, or his actions, taunting his real imperfections, or faſtning imaginary ones upon him, they trangreſs their duty, and abuſe their wits; 'tis not urbanity, or genuine facetiouſneſs, but uncivil rudeneſs, or vile malignity. To do thus, as it is the office of mean and baſe ſpirits, (unfit for any worthy or weighty employments,) ſo it is full of inhumanity, of iniquity, of indecency and folly. For the weakneſſes of men, of what kind ſoever, (natural, or moral, in quality, or in act,) conſidering whence they ſpring, and how much we are all ſubject to them, and do need excuſe for them, do in equity challenge compaſſion to be had of them; not complacency to be taken in them, or mirth drawn from them; they, in reſpect to common humanity, ſhould rather be ſtudiouſly connived at and concealed, or mildly excuſed, than wilfully laid open, and wantonly deſcanted upon; they rather are to be deplored ſecretly, than openly derided.

——ſolutos
Qui captat riſus hominum, famámque dicacis, Hic niger eſt.
Hor. *S.* 1. 4.

Ὁ δ' βωμολόχος ἥττων ἐστὶ τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ οὔτε ἑαυτὸν ὅτι οὐ πᾶν ἀνέχεται ῥᾳδίως, οὔτε ἄλλων ἀποχθέσθαι, εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει. Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 8.

The Reputation of men is too noble a ſacrifice to be offered up to vain-glory, fond pleaſure, or, ill humour; it is a good far more dear and precious, than to be proſtituted for idle ſport and divertiſement. It becometh us not to trifle with that, which in common eſtimation is of ſo great moment; to play rudely with a thing ſo very brittle, yet of ſo vaſt price; which being once broken or cracked, it is very hard, and ſcarce poſſible, to repair. A ſmall tranſient pleaſure, a tickling the ears, wagging the lungs, forming the face into a ſmile, a giggle, or a hum, are not to be purchaſed with the grievous diſtaſte and ſmart, perhaps with the real damage and miſchief of our neighbour, which attend upon contempt. This is not jeſting ſurely, but bad earneſt: 'tis wild mirth, which is the mother of grief to thoſe whom we ſhould tenderly love; 'tis unnatural ſport, which breedeth diſpleaſure in them whoſe delight it ſhould promote, whoſe liking it ſhould procure: it croſſeth the nature and deſign of this way

Vitrea fama.
Hor.

Prov. 26. 18, 19. *As a mad man who caſteth firebands, arrows, and death; ſo is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and ſaith, Am I not in ſport?*
οὐκ παιδιᾶς τὰς φιλὰς——LXX.

way of ſpeaking; which is, to cement and ingratiate ſociety, to render converſation pleaſant and ſprightly, for mutual ſatisfaction and comfort.

True feſtivity is called *ſalt*, and ſuch it ſhould be, giving a ſmart, but ſavoury reliſh to diſcourſe; exciting an appetite, not irritating diſguſt; cleanſing ſometime, but never creating a ſore: and, ἐὰν μωρανθῇ, *if it become thus inſipid*, or unſavoury, *it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be caſt out, and to be trodden under foot of men.* Such jeſting which doth not ſeaſon wholeſome or harmleſs diſcourſe, but giveth a haut-gouſt to putid and poiſonous ſtuff, gratifying diſtempered palates and corrupt ſtomachs, is indeed odious and deſpicable folly; *to be caſt out* with loathing, *to be trodden under foot* with contempt. If a man offends in this ſort to pleaſe himſelf, 'tis ſcurvy malignity; if to delight others, 'tis baſe ſervility and flattery: upon the firſt ſcore he is a buffoon to himſelf; upon the laſt, a fool to others. And well in common ſpeech are ſuch practiſers ſo termed, the grounds of that practice being ſo vain, and the effects ſo unhappy. *The heart of fools* (ſaith the wiſe man) *is in the houſe of mirth*; meaning, it ſeems, eſpecially ſuch hurtfully wanton mirth: for it is (as he farther telleth us) the property of fools, to delight in doing harm; (*it is a ſport to a fool to do miſchief.*) Is it not in earneſt moſt palpable folly, for ſo mean ends to do ſo great harm; to diſoblige men in ſport; to loſe friends and get enemies, for a conceit; out of a light humour to provoke fierce wrath, and breed tough hatred; to engage one's ſelf conſequently very far in ſtrife, danger and trouble? No way certainly is more apt to produce ſuch effects than this; nothing more ſpeedily enflameth, or more thoroughly engageth men, or ſticketh longer in mens hearts and memories, than bitter taunts and ſcoffs: whence this honey ſoon turns into gall; theſe jolly comedies do commonly terminate in woful tragedies.

Mat. 5. 13. *Nimium risûs pretium eſt, ſi probitatis impendio conflat.* Quintil.

Εἰ καλὸν τὸ πρόγμα, τί τοῖς μίμοις ἀφίεις; μίμος γίνη, ὃ μὴ αἰχύνη; Chryſ. Eccleſ. 7. 4.

Prov. 10. 23. *Fools make a mock of ſin.* Prov. 14. 9.

Potiùs amicum quàm dictum perdidi.

——*dummodò riſum*
Excutiat ſibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico. Hor. S. 1. 4.

——*dicax idem, & Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere ſolitus, quarum apud prepotentes in longum memoria eſt.* Tac. V. Ann. p. 184.

Eſpecially this ſcurrilous and ſcoffing way is then moſt deteſtable, when it not only expoſeth the blemiſhes and infirmities of men, but abuſeth piety and virtue themſelves; flouting perſons for their conſtancy in devotion, or their ſtrict adherence to a conſcientious practice of duty; aiming to effect that which *Job* complaineth of, *The juſt upright man is laughed to ſcorn*; reſembling thoſe whom the Pſalmiſt thus deſcribeth, *Who whet their tongue like a ſword, and bend their arrows, even bitter words, that they may ſhoot in ſecret at the perfect*; ſerving good men as *Jeremy* was ſerved, *The word of the Lord* (ſaith he) *was made a reproach unto me, and a deriſion daily.*

Job. 12. 4. Pſal. 64. 3, 4. Jer. 20. 8.

This practice doth evidently in the higheſt degree tend to the diſparagement and diſcouragement of goodneſs; (aiming to expoſe it, and to render men aſhamed thereof;) and it manifeſtly proceedeth from a deſperate corruption of mind, (from a mind hardned and emboldned, ſold and enſlaved to wickedneſs:) whence they who deal therein are in holy ſcripture repreſented as egregious ſinners, or perſons ſuperlatively wicked, under the name of *ſcorners*; (λοιμὸς, *Peſts*, or peſtilent men, the *Greek* tranſlators call them, properly enough in regard to the effects of their practice;) concerning whom the wiſe man (ſignifying how God will meet with them in their own way) ſaith, *Surely the Lord ſcorneth the ſcorners.* Ἐμπαίκτας, *ſcoffers*, (or *mockers*,) St. *Peter* termeth them, *who walk according to their own luſts*; who not being willing to practice, are ready to deride virtue; thereby ſtriving to ſeduce others into their pernicious courſes.

Prov. 3. 34. 2 Pet. 3. 3.

This offence alſo proportionably groweth more criminal, as it preſumeth to reach perſons eminent in dignity or worth, unto whom ſpecial veneration is appropriate. This adjoyneth ſaucineſs to ſcurrility, and advanceth the wrong thereof into a kind of ſacrilege. 'Tis not only injuſtice, but profaneneſs, to *abuſe the Gods.* Their ſtation is a ſanctuary from all irreverence and reproach; they are ſeated on high, that we may only look up to them with reſpect; their defects are not to be ſeen, or not to be touched by malicious or wanton wits, by ſpightful or ſcornful tongues: the diminution of their credit is a publick miſchief, and the ſtate it ſelf doth ſuffer in their becoming objects of ſcorn; not only themſelves are vilified and degraded, but the great affairs they manage are obſtructed, the juſtice they adminiſter is diſparaged thereby.

Exod. 22. 28.

In fine, no jeſting is allowable, which is not throughly innocent: it is an unworthy perverting of wit, to employ it in biting and ſcratching; in working prejudice to any man's reputation, or intereſt; in needleſly incenſing any man's anger, or ſorrow; in raiſing animoſities, diſſenſions and feuds among any.

Πῶς δ' οὐ τοῦτο χρὴ ποιεῖν, τὸ κωμῳδεῖν. Chryſ. in Epiſt. Or. 17.

Ἀλλὰ πάντων ἔχεις, ὦ ἵνα ἕτερον κωμῳδήσῃς, καὶ ἵνα ἀχθεσάσῃς τῷ Θεῷ. Idem.

Whence it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that any men from ſo mean and ſilly a practice ſhould expect commendation, or that any ſhould afford regard thereto; the which it is ſo far from meriting, that indeed contempt and abhorrence are due to it. Men do truly more render themſelves deſpicable than others, when, without juſt ground, or reaſonable occaſion, they do attack others in this way. That ſuch a practice doth ever find any encouragement or acceptance, whence can it proceed, but from the bad nature and ſmall judgment of ſome perſons? For to any man who is endued with any ſenſe of goodneſs, and hath a competence of true wit, or a right knowledge of good manners, (who knows —— *inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto,*) it cannot but be unſavoury and loathſome. The repute it obtaineth is in all reſpects unjuſt. So would it appear, not only were the cauſe to be decided in the court of morality, becauſe it conſiſts not with virtue and wiſdom; but even before any competent judges of wit it ſelf. For he overthrows his own pretence, and cannot reaſonably claim any intereſt in wit, who doth thus behave himſelf: he prejudgeth himſelf to want wit, who cannot deſcry fit matter to divert himſelf or others: he diſcovereth a great ſtraitneſs and ſterility of good invention, who cannot in all the wide field of things find better ſubjects of diſcourſe; who knows not how to be ingenious within reaſonable compaſs, but to pick up a ſorry conceit is forced to make excurſions beyond the bounds of honeſty and decency.

Hor.

Neither is it any argument of conſiderable ability in him that haps to pleaſe this way: a ſlender faculty will ſerve the turn. The ſharpneſs of his ſpeech cometh not from wit ſo much as from choler, which furniſheth the loweſt intentions with a kind of pungent expreſſion, and giveth an edge to every ſpightful word: ſo that any dull wretch doth ſeem to ſcold eloquently and ingeniouſly. Commonly alſo ſatyrical taunts do owe their ſeeming piquancy, not to the ſpeaker, or his words, but to the ſubject, and the hearers; the matter conſpiring with the bad nature, or the vanity of men, who love to laugh at any rate, and to be pleaſed at the expence of others mens repute; conceiting themſelves extolled by the depreſſion of their neighbour, and hoping to gain by his loſs. Such cuſtomers they are that maintain the bitter wits, who otherwiſe would want trade, and might go a begging. For commonly they who ſeem to excell this way, are miſerably flat in other diſcourſe, and moſt dully ſerious: they have a particular unaptneſs to deſcribe any good thing, or commend any worthy perſon; being deſtitute of right *Ideas*, and proper terms anſwerable to ſuch purpoſes: their repreſentations of that kind are abſurd and unhandſome; their elogies (to uſe their own way of ſpeaking) are in effect ſatyrs, and they can hardly more abuſe a man than by attempting to commend him; like thoſe in the prophet, who were *wiſe to do ill, but to do well had no knowledge.*

Obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tac. *Hiſt.* 1. *init.*

Jer. 4. 22.

3. I paſs by, that it is very culpable to be facetious in obſcene and ſmutty matters. Such things are not to be diſcourſed on either in jeſt, or in earneſt; they muſt not, as St. *Paul* ſaith, be *ſo much as named among* Chriſtians: to meddle with them is not to diſport, but to defile one's ſelf, and others. indeed no more certain ſign of a mind t[illegible]erly debauched from piety a[illegible] than affecting ſuch talk. But farther,

Eph. 5. 3.

4. All unſeaſonable jeſting is blameable. As there are ſome proper [illegible] relaxation, when we may *deſipere in loco*; ſo are there ſome times, an[illegible] ſtance of things, wherein it concerneth and becometh men to be ſeriou[illegible] grave in demeanor, and plain in diſcourſe; when to ſport in this way [illegible] indecently, or uncivilly, to be impertinent, or troubleſome.

Vitandum nè petulans, nè ſuperbum, nè loco, nè tempori alienum, nè præparatum & domo allatum videatur. Quint.

It comporteth not well with the preſence of ſuperiors, before whom it [illegible] us to be compoſed and modeſt: much leſs with the performance of ſac[illegible] which require an earneſt attention, and moſt ſerious frame of mind.

In deliberations and debates about affairs of great importance, the ſimple manner of ſpeaking to the point is the proper, eaſie, clear and compendious way: facetious ſpeech there ſerves only to obſtruct and entangle buſineſs, to loſe time, and protract the reſult. The ſhop and exchange will ſcarce endure jeſting in their lower tranſactions: the ſenate, the court of juſtice, the church do much more exclude it from their more weighty conſultations. Whenever it juſtleth out, or hindreth the diſpatch of other ſerious buſineſs, taking up the room, or ſwallowing the time due to it, or indiſpoſing the minds of the audience to attend it, then it is unſeaſonable and peſtilent. Παίζειν, ἵνα σπουδάζῃς. *To play, that we may be ſeriouſly buſy*, is the good rule (of *Anacharſis*) implying the ſubordination of ſport to buſineſs, as a condiment, and furtherance, not an impediment or clog thereto. He that for his ſport neglects his buſineſs, deſerves indeed to be reckoned among children; and childrens fortune will attend him, to be pleaſed with toys, and to fail of ſubſtantial profit.

Μή μοι τὰ κομψὰ, ἀλλ' ἃ πόλις δεῖ. Eurip. Ariſt. *Pol.* 2. 4.

Ariſt. *Eth.* 10. 6.

'Tis, again, improper (becauſe indeed uncivil, and inhumane) to jeſt with perſons that are in a ſad or afflicted condition; as arguing want of due conſidering, or due commiſerating their caſe: it appears a kind of inſulting upon their misfortune, and is apt to foment their grief. Even in our own caſe (upon any diſaſtrous occurrence to our ſelves) it would not be ſeemly to frolick it thus; it would ſignify want of due regard to the frowns of God, and the ſtrokes of his hand; it would croſs the wiſe man's advice, *In the day of proſperity be joyful, but in the day of adverſity conſider.*

Adverſus miſeros inhumanus eſt jocus. Quint.

Eccleſ. 7. 14.

It is alſo not ſeaſonable, or civil, to be jocund in this way with thoſe who deſire to be ſerious, and like not the humour. Jocularity ſhould not be forcibly obtruded, but by a kindly conſpiracy (or tacit compact) ſlip into converſation: conſent and complaiſance give all the life thereto. Its deſign is to ſweeten and eaſe ſociety: when to the contrary it breedeth offence or incumbrance, it is worſe than vain and unprofitable. From theſe inſtances we may collect when in other like caſes it is unſeaſonable, and therefore culpable. Farther,

5. To affect, admire, or highly to value this way of ſpeaking, (either abſolutely in it ſelf, or in compariſon to the ſerious and plain way of ſpeech) and thence to be drawn into an immoderate uſe thereof, is blameable. A man of ripe age, and ſound judgment, for refreſhment to himſelf, or in complaiſance to others, may ſometimes condeſcend to play in this, or in any other harmleſs way: but to be fond of it, to proſecute it with a careful or painful eagerneſs, to dote and dwell upon it, to reckon it a brave or fine thing, a ſingular matter of commendation, a tranſcendent accompliſhment, any-wiſe preferable to rational endowments, or comparable to the moral excellencies of our mind, (to ſolid knowledge, or ſound wiſdom, or true virtue and goodneſs) this is extremely childiſh, or brutiſh, and far below a man. What can be more abſurd, than to make a buſineſs of play, to be ſtudious and laborious in toys, to make a profeſſion, or drive a trade of impertinency? what more plain nonſenſe can there be, than to be earneſt in jeſt, to be continual in divertiſement, or conſtant in paſtime; to make extravagance all our way, and ſauce all our diet? Is not this plainly the life of a child, that is ever buſie, yet never hath any thing to do? or the life of that mimical brute, which is always active in playing uncouth and unlucky tricks; which, could it ſpeak, might ſurely paſs well for a profeſſed wit?

Σπουδάζειν δὲ ποιεῖν παιδιᾶς χάριν, ἰλίθιον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ λίαν παιδικόν. Ariſt. *Eth.* 10. 6.

The proper work of man, the grand drift of humane life, is to follow reaſon, (that noble ſpark kindled in us from heaven; that princely and powerful faculty, which is able to reach ſo lofty objects, and to atchieve ſo mighty works;) not to ſooth fancy, that brutiſh, ſhallow and groſly power, able to perform nothing worthy much regard. *We are not* (even *Cicero* could tell us) *born for play and jeſting; but for ſeverity, and the ſtudy of graver and greater affairs.* Yes, we were purpoſely deſigned, and fitly framed, to underſtand and contemplate, to affect and delight in, to undertake and purſue moſt noble and worthy things; to be employed in buſineſs conſiderably profitable to our ſelves, and beneficial to others: We do therefore ſtrangely debaſe our ſelves, when we do ſtrongly bend our minds to, or ſet our affections upon ſuch toys.

Neque enim ità generati à naturâ ſumus, ut ad ludum jocumque facti videamur; ſed ad ſeveritatem potius, & ad quadam ſtudia graviora, atque majora. Cic. *Off.* 1.

Eſpecially to do ſo is unworthy of a Chriſtian; that is, of a perſon who is advanced to ſo high a rank, and ſo glorious relations; who hath ſo excellent objects of his mind and affections preſented before him, and ſo excellent rewards for his

care and pains propoſed to him; who is engaged in affairs of ſo worthy nature, and ſo immenſe conſequence: for him to be zealous about quibbles, for him to be raviſhed with puny conceits and expreſſions, 'tis a wondrous overſight, and an enormous indecency.

He indeed that prefers any faculty to reaſon, diſclaims the privilege of being a man, and underſtands not the worth of his own nature; he that prizes any quality beyond virtue and goodneſs, renounces the title of a Chriſtian, and knows not how to value the dignity of his profeſſion. It is theſe two (reaſon and virtue) in conjunction, which produce all that is conſiderably good and great in the world. Fancy can do little; doth never any thing well, except as directed and wielded by them. Do pretty conceits or humorous talk carry on any buſineſs, or perform any work? No; they are ineffectual and fruitleſs: often they diſturb, but they never diſpatch any thing with good ſucceſs. It is ſimple reaſon (as dull and dry as it ſeemeth) which expediteth all the grand affairs, which accompliſheth all the mighty works that we ſee done in the world. In truth therefore, as one diamond is worth numberleſs bits of glaſs; ſo one ſolid reaſon is worth innumerable fancies: one grain of true ſcience and ſound wiſdom in real worth and uſe doth outweigh loads (if any loads can be) of freakiſh wit. To rate things otherwiſe, doth argue great weakneſs of judgment, and fondneſs of mind. So to conceit of this way, ſignifieth a weak mind; and much to delight therein, rendreth it ſo: nothing more debaſeth the ſpirit of a man, or more rendreth it light and triſling.

Ὡς μὴ συμβαίνειν τῷ ταπεινῷ ψυχῆς νέψιν, καὶ διατριπτείας ἀφύσιν. Baſ. *Conſt. Mon.* 12.

Πολλὰς συμβαίνει τὰς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀχολημμένας τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ ἀμαρτάνειν, τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς γελοῖα μᾶλλον ἀφχεομένῃ, καὶ τὸ τῆ θρηνήσεως σώφρον καὶ πεπυκνωμένον καλαλυούσης. Ibid. *Jocorum frequens uſus omne animis pondus, omnémque vim eripiet.* Sen. *de Tranq.* c. 15. Ἡ διατριπτικὴ μαλακὸν ποιεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, ῥᾴθυμον, ἀναπεπλεκτικήν. Chryſ. *in Eph.* 17.

Hence if we muſt be venting pleaſant conceits, we ſhould do it *as if we did it not*, careleſly and unconcernedly; not ſtanding upon it, or valuing our ſelves for it: we ſhould do it with meaſure and moderation; not giving up our ſelves thereto, ſo as to mind it, or delight in it more than in any other thing: we ſhould not be ſo intent upon it, as to become remiſs in affairs more proper or needful for us; ſo as to nauſeate ſerious buſineſs, or diſreliſh the more worthy entertainments of our minds. This is the great danger of it, which we daily ſee men to incur; they are ſo bewitched with a humour of being witty themſelves, or of hearkning to the fancies of others, that it is this only which they can like or favour, which they can endure to think or talk of. 'Tis a great pity, that men who would ſeem to have ſo much wit, ſhould ſo little underſtand themſelves. But farther,

6. Vain-glorious oſtentation this way is very blameable. All ambition, all vanity, all conceitedneſs, upon whatever ground they are founded, are abſolutely unreaſonable and ſilly: but yet thoſe, being grounded on ſome real ability, or ſome uſeful skill, are wiſe and manly in compariſon to this, which ſtandeth on a foundation ſo manifeſtly ſlight and weak. The old philoſophers by a ſevere father were called *animalia gloriæ, animals of glory*; and by a ſatyrical poet they were termed *bladders of vanity:* but they at leaſt did catch at praiſe from praiſe-worthy knowledge; they were puff'd up with a wind which blowed ſome good to mankind; they ſought glory from that which deſerved glory if they had not ſought it; it was a ſubſtantial and ſolid credit which they did affect, reſulting from ſucceſsful enterprizes of ſtrong reaſon, and ſtout induſtry: but theſe *animalcula gloriæ*, theſe flies, theſe inſects of glory, theſe, not bladders, but bubbles of would be admired and praiſed for that which is no wiſe admirable or laudal the caſual hits and emergencies of roving ncy; for ſtumbling on an odd or phraſe, which ſignifieth nothing, and is as ſuperficial as the ſmile, as h the noiſe it cauſeth. Nothing certainly in nature is more ridiculous tha conceited wit, who deemeth himſelf ſome-body, and greatly pretendeth mendation from ſo pitiful and worthleſs a thing as a knack of trifling.

Κενεῖς εἰσὶ θυμοὶ ἔμπλεοι ἀσκοί. Timon.

Riſus—tenuiſſimus ingenii fructus. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.

7. Laſtly, it is our duty never ſo far to engage our ſelves in this way, as there by to loſe or to impair that habitual ſerioufneſs, modeſty and ſobriety of mind, that ſteddy compoſedneſs, gravity and conſtancy of demeanour, which become Chriſtians. We ſhould continually keep our minds intent upon our *high calling*, and grand intereſts; ever well tuned, and ready for the performance of holy devotions, and the practice of moſt ſerious duties with earneſt attention and fervent affection:

affection: Wherefore we ſhould never ſuffer them to be diſſolved into levity, or diſordered into a wanton frame, indiſpoſing us for religious thoughts and actions. We ought always in our behaviour to maintain, not only τὸ πρέπον, a fitting *decency*, but alſo τὸ σεμνὸν, a ſtately *gravity*, a kind of venerable majeſty, ſuitable to that high rank which we bear of God's friends, and children; adorning our holy profeſſion, and guarding us from all impreſſions of ſinful vanity. Wherefore we ſhould not let our ſelves be tranſported into any exceſſive pitch of lightneſs, inconſiſtent with or prejudicial to our chriſtian ſtate and buſineſs. Gravity and modeſty are the fences of piety, which being once ſlighted, ſin will eaſily attempt and encroach upon us. So the old *Spaniſh* gentleman may be interpreted to have been wiſe, who, when his ſon upon a voyage to the *Indies* took his leave of him, gave him this odd advice, *My ſon, in the firſt place keep thy gravity, in the next place fear God:* intimating, that a man muſt firſt be ſerious, before he can be pious.

Phil. 4. 8. 1 Tim. 3. 8. Tit. 2. 1. *Dictum potiùs aliquando perdet, quàm minuet autoritatem.* Quint. 6. 3. Strad. *Inſam. Famiani.*

To conclude, as we need not be demure, ſo muſt we not be impudent; as we ſhould not be ſour, ſo ought we not to be fond: as we may be free, ſo we ſhould not be vain; as we may well ſtoop to friendly complaiſance, ſo we ſhould take heed of falling into contemptible levity. If without wronging others, or derogating from our ſelves, we can be facetious; if we can uſe our wits in jeſting innocently, and conveniently; we may ſometimes do it; but let us, in compliance with St. *Paul*'s direction, beware of *fooliſh talking and jeſting, which are not convenient.*

Now the God of grace and *peace——make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.* Heb. 13. 20, 21.

SERMON XV.

Againſt raſh and vain Swearing.

St. JAM. V. 12.

But above all things, my brethren, Swear not.

AMONG other precepts of good life (directing the practice of virtue and abſtinence from ſin) S. *James* doth inſert this about ſwearing, couched in expreſſion denoting his great earneſtneſs, and apt to excite our ſpecial attention. Therein he doth not mean univerſally to interdict the uſe of oaths; (for that in ſome caſes is not only lawful, but very expedient, yea needful, and required from us as a duty;) but that ſwearing which our Lord had expreſly prohibited to his diſciples, and which thence, queſtionleſs, the *brethren* to whom S. *James* did write did well underſtand themſelves obliged to forbear, having learnt ſo in the firſt catechiſms of chriſtian inſtitution; that is, needleſs and heedleſs ſwearing in ordinary converſation: a practice then frequented in the world, both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*; the which alſo, to the ſhame of our age, is now ſo much in faſhion, and with ſome men in vogue; the invoking God's name, appealing to his teſtimony, and provoking his judgment, upon any ſlight occaſion, in common talk, with vain incogitancy, or profane boldneſs. From ſuch practice the holy apoſtle dehorteth in terms importing his great concernedneſs, and implying the matter to be of highest importance: for, πρὸ πάντων, ſaith he, *Before all things, my brethren, do not ſwear*; as if he did apprehend

apprehend this ſin of all other to be one of the moſt hainous and pernicious. Could he have ſaid more? would he have ſaid ſo much, if he had not conceived the matter to be of exceeding weight and conſequence? And that it is ſo, I mean now, by God's help, to ſhew you, by propoſing ſome conſiderations, whereby the hainous wickedneſs, together with the monſtrous folly, of ſuch raſh and vain ſwearing will appear; the which being laid to heart will, I hope, effectually diſſuade and deter from it.

I. Let us conſider the nature of an oath, and what we do when we adventure to ſwear.

It is (as it is phraſed in the decalogue, and other-where in holy Scripture) an *aſſuming the name of our God*, and applying it to our purpoſe, to countenance and confirm what we ſay.

Exod. 20. 7. Prov. 30. 9. Gen. 31. 50. Judg. 11. 10. 1 Sam. 12. 5. Jer. 42. 5. Job. 16. 19.

It is an invocation of God as a moſt faithful witneſs, concerning the truth of our words, or the ſincerity of our meaning.

Mal. 3. 5. 1 Joh. 5. 9. *Plurima firmantur jurejurando—diis immortalibus interpoſitis tum judicibus, tum teſtibus.* Cic. *de Leg.* 2. *p.* 326.

Gen. 31. 53. 1 Sam. 24. 15. 1 Kings 8. 31, 32. & 2. 23. & 19. 2. & 20. 10. Neh. 5. 12, 13.

It is an appeal to God as a moſt upright judge, whether we do prevaricate in aſſerting what we do not believe true, or in promiſing what we are not firmly reſolved to perform.

It is a formal engagement of God to be the avenger of our treſpaſſing in violation of truth or faith.

Ruth. 1. 17. 2 Kings 6. 31. 2 Sam. 3. 9, 35. & 19. 13. 1 Sam. 14. 44. & 3. 17. & 20. 13.

Num. 30. 2. Πᾶς ὅρκῳ εἰς καθάρωμα τελοῦντα ἐπιορκίας. Plut. *in Capit. Rom.* (*p.* 491.)

It is a *binding our ſouls* with a moſt ſtrict and ſolemn obligation, to anſwer before God, and to undergo the iſſue of his judgment about what we affirm, or undertake.

Such an oath is repreſented to us in holy Scripture.

Whence we may collect, that ſwearing doth require great modeſty and compoſedneſs of ſpirit, very ſerious conſideration and ſolicitous care, that we be not rude and ſaucy with God, in *taking up his name*, and proſtituting it to vile or mean uſes; that we do not abuſe or debaſe his authority, by citing it to aver falſhoods, or impertinencies; that we do not ſlight his venerable juſtice, by raſhly provoking it againſt us; that we do not precipitantly throw our ſouls into moſt dangerous ſnares and intricacies.

For, let us reflect and conſider: What a preſumption is it without due regard and reverence to lay hold on God's name; with unhallowed breath to vent and toſs that *great* and *glorious*, that moſt *holy*, that *reverend*, that *fearful* and *terrible name* of the Lord our God, the great creator, the mighty ſovereign, the dreadful judge of all the world; that name which all heaven with profoundeſt ſubmiſſion doth adore, which the angelical powers, the brighteſt and pureſt ſeraphim, without *hiding their faces*, and reverential horror, cannot utter or hear, the very thought whereof ſhould ſtrike awe through our hearts, the mention whereof would make any ſober man to tremble? Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, *For how* (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *is it not abſurd, that a ſervant ſhould not dare to call his maſter by name, or bluntly and ordinarily to mention him; yet that we ſlightly and contemptuouſly ſhould in our mouth toſs about the Lord of angels?*

Pſal. 99. 3. & 111. 9. & 148. 13. Deut. 28. 58. Iſa. 6. 2. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ζ. Id. Ἀνδρ. ζ. *p.* 514.

Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ϛ. *p.* 525. *How is it not abſurd, if we have a garment better than the reſt, that we forbear to uſe it continually; but in the moſt ſlight and common way do wear the name of God?*

How grievous indecency is it, at every turn to ſummon our maker, and down Almighty God from heaven, to attend our leiſure, to vouch our idle tle, to ſecond our giddy paſſions, to concern his truth, his juſtice, his powe our trivial affairs?

What a wildneſs is it, to dally with that judgment upon which the eternal d of all creatures dependeth, at which *the pillars of heaven are aſtoniſhed*, w hurled down legions of angels from the top of heaven and happineſs into the tomleſs dungeon; the which, as grievous ſinners, of all things we have moſt ſon to dread; and about which no ſober man can otherwiſe think, than did great king, the holy pſalmiſt, who ſaid, *My fleſh trembleth for thee, and I afraid of thy judgments.*

Job 26. 11. Pſ. 119. 120.

How

How prodigious a madneſs is it, without any conſtraint or needful cauſe to incur ſo horrible danger, to ruſh upon a curſe; to defie that vengeance, the leaſt touch or breath whereof can daſh us to nothing, or thruſt us down into extreme and endleſs woe?

Who can expreſs the wretchedneſs of that folly, which ſo entangleth us with inextricable knots, and enchaineth our ſouls ſo raſhly with deſperate obligations.

Wherefore he that would but a little mind what he doth when he dareth to ſwear, what it is to meddle with the adorable name, the venerable teſtimony, the formidable judgment, the terrible vengeance of the divine majeſty, into what a caſe he putteth himſelf, how extreme hazard he runneth thereby, would aſſuredly have little heart to ſwear, without greateſt reaſon, and moſt urgent need; hardly without trembling would he undertake the moſt neceſſary and ſolemn oath; much cauſe would he ſee σέβεσθαι ὅρκον, *to adore*, to fear an oath: which to do the divine preacher maketh the character of a good man; *As* (ſaith he) *is the good, ſo is the ſinner, and he that ſweareth, as he that feareth an oath.* Eccleſ. 9. 2.

In fine, even a heathen philoſopher, conſidering the nature of an oath, did conclude the unlawfulneſs thereof in ſuch caſes. For, *Seeing*, (ſaith he) *an oath doth call God for witneſs, and propoſeth him for umpire and voucher of the things it ſaith; therefore to induce God ſo upon occaſion of humane affairs, or, which is all one, upon ſmall and ſlight accounts, doth imply contempt of him: wherefore we ought wholly to ſhun ſwearing, except upon occaſions of higheſt neceſſity.* Ὁ γὰρ ὅρκος μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν καλεῖ, καὶ μεσίτην αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγυητὴν ἐφ' οἷς λέγει παρέχεται· τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνθρωπίνοις παραγμάτων (τούτων γὰρ εἰσὶν μικροῖς καὶ ἐλαχίστοις) τὸν Θεὸν προάγειν, καταφρόνησίν τινα ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην· διὸ χρὴ παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, &c. Simpl. *in* Epict. *cap.* 44.

II. We may conſider, that ſwearing (agreeably to its nature, or natural aptitude and tendency) is repreſented in holy Scripture as a ſpecial part of religious worſhip, or devotion toward God; in the due performance whereof we do avow him for the true God and governor of the world; we piouſly do acknowledge his principal attributes and ſpecial prerogatives; (his omnipreſence and omniſcience, extending it ſelf to our moſt inward thoughts, our ſecreteſt purpoſes, our cloſeſt retirements; his watchful providence over all our actions, affairs and concerns; his faithful goodneſs, in favouring truth and protecting right; his exact juſtice, in patronizing ſincerity, and chaſtiſing perfidiouſneſs;) his being ſupreme Lord over all perſons, and judge paramount in all cauſes; his readineſs in our need, upon our humble imploration and reference, to undertake the arbitration of matters controverted, and the care of adminiſtring juſtice, for the maintenance of truth and right, of loyalty and fidelity, of order and peace among men. Swearing doth alſo intimate a pious truſt and confidence in God; as *Ariſtotle* obſerveth. Εὐσεβὲς τὸ θέλειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν. *It is a pious thing willingly to commend our caſe or controverſie to God.* Arist. *Rhet.* 1. 48.

Such things a ſerious oath doth imply, to ſuch purpoſes ſwearing naturally ſerveth; and therefore to ſignifie or effectuate them, divine inſtitution hath devoted it.

God in goodneſs to ſuch ends hath pleaſed to lend us his great name; allowing us to cite him for a witneſs, to have recourſe to his bar, to engage his juſtice and power, whenever the caſe deſerveth and requireth it, or when we cannot by other means well aſſure the ſincerity of our meaning, or ſecure the conſtancy of our reſolutions.

Yea in ſuch exigencies he doth exact this practice from us, as an inſtance of our religious confidence in him, and as a ſervice conducible to his glory: for it is a precept in his law, of moral nature, and eternal obligation, *Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God; him ſhalt thou ſerve, and to him ſhalt thou cleave, and ſhalt ſwear by his name.* Deut. 10. 20. & 6. 13. It is the character of a religious man to ſwear with due reverence and upright conſcience. For, *the King* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſhall rejoice in God; every one that ſweareth by him ſhall glory: but the mouth of them that ſpeak lies ſhall be ſtopped.* Pſal. 63. 11. It is a diſtinctive mark of God's people, according to that of the prophet *Jeremy*, *And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to ſwear by my name----then ſhall they be built in the midſt* Jer. 12. 16.

Iſa. 45. 23. 65. 16. *midſt of my people.* It is predicted concerning the evangelical times, *Unto me every knee ſhall bow, every tongue ſhall ſwear:* and, *That he who bleſſeth himſelf in the earth, ſhall bleſs himſelf by the God of truth; and he that ſweareth in the earth, ſhall ſwear by the God of truth.*

As therefore all other acts of devotion, wherein immediate application is made to the divine majeſty, ſhould never be performed without moſt hearty intention, moſt ſerious conſideration, moſt lowly reverence; ſo neither ſhould this grand one, wherein God is ſo nearly touched, and his chief attributes ſo much concerned; the which indeed doth involve both prayer and praiſe, doth require the moſt devotional acts of faith and fear.

Mat. 15. 8. Iſa. 29. 13. We therefore ſhould ſo perform it, as not to incur that reproof; *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.*

When we ſeem moſt formally to avow God, to confeſs his omniſcience, to confide in his juſtice; we ſhould not really diſregard him, and in effect ſignifie, that we do not think he doth know what we ſay, or mind what we do.

Jer. 4. 2. If we do preſume to offer this ſervice, we ſhould do it in the manner appointed by himſelf, according to the conditions preſcribed in the prophet, *Thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs: in truth,* taking heed, that our meaning be conformable to the ſenſe of our words, and our words to the verity of things; *in judgment,* having with careful deliberation examined and weighed that which we aſſert or promiſe; *in righteouſneſs,* being ſatisfied in conſcience, that we do not therein infringe any rule of piety toward God, of equity toward men, of ſobriety and diſcretion in regard to our ſelves.

The cauſe of our ſwearing muſt be needful, or very expedient; the deſign of it muſt be honeſt and uſeful to conſiderable purpoſes; (tending to God's honour, our neighbour's benefit, our own welfare;) the matter of it ſhould be not only juſt and lawful, but worthy and weighty; the manner ought to be grave and ſolemn, our mind being framed to earneſt attention, and endued with pious affections ſuitable to the occaſion.

Otherwiſe, if we do venture to ſwear, without due advice and care, without much reſpect and awe, upon any ſlight or vain (not to ſay, bad or unlawful) occaſion; we then deſecrate ſwearing, and are guilty of profaning a moſt ſacred ordinance: The doing ſo doth imply baſe hypocriſie, or leud mockery, Mat. 15. 7, 8. or abominable wantonneſs and folly; in boldly invading, and vainly trifling with the moſt auguſt duties of religion. Such ſwearing therefore is very diſhonourable and injurious to God, very prejudicial to religion, very repugnant to piety.

III. We may conſider that the ſwearing prohibited is very noxious to humane ſociety.

The great prop of ſociety, (which upholdeth the ſafety, peace and welfare thereof, in obſerving laws, diſpenſing juſtice, diſcharging truſts, keeping contracts, and holding good correſpondence mutually) is conſcience, or a ſenſe of duty toward God, obliging to perform what is right and equal; quickned by hope of rewards, and fear of puniſhments from him: ſecluding which principle, no worldly conſideration is ſtrong enough to hold men faſt; or can farther diſpoſe many to do right, or obſerve faith, or hold peace, than appetite, or intereſt, or humour (things very ſlippery and uncertain) do ſway them.

That men ſhould live honeſtly, quietly and comfortably together, it is needful that they ſhould live under a ſenſe of God's will, and in awe of t power, hoping to pleaſe God, and fearing to offend him, by their reſpectively.

That juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred between men, it is neceſſary that nies of fact be alledged; and that witneſſes ſhould apprehend themſelve obliged to diſcover the truth, according to their conſcience, in dark an ful caſes.

That men ſhould uprightly diſcharge offices ſerviceable to publick good, it doth behove that they be firmly engaged to perform the truſts repoſed in them.

That in affairs of very conſiderable importance, men ſhould deal with one another with ſatisfaction of mind, and mutual confidence, they muſt receive competent

competent aſſurances concerning the integrity, fidelity and conſtancy each of other.

That the ſafety of governors may be preſerved, and the obedience due to them maintained ſecure from attempts to which they are liable, (by the treachery, levity, perverſeneſs, timorouſneſs, ambition, all ſuch luſts and ill humours of men,) it is expedient that men ſhould be tied with the ſtricteſt bands of allegeance.

That controverſies emergent about the intereſts of men ſhould be determined, and an end put to ſtrife by peremptory and ſatisfactory means, is plainly neceſſary for common quiet.

Wherefore for the publick intereſt and benefit of humane ſociety, it is requiſite that the higheſt obligations poſſible ſhould be laid upon the conſciences of men.

And ſuch are thoſe of oaths, engaging them to fidelity and conſtancy in all ſuch caſes, out of regard to almighty God, as the infallible patron of truth and right, the unavoidable chaſtiſer of perfidiouſneſs and improbity.

To ſuch purpoſes therefore oaths have ever been applied, as the moſt effectual inſtruments of working them; not only among the followers of true and perfect religion, but even among all thoſe who had any glimmering notions concerning a divine power and providence; who have deemed an oath the faſteſt tie of conſcience, and held the violation of it for the moſt deteſtable impiety and iniquity. So that what *Cicero* ſaith of the *Romans*, that *their anceſtors had no band to conſtrain faith more ſtrait than an oath*, is true of all other nations; common reaſon not being able to deviſe any engagement more obliging than it; it being in the nature of things τελευταία πίστις, and ὀχυρώτατον ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, the utmoſt aſſurance, the laſt reſort of humane faith, the ſureſt pledge that any man can yield of his truſtineſs. Hence ever in tranſactions of higheſt moment this hath been uſed to bind the faith of men.

Nullum enim vinculum ad aſtringendam fidem jurejurando majores arctius eſſe voluerunt. Cic. *de Off.* 3.

Dion. Halic. Procop. Diod. Sic.

Hereby nations have been wont to ratifie the leagues of peace and amity between each other: (which therefore the *Greeks* called ὅρκια.)

Πρὸς ἃς πίστις ἡμῖν ὅρκοι, καὶ φιλία. Polyb.

Hereby princes have obliged their ſubjects to loyalty: and it hath ever been the ſtrongeſt argument to preſs that duty, which the preacher uſeth; *I counſel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.* Eccleſ. 8. 2.

Hereby generals have engaged their ſoldiers to ſtick cloſe to them, in bearing hardſhips, and encountring dangers. Veget. 2.

Hereby the nuptial league hath been confirmed; the ſolemnization whereof in temples before God is in effect a moſt ſacred oath.

Hereon the deciſion of the greateſt cauſes concerning the lives, eſtates and reputations of men have depended; ſo that (as the apoſtle ſaith) *an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all ſtrife.* Heb. 6. 16.

Indeed ſuch hath the need hereof been ever apprehended, that we may obſerve, in caſes of great importance, no other obligation hath been admitted for ſufficient to bind the fidelity and conſtancy of the moſt credible perſons; ſo that even the beſt men hardly could truſt the beſt men without it. For inſtance,

When *Abimelech* would aſſure to himſelf the friendſhip of *Abraham*, although he knew him to be a very pious and righteous perſon, whoſe word might be as well taken as any man's, yet, for entire ſatisfaction, he thus ſpake to him; *God is with thee in all that thou doeſt: Now therefore ſwear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falſly with me.* Gen. 21. 22, 23.

Abraham, though he did much confide in the honeſty of his ſervant *Eliezer*, having entruſted him with all his eſtate, yet in the affair concerning the marriage of his ſon, he could not but thus oblige him: *Put*, (ſaith he) *I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and I will make thee ſwear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou wilt not take a wife unto my ſon of the daughters of the Canaanites.* Gen. 15. 3. & 24. 2. Gen. 24. 2, 3.

Laban had good experience of *Jacob*'s fidelity; yet that would not ſatisfie, but, *The Lord* (ſaid he) *watch between me and thee, when we are abſent one from another. If thou ſhalt afflict my daughters, or if thou ſhalt take other* Gen. 31. 49, 50, 53.

wives beſide my daughters; no man is with us; ſee, God is witneſs between thee and me. The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father judge betwixt us.

Gen. 50. 5. Gen. 50. 25. So did *Jacob make Joſeph ſwear*, that he would *bury him in Canaan:* and *Joſeph cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſwear*, that they would *tranſlate his bones.* So did *Jonathan cauſe* his beloved friend *David to ſwear*, that he would 1 Sam. 20. 14, 15, 17. *ſhew kindneſs to him, and to his houſe for ever.* The prudence of which courſe 2 Sam. 21. 7. the event ſheweth, the total exciſion of *Jonathan*'s family being thereby prevented; for, *The King* ('tis ſaid) *ſpared Mephiboſheth the ſon of Jonathan, becauſe of the Lord's oath that was between them.*

(1 King. 1. 51. Ezr. 10. 5. Neh. 5. 12. & 13. 25.) Theſe inſtances declare, that there is no ſecurity which men can yield comparable to that of an oath; the obligation whereof no man wilfully can infringe, without renouncing the fear of God, and any pretence to his favour.

Wherefore humane ſociety will be extremely wronged and damnified by the diſſolving or ſlackning theſe moſt ſacred bands of conſcience; and conſequently by their common and careleſs uſe, which ſoon will breed a contempt of them, and render them inſignificant, either to bind the ſwearers, or to ground a truſt on their oaths.

As by the rare and reverent uſe of oaths their dignity is upheld, and their obligation kept faſt: ſo by the frequent and negligent application of them, by the proſtituting them to every mean and toyiſh purpoſe, their reſpect will be quite loſt, their ſtrength will be looſed, they will prove unſerviceable to publick uſe.

If oaths generally become cheap and vile, what will that of allegeance ſignifie? If men are wont to play with ſwearing any where, can we expect they ſhould be ſerious and ſtrict therein at the bar, or in the Church? Will they regard God's teſtimony, or dread his judgment, in one place, or at one time, when every where upon any, upon no occaſion they dare to confront and contemn them? Who then will be the more truſted for ſwearing? What ſatisfaction will any man have from it? The rifeneſs of this practice, as it is the ſign, ſo it will be the cauſe of a general diffidence among men.

Incredible therefore is the miſchief which this vain practice will bring in to the publick; depriving princes of their beſt ſecurity, expoſing the eſtates of private men to uncertainty, ſhaking all the confidence men can have in the faith of one another.

For which detriments accruing from this abuſe to the publick every vain ſwearer is reſponſible; and he would do well to conſider, that he will never be able to make reparation for them. And the publick is much concerned that this enormity be retrenched.

IV. Let us conſider, that raſh and vain ſwearing is very apt often to bring the practiſer of it into that moſt horrible ſin of perjury. For * *falſe ſwearing* (as the *Hebrew* wiſe man ſaith) *naturally ſpringeth out of much ſwearing:* and, † *He* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*) *that ſweareth continually, both willingly and unwillingly, both ignorantly and knowingly, both in earneſt and in ſport, being often tranſported by anger and many other things, will frequently forſwear. It is confeſſed and manifeſt, that it is neceſſary for him that ſweareth much, to be perjurious.* Ἀμήχανον γὰρ, ἀμήχανον, *For* (ſaith he again,) *it is impoſſible, it is impoſſible for a mouth addicted to ſwearing, not frequently to forſwear.* He that ſweareth at random, as blind paſſion moveth, or wanton fancy prompteth, or the tempter ſuggeſteth, often will hit upon aſſerting that which is falſe, or promiſing that which is impoſſible: That want of conſcience and of conſideration which do ſuffer him to violate God's law in ſwearing, will betray him to the venting of lies, which backed with oaths become perjuries. If ſometime what he ſweareth doth happen to be true and performable, it doth not free him from guilt; it being his fortune, rather than his care or conſcience, which keepeth him from perjury.

* Φύεται ἐκ πολυορκίας ψευδορκία. Philo *in Decal.* *Nè quiſquam facili juratione etiam ad perjurium decidiſſet, & in Eccleſia populo prædicabat, & ſuos inſtituerat, nè quis juraret nec ad modicum quidem.* Poſid. *in Vit. S.* Aug. *c.* 25.

† Ὁ δικαίως ὀμνὺς, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. *p.* 553.

Μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πίστις, quidam legunt, Jac. 5. 12. *Vid.* Grot.

Οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀμολογημένον πᾶσιν, ὅτι ὁ πολύορκος ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπίορκος εἶναι. Ibid.

Ἀμήχανον γὰρ, ἀμήχανον, τὸ μεμελετηκὸς ὀμνύειν, μὴ σπανίως ἐπιορκεῖν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. *p.* 559.

V. Such ſwearing commonly will induce a man to bind himſelf by oath to unlawful practices; and conſequently will entangle him in a woful neceſſity, either of breaking his oath, or of doing worſe, and committing wickedneſs: ſo that *ſwearing*, (as St. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith) *hath this miſery attending it, that both tranſgreſſed and obſerved it plagueth thoſe who are guilty of it.*

Τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν ἔχει ὁ ὅρκος, ὅτι κὰν παραβαινόμενος κὰν φυλαττόμενος κολάζει τοὺς ἁλισκομένους. Chryſ. *ibid.* p. 553.

Of this perplexity the holy ſcripture affordeth two notable inſtances: the one of *Saul*, forced to break his raſh oaths; the other of *Herod*, being engaged thereby to commit a moſt horrid murther. (1 Sam. 25. 22. *David.*) διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους. Mat. 14. 9.

Had *Saul* obſerved his oaths, what injury had he done, what miſchief had he produced, in ſlaughtering his moſt worthy and moſt innocent ſon, the prop and glory of his family, the bulwark of his countrey, and the grand inſtrument of ſalvation to it; in forcing the people to violate their croſs oath, and for prevention of one, cauſing many perjuries? He was therefore fain to deſiſt, and lie under the guilt of breaking his oaths. *Vid.* Chryſ. ιδ'. Ἀνδρ. 1 Sam. 14. 45.

And for *Herod*, the excellent father thus preſſeth the conſideration of his caſe: *Take*, (ſaith he) *I beſeech you, the chopp'd off head of St.* John, *and his warm blood yet trickling down; each of you bear it home with you, and conceive that before your eyes you hear it uttering ſpeech, and ſaying, Embrace the murtherer of me, an oath. That which reproof did not, this an oath did do; that which the tyrant's wrath could not, this the neceſſity of keeping an oath did effect. For when the tyrant was reprehended publickly in the audience of all men, he bravely did bear the rebuke; but when he had caſt himſelf into the neceſſity of oaths, then did he cut off that bleſſed head.* Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου λαβόντας-- Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. p. 552.

VI. Likewiſe the uſe of raſh ſwearing will often engage a man in undertakings very inconvenient and detrimental to himſelf. A man is bound to *perform his vows to the Lord*, whatever they be, whatever damage or trouble thence may accrue to him, if they be not unlawful. It is the law, *That which is gone out of thy lips, thou ſhalt keep and perform.* It is the property of a good man, that *he ſweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.* Wherefore 'tis the part of a ſober man, to be well adviſed what he doth ſwear or vow religiouſly; that he do not put himſelf into the inextricable ſtrait of committing great ſin, or undergoing great inconvenience; that he do not ruſh into that ſnare of which the wiſe man ſpeaketh, *It is a ſnare to a man to devour that which is holy* (or, to ſwallow a ſacred obligation,) *and after vows to make enquiry*, ſeeking how he may diſengage himſelf: the doing which is a folly offenſive to God, as the preacher telleth us; *When* (ſaith he) *thou voweſt a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleaſure in fools: pay that which thou haſt vowed.* God will not admit our folly in vowing, as a plea or an excuſe for non-performance; he will exact it from us both as a due debt, and as a proper puniſhment of our impious folly. Deut. 23. 21. Mat. 5. 33. Pſ. 66. 13, 14. Deut. 23. 23. Pſal. 15. 4. Prov. 20. 25. Ὥσπερ τὴν παγίδι καλεχόμενοι, καὶ δεσμοῖς ἁλύτοις συνδεδεμένοι, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. Eccleſ. 5. 4.

For inſtance, into what loſs and miſchief, what ſorrow, what regret and repentance, did the unadviſed vow of *Jephtha* throw him? the performance whereof (as St. *Chryſoſtome* remarketh) God did permit, and order to be commemorated with ſolemn lamentation, that all poſterity might be admoniſhed thereby, and deterred from ſuch precipitant ſwearing. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'.

VII. Let us conſider, that ſwearing is a ſin of all others peculiarly clamorous, and provocative of divine judgment. God is hardly ſo much concerned, or in a manner conſtrained, to puniſh any other ſin as this. He is bound in honour and intereſt to vindicate his name from the abuſe, his authority from the contempt, his holy ordinance from the profanation, which it doth infer. He is concerned to take care that his providence be not queſtioned, that the dread of his majeſty be not voided, that all religion be not overthrown by the outrageous commiſſion thereof with impunity.

It immediately toucheth his name, it expreſly calleth upon him to mind it, to judge it, to ſhew himſelf in avenging it. He may ſeem deaf, or unconcerned, if, being ſo called and provoked, he doth not declare himſelf.

There is underſtood to be a kind of formal compact between him and mankind,

obliging him to interpoſe, to take the matter into his cognizance, being ſpecially addreſſed to him.

The bold ſwearer doth importune him to hear, doth rouze him to mark, doth brave him to judge and puniſh his wickedneſs.

Zech. 5. 2, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. 9. p. 525. 15. p. 565. 19. p. 591. Jer. 23. 10. Hoſ. 4. 3.

Hence no wonder that *the flying roll*, a quick and inevitable *curſe*, doth ſurprize the *ſwearer*, and *cut him off*, as it is in the prophet. No wonder that ſo many remarkable inſtances do occurr in hiſtory, of ſignal vengeance inflicted on perſons notably guilty of this crime. No wonder that a common practice thereof doth fetch down publick judgments; and that, as the prophets of old did proclaim, *becauſe of ſwearing the land mourneth.*

VIII. Farther, (paſſing over the ſpecial laws againſt it, the miſchievous conſequences of it, the ſore puniſhments appointed to it,) we may conſider, that to common ſenſe vain ſwearing is a very unreaſonable and ill-favoured practice, greatly misbecoming any ſober, worthy or honeſt perſon; but eſpecially moſt abſurd and incongruous to a Chriſtian.

For in ordinary converſation what needful or reaſonable occaſion can intervene of violating this command? If there come under diſcourſe a matter of reaſon, which is evidently true and certain, then what need can there be of an oath to affirm it, it ſufficing to expoſe it to light, or to propoſe the evidences for it? If an obſcure or doubtful point come to be debated, it will not bear an oath; it will be a ſtrange madneſs to dare, a great folly to hope the perſuading it thereby. What were more ridiculous, than to ſwear the truth of a demonſtrable theorem? what more vain, than ſo to aſſert a diſputable problem? oaths (like wagers) are in ſuch caſes no arguments, except of fillineſs in the uſers of them.

If a matter of hiſtory be ſtarted, then if a man be taken for honeſt, his word will paſs for atteſtation, without farther aſſurance: but if his veracity or probity be doubted, his oath will not be relied on, eſpecially when he doth obtrude it. For it was no leſs truly than acutely ſaid by the old Poet, Οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὅρκοι πίστις, ἀλλ' ὅρκων ἀνήρ, *That the man doth not get credit from an oath, but an oath from the man:* and a greater author, *an oath* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*) *doth not make a man credible; but the teſtimony of his life, and the exactneſs of his converſation, and a good repute. Many often have burſt with ſwearing, and perſuaded no man: others only nodding have deſerved more belief, than thoſe who have ſwore ſo mightily.* Wherefore oaths, as they are frivolous coming from a perſon of little worth or conſcience, ſo they are ſuperfluous in the mouth of an honeſt and worthy perſon; yea, as they do not encreaſe of the credit of the former, ſo they may impair that of the latter.

Æſchyl.

Οὐκ ὅρκῳ ἀξιόπιστον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ βίῳ μαρτυρία, καὶ πολιτείας ἀκρίβεια, καὶ ὑπόληψις ἀγαθή· πολλοὶ πολλάκις διερράγησαν ὀμνύντες, καὶ οὐδένα ἔπεισαν· ἕτεροι δὲ, ἐπινεύσαντες μόνον, ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν τοσαῦτα ὀμωμοκότων ἐφάνησαν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. *p.* 514.

Δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ὅρκου πιστότερον φαίνεσθαι παρεχόμενον. Socr. *apud* Max. *Serm.* 85.

Ὁ τῷ ἁπλῷ λόγῳ ὅρκῳ ἴσον βέβαιον, ἀκλινῆ, ἀψεύδιστον. Philo.

Colendo fidem jurant (*Scythæ*; *apud* Curt. 7. 8.)

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. *p.* 524.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιόπιστος σφόδρα· ὥστε μὴ ἔξον, ἀνώμοτον μαρτυρεῖν, τούτῳ μόνῳ συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι. Diog. Laert. *in Xenocr.*

Πᾶν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὅρκου, τὸ δὲ ὀμνύειν αὐτοῖς ἄπιστον. Joſeph.

A good man (as *Socrates* did ſay) *ſhould apparently ſo demean himſelf, that his word may be deemed more credible than an oath*; the conſtant tenor of his practice vouching for it, and giving it ſuch weight, that no aſſeveration can farther corroborate it.

He ſhould τοῖς ἔργοις διορκεῖν, *ſwear by his good deeds*, and exhibit βίον ἀξιόπιστον, *a life deſerving belief*, (as *Clemens Alex.* ſaith:) ſo that no man ſhould deſire more from him than his bare aſſertion; but willingly ſhould yield him the privilege which the *Athenians* granted to *Xenocrates*, that he ſhould teſtifie without ſwearing.

He ſhould be like the *Eſſenes*, of whom *Joſephus* ſaith, that every thing ſpoken by them was more valid than an oath; whence they declined ſwearing.

He ſhould ſo much confide in his own veracity and fidelity, and ſo much ſtand upon them, that he ſhould not deign to offer any pledge for them, implying them to want confirmation.

Tantus in te ſit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, juratum putes. Hier. *Ep.* 14.

He ſhould (as St. *Hierom* ſaith) *ſo love truth, that he ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf to have ſworn whatſoever he hath ſaid*; and therefore ſhould not be apt to heap another oath on his words.

Upon

Upon ſuch accounts common reaſon directed even pagan wiſe men wholly to interdict ſwearing in ordinary converſation, or about petty matters, as an irrational and immoral practice, unworthy of ſober and diſcreet perſons. *Forbear ſwearing about any matter*, (ſaid *Plato*, cited by *Clem. Alex.*) *Avoid ſwearing if you can, wholly*, (ſaid *Epictetus.*) *For many ſwear by no God, though you ſwear truly*, ſaith *Iſocrates*. And divers the like precepts occurr in other heathens; the mention whereof may well ſerve to ſtrike ſhame into many looſe and vain people, bearing the name of Chriſtians.

Ὅρκου παραιτοῦ ἁπάντως. Plato apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5. p. 433.

Ὅρκον παραιτήσου, εἰ μὴ οἷόν τε, εἰς ἅπαν. Epict. Ench. cap. 44.

Ἕνεκα χρημάτων μηδένα θεὸν ὀμόσῃς, μηδ' ἂν δίκαιος ᾖς. Iſocr. ad Demon.

Indeed, for a true and real Chriſtian, this practice doth eſpecially in a far higher degree misbecome him, upon conſiderations peculiar to his high calling and holy profeſſion.

Plutarch telleth us, that among the *Romans* the *Flamen* of *Jupiter* was not permitted to ſwear: of which Law among other reaſons he aſſigned this; *Becauſe it is not handſome that he to whom divine and greateſt things are intruſted, ſhould be diſtruſted about ſmall matters.* The which reaſon may well be applied to excuſe every Chriſtian from it, who is a prieſt to the moſt high God, and hath the moſt celeſtial and important matters concredited to him; in compariſon to which all other matters are very mean and inconſiderable. The dignity of his rank ſhould render his word *verbum honoris*, paſſable without any farther engagement. He hath opinions of things, he hath undertaken practices inconſiſtent with ſwearing. For he that firmly doth believe that God is ever preſent with him, an auditor and witneſs of all his diſcourſe; he that is perſuaded that a ſevere judgment ſhall paſs on him, wherein he muſt *give an account for every idle word* which ſlippeth from him, and wherein, among other offenders, aſſuredly *Liars* will be condemned to the burning lake; he that in a great ſacrament (once moſt ſolemnly taken, and frequently renewed) hath engaged and ſworn together with all other divine commandments, to obſerve thoſe which moſt expreſly do charge him to be exactly juſt, faithful and veracious in all his words and deeds; who therefore ſhould be ready to ſay with *David*, *I have ſworn, and am ſtedfaſtly purpoſed to keep thy righteous judgments*; to him every word hath the force of an oath; every lie, every breach of promiſe, every violation of faith doth involve perjury: for him to ſwear, is falſe heraldry, an impertinent accumulation of one oath upon another: he of all men ſhould diſdain to allow that his words are not perfectly credible, that his promiſe is not ſecure, without being aſſured by an oath.

Διατὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ὀμόσαι; ἢ ὅτι περὶ μικρῶν ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὰ θεῖα καὶ μέγιστα πιστευθέντα οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν; Plut. in Qu. Rom. p. 491.

Mat. 12. 36. Revel. 21. 8. & 22. 15. Col. 3. 9. Eph. 4. 25. 1 Pet. 2. 1. Pſ. 119. 106. * *Omnis ſermo fidelis pro jure jurando eſt.* Hier. in Matt. 5.

IX. Indeed the practice of ſwearing greatly diſparageth him that uſeth it, and derogateth from his credit upon divers accounts.

It ſignifieth, (if it ſignifieth any thing,) that he doth not confide in his own reputation, and judgeth his own own bare word not to deſerve credit: for why, if he taketh his word to be good, doth he back it with aſſeverations? why, if he deemeth his own honeſty to bear proof, doth he cite heaven to warrant it?

It is (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *a very foul and ſilly thing, for a man to accuſe himſelf as unworthy of belief, and to profer an oath for ſecurity.*

Αἰσχρὸν πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀνόητον, ἑαυτοῦ καταψηφίζεσθαι ὡς ἀνάξιον πίστεως, καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιφέρεσθαι. Baſ. in Pſ. 14.

By ſo doing a man doth authorize others to diſtruſt him: for it can be no wrong to diſtruſt him, who doth not pretend to be a credible perſon, or that his ſaying alone may ſafely be taken; who, by ſuſpecting that others are not ſatisfied with his ſimple aſſertion, implieth a reaſon known to himſelf for it.

It rendreth whatever he ſaith to be in reaſon ſuſpicious, as diſcovering him void of conſcience and diſcretion: for he that flatly againſt the rules of duty and reaſon will ſwear vainly, what can engage him to ſpeak truly? he that is ſo looſe in ſo clear and ſo conſiderable a point of obedience to God, how can he be ſuppoſed ſtaunch in regard to any other? *It being* (as *Ariſtotle* hath it) *the part of the ſame men to do ill things, and not to regard forſwearing.* It will at leaſt conſtrain any man to ſuſpect all his diſcourſe of vanity and unadviſedneſs, ſeeing he plainly hath no care to bridle his tongue from ſo groſs an offence.

Ἤδη γὰρ ἔν γε ὀμοῦς εἰς ἀπιστίαν τιθησιν. Philo.

Τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν τὰ πονηρὰ πράττειν, καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν ἐπιορκίας. Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex. c. 18.

It

It is ſtrange therefore, that any man of honour or honeſty ſhould not ſcorn, by ſuch a practice, to ſhake his own credit, or to detract from the validity of his word; which ſhould ſtand firm on it ſelf, and not want any atteſtation to ſupport it. It is a privilege of honourable perſons, that they are excuſed from ſwearing, and that their *verbum honoris* paſſeth in lieu of an oath: is it not then ſtrange, that when others diſpenſe with them, they ſhould not diſpenſe with themſelves; but voluntarily degrade themſelves, and with ſin forfeit ſo noble a privilege?

X. To excuſe theſe faults, the ſwearer will be forced to confeſs, that his oaths are no more than waſte and inſignificant words; deprecating being taken for ſerious, or to be underſtood that he meaneth any thing by them; but only that he uſeth them as expletive phraſes, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου, to plump his ſpeech, and fill up ſentences. But ſuch pleas do no more than ſuggeſt other faults of ſwearing, and good arguments againſt it; its impertinence, its abuſe of ſpeech, its diſgracing the practiſer of it in point of judgment and capacity. For ſo it is, oaths as they commonly paſs are mere excreſcencies of ſpeech, which do nothing but encumber and deform it; they ſo embelliſh diſcourſe, as a wen or a ſcab do beautifie a face, as a patch or a ſpot do adorn a garment.

Hierocl. Philo.

To what purpoſe, I pray, is God's name hooked and haled into our idle talk? why ſhould we ſo often mention him, when we do not mean any thing about him? would it not, into every ſentence to foiſt a dog or a horſe, (to intrude *Turkiſh*, or any barbarous gibberiſh,) be altogether as proper and pertinent?

What do theſe ſuperfluities ſignifie, but that the venter of them doth little skill the uſe of ſpeech, or the rule of converſation, but meaneth to ſputter and prate any thing without judgment or wit; that his invention is very barren, his fancy beggarly, craving the aid of any ſtuff to relieve it? One would think a man of ſenſe ſhould grudge to lend his ear, or incline his attention to ſuch motly ragged diſcourſe; that without nauſeating he ſcarce ſhould endure to obſerve men laviſhing time, and ſqandring their breath ſo frivolouſly. 'Tis an affront to good company, to peſter it with ſuch talk.

XI. But farther, upon higher accounts this is a very uncivil and unmannerly practice.

Some vain perſons take it for a genteel and graceful thing, a ſpecial accompliſhment, a mark of fine breeding, a point of high gallantry: for who, forſooth, is the brave ſpark, the compleat gentleman, the man of converſation and addreſs, but he that hath the skill and confidence (O heavens! how mean a skill! how mad a confidence!) to lard every ſentence with an oath or a curſe; making bold at every turn to ſalute his maker, or to ſummon him in atteſtation of his tattle; not to ſay, calling and challenging the almighty to damn and deſtroy him? Such a conceit, I ſay, too many have of ſwearing, becauſe a cuſtom thereof, together with divers other fond and baſe qualities, hath prevailed among ſome people, bearing the name and garb of gentlemen.

But in truth there is no practice more croſſing the genuine nature of genteelneſs, or misbecoming perſons well born and well bred; who ſhould excel the rude vulgar in goodneſs, in courteſie, in nobleneſs of heart, in unwillingneſs to offend, and readineſs to oblige thoſe with whom they converſe, in ſteddy compoſedneſs of mind and manners, in diſdaining to ſay or do any unworthy, any unhandſome things.

For this practice is not only a groſs rudeneſs toward the main body of men, who juſtly reverence the name of God, and deteſt ſuch an abuſe thereof; not only (farther) an inſolent defiance of the common profeſſion, the religion, the law of our countrey, which diſalloweth and condemneth it; but it is very odious and offenſive to any particular ſociety or company, at leaſt wherein there is any ſober perſon, any who retaineth a ſenſe of goodneſs, or is any-wiſe concerned for God's honour: for to any ſuch perſon no language can be more diſguſtful; nothing can more grate his ears, or fret his heart, than to hear the ſovereign object of his love and eſteem ſo mocked and ſlighted; to ſee the law of his prince ſo diſloyally infringed, ſo contemptuouſly trampled on; to find his beſt friend and benefactor ſo outrageouſly abuſed. To give him the lie were a complement, to ſpit in his face were an obligation, in compariſon to this uſage.

Wherefore

Wherefore 'tis a wonder, that any perſon of rank, any that hath in him a ſpark of ingenuity, or doth at all pretend to good manners, ſhould find in his heart or deign to comply with ſo ſcurvy a faſhion; a faſhion much more befitting the ſcum of the people, than the flower of the gentry; yea rather much below any man endued with a ſcrap of reaſon, or grain of goodneſs. Would we bethink our ſelves, modeſt, ſober and pertinent diſcourſe would appear far more generous and maſculine, than ſuch mad hectoring the Almighty, ſuch boiſterous inſulting over the received laws and general notions of mankind, ſuch ruffianly ſwaggering againſt ſobriety and goodneſs. If gentlemen would regard the virtues of their anceſtors, the founders of their quality; that gallant courage, that ſolid wiſdom, that noble courteſie, which advanced their families, and ſevered them from the vulgar; this degenerate wantonneſs and ſordidneſs of language would return to the dunghil, or rather (which God grant) be quite baniſhed from the world; the vulgar following their example.

XII. Farther, the words of our Lord, when he forbad this practice, do ſuggeſt another conſideration againſt it, deducible from the cauſes and ſources of it; from whence it cometh that men are ſo inclined or addicted thereto: *Let* (ſaith he) *your communication be yea, yea, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe cometh of evil.* The roots of it he aſſureth us are evil, and therefore the fruit cannot be good: it is no grape which groweth from thorns, or fig from thiſtles. Conſult experience, and obſerve whence it doth proceed. Matt. 5. 37.

Sometimes it ariſeth from exorbitant heats of ſpirit, or tranſports of unbridled paſſion. When a man is keenly peeviſh, or fiercely angry, or eagerly contentious, then he bluſtereth, and diſchargeth his choler in moſt tragical ſtrains; then he would fright the objects of his diſpleaſure by the moſt violent expreſſions thereof. This is ſometime alledged in excuſe of raſh ſwearing; (*I was provoked*, the ſwearer will ſay, *I was in paſſion:*) but it is ſtrange, that a bad cauſe ſhould juſtify a bad effect; that one crime ſhould warrant another; that what would ſpoil a good action, ſhould excuſe a bad one.

Sometimes it proceedeth from arrogant conceit, and a tyrannical humour; when a man fondly admireth his own opinion, and affecting to impoſe it on others, is thence moved to thwack it on with luſty aſſeverations.

Sometimes it iſſueth from wantonneſs and levity of mind, diſpoſing a man to ſport with any thing, how ſerious, how grave, how ſacred and venerable ſoever.

Sometimes its riſe is from ſtupid inadvertency, or heady precipitancy; when the man doth not heed what he ſaith, or conſider the nature and conſequence of his words, but ſnatcheth any expreſſion which cometh next, or which his roving fancy doth offer; for want of that caution of the Pſalmiſt, *I ſaid, I will take heed to my ways, that I ſin not with my tongue: I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.* Ἐλευθέιν. 2 Cor. 1. 17. Pſal. 39. 1. & 141. 3.

Sometimes (alas! how often in this miſerable Age?) it doth ſpring from profane boldneſs; when men deſign to put affronts on religion, and to diſplay their ſcorn and ſpite againſt conſcience; affecting the reputation of ſtout blades, of gallant hectors, of reſolute giants, who dare do any thing, who are not afraid to defy heaven, and brave God almighty himſelf.

Sometimes it is derived from apiſh imitation, or a humour to comply with a faſhion current among vain and diſſolute perſons. (Pſal. 26. 4.)

It always doth come from a great defect of conſcience, of reverence to God, of love to goodneſs, of diſcretion and ſober regard to the welfare of a man's Soul.

From ſuch evidently vicious and unworthy ſources it proceedeth, and therefore muſt needs be very culpable. No good, no wiſe man can like actions drawn from ſuch principles. Farther, Matt. 7. 16.

XIII. This offence may be particularly aggravated by conſidering, that it hath no ſtrong temptation alluring to it; that it yieldeth no ſenſible advantage; that it moſt eaſily may be avoided or corrected.

Every ſin (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *hath not the ſame puniſhment; but thoſe things which may eaſily be reformed do bring on us greater puniſhment:* and what can be more eaſie, than to reform this fault? *Tell me* (ſaith he) *what difficulty, what ſweat, what art, what hazard, what more doth it require beſide a little care* to abſtain wholly

Οὐ γὰρ ἴσον πᾶν ἁμάρτημα τὸν αὐτὸν φέρει κόλασιν· ἀλλὰ τὰ διορθώσεως μείζονα τὴν μὴ ἐπάγει τὴν τιμωρίαν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ι'. p. 489.

Εἰπέ μοι, ποίαν δυσκολίαν, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιϑ'. p. 504. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ι'. p. 499. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. δ'. p. 489.

from

from it? It is but willing, or reſolving on it, and it is inſtantly done: for there is not any natural inclination diſpoſing to it, any ſtrong appetite to detain us under its power.

It gratifieth no ſenſe, it yieldeth no profit, it procureth no honour; for the ſound of it is not very melodious, and no man ſurely did ever get an eſtate by it, or was preferred to dignity for it. It rather to any good ear maketh a horrid and jarring noiſe; it rather with the beſt part of the world produceth diſpleaſure, damage and diſgrace. What therefore beſide monſtrous vanity, and unaccountable perverſeneſs, ſhould hold men ſo devoted thereto?

Surely of all dealers in ſin the ſwearer is palpably the ſillieſt, and maketh the worſt bargains for himſelf; for he ſinneth *gratis*, and (like thoſe in the Prophet) Iſa. 52. 3. *ſelleth his ſoul for nothing*. An epicure hath ſome reaſon to alledge, an extortioner is a man of wiſdom, and acteth prudently in compariſon to him; for they Οὗτος ἢ, ἀδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν βιαζομένης, ἀπὸ ἀνοίας μόνης εἰς τὸ βάραθρον καταπίπτει τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Chryſ. Ανδρ. ι. p. 531. enjoy ſome pleaſure, or acquire ſome gain here, in lieu of their ſalvation hereafter: but this fondling offendeth heaven, and abandoneth happineſs, he knoweth not why or for what. He hath not ſo much as the common plea of humane infirmity to excuſe him; he can hardly ſay that he was tempted thereto by any bait.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι τινα πάθην ἔχουσι πονηρίας, ἀλλὰ καταφρόνησιν μόνον. Ibid.

A phantaſtick humour poſſeſſeth him of ſpurning at piety and ſoberneſs; he inconſiderately followeth a herd of wild ſops; he affecteth to play the ape. What more than this can he ſay for himſelf?

XIV. Finally, let us conſider, that as we our ſelves, with all our members and powers, were chiefly deſigned and framed to glorify our Maker; (the which to do is indeed the greateſt perfection and nobleſt privilege of our nature,) ſo our tongue and ſpeaking faculty were given to us to declare our admiration and reverence of him, to exhibit our due love and gratitude toward him, to profeſs our truſt and confidence in him, to celebrate his praiſes, to avow his benefits, to addreſs our ſupplications to him, to maintain all kinds of devotional intercourſe with him, to propagate our knowledge, fear, love and obedience to him, in all ſuch ways to promote his honour and ſervice. This is the moſt proper, worthy and due uſe of our tongue, for which it was created, to which it is dedicated, from whence it becometh, as it is ſo often ſtyled, our *glory*, and the beſt member that we have; that whereby we excel all creatures here below, and whereby we are no leſs diſcriminated from them, than by our reaſon: that whereby we conſort with the bleſſed angels above in the diſtinct utterance of praiſe, and communication of glory to our creator. Wherefore applying this to any impious diſcourſe, with this to profane God's bleſſed name, with this to violate his holy commands, with this to unhallow his ſacred ordinance, with this to offer diſhonour and indignity to him, is a moſt unnatural abuſe, an horrid ingratitude toward him.

Pſal. 16. 9. & 30. 12. & 57. 8. & 108. 1. *Hoc enim uno præſtamus vel maximè feris, quòd colloquimur inter nos, & quòd exprimere dicendo ſenſa poſſumus.* Cic. de Orat. 1.

It is that indeed whereby we render this noble organ incapable of any good uſe. For * how (as the excellent father doth often urge) can we pray to God for mercies, or praiſe God for his benefits, or heartily confeſs our ſins, or chearfully partake of the holy myſteries, with a mouth defiled by impious oaths, with a heart guilty of ſo hainous diſobedience?

* Πῶς αἰτόμεθα—; Chr. Ανδρ. ιδ'. p. 559. Ανδρ. ια'. p. 528.

Likewiſe, whereas a ſecondary, very worthy uſe of our ſpeech is, to promote the good of our neighbour, and eſpecially to edifie him in piety, according to that wholſome precept of the apoſtle, *Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers:* the practice of ſwearing is an abuſe very contrary to that good purpoſe, ſerving to corrupt our neighbour, and to inſtil into him a contempt of religion: or however grievouſly to ſcandalize him.

Eph. 4. 29.

XV. I ſhall add but two words more. One is, that we would ſeriouſly conſider, that our bleſſed Saviour, who loved us ſo dearly, who did and ſuffered ſo much for us, who redeemed us by his blood, who ſaid unto us, *If ye love me, keep my commandments*, he thus poſitively hath enjoyned, *But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all:* and how then can we find in our heart directly to thwart his word?

John 14. 15. Matt. 5. 34.

The other is, that we would lay to heart the reaſon whereby S. *James* doth enforce the point, and the ſting in the cloſe of our text, wherewith I conclude: *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not, neither by heaven, neither by*

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the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, leſt you fall into condemnation, or, * *leſt you fall under damnation.* From the which infinite miſchief, and from all ſin that may cauſe it, God in mercy deliver us through our bleſſed redeemer *Jeſus*, to whom for ever be all glory and praiſe. * Μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πίπτητε.

SERMON XVI.

Of Evil-ſpeaking in general.

TITUS III. 2.

------*To ſpeak evil of no man.*

THESE words do imply a double duty; one incumbent on teachers, another on the people who are to be inſtructed by them.

The teachers duty appeareth from reflecting on the words of the context, which govern theſe, and make them up an entire ſentence; † *Put them in mind*, or, Rub up their memory to do thus. It is S. *Paul*'s injunction to *Titus*, a biſhop and paſtor of the Church, that he ſhould admoniſh the people committed to his care and inſtruction, as of other great duties, (of yielding obedience to magiſtrates, of behaving themſelves peaceably, of practiſing meekneſs and equity toward all men, of being *readily* diſpoſed *to every good work*,) ſo particularly of this μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, *to revile*, or *ſpeak evil of no man.* † Ὑπομίμνησκε αὐτούς.

Whence it is apparent, that this is one of the principal duties that preachers are obliged to mind people of, and to preſs upon them. And if this were needful then, when charity, kindled by ſuch inſtructions and examples, was ſo lively; when chriſtians, by their ſufferings, were ſo inured to meekneſs and patience; even every one, for the honour of his religion, and the ſafety of his perſon, was concerned in all reſpects to demean himſelf innocently and inoffenſively; then is it now eſpecially requiſite, when (ſuch engagements and reſtraints being taken off, love being cooled, perſecution being extinct, the tongue being ſet looſe from all extraordinary curbs) the tranſgreſſion of this duty is grown ſo prevalent and rife, that evil-ſpeaking is almoſt as common as ſpeaking, ordinary converſation extremely abounding therewith, that miniſters ſhould diſcharge their office in dehorting and diſſuading from it.

Well indeed it were, if by their example of uſing mild and moderate diſcourſe, of abſtaining from virulent invectives, tauntings and ſcoffings, good for little but to enflame anger, and infuſe ill-will, they would lead men to good practice of this ſort: for no examples can be ſo wholſome, or ſo miſchievous to this purpoſe, as thoſe which come down from the pulpit, the place of edification, backed with ſpecial authority and advantage.

However, it is to preachers a ground of aſſurance, and matter of ſatisfaction, that in preſſing this duty they ſhall perform their duty: their text being not ſo much of their own chuſing, as given them by S. *Paul*; they can ſurely ſcarce find a better to diſcourſe upon: it cannot be a matter of ſmall moment or uſe, which this great maſter and guide ſo expreſly directeth us to inſiſt upon. And to the obſervance of his precept, ſo far as concerneth me, I ſhall immediately apply my ſelf.

It is then the duty of all chriſtian people, (to be taught, and preſſed on them,) *not to reproach*, or *ſpeak evil of any man.* The which duty, for your inſtruction, I ſhall firſt endeavour ſomewhat to explain, declaring its import and ex-

tent; then, for your farther edification, I ſhall inculcate it, propoſing ſeveral inducements perſuaſive to the obſervance of it.

I. For explication, we may firſt conſider the object of it, *no man*; then the act it ſelf, which is prohibited, *to blaſpheme*, that is, to reproach, to revile, or (as we have it rendred) *to ſpeak evil.*

NO MAN. S. *Paul* queſtionleſs did eſpecially mean hereby to hinder the Chriſtians at that time from reproaching the *Jews* and the Pagans among whom they lived, men in their lives very wicked and corrupt, men in opinion extremely diſſenting from them, men who greatly did hate, and cruelly did perſecute them; of whom therefore they had mighty provocations and temptations to ſpeak ill; their judgment of the perſons, and their reſentment of injuries, making it difficult to abſtain from doing ſo. Whence by a manifeſt analogy may be inferred, that the object of this duty is very large, indeed univerſal and unlimited: that we muſt forbear reproach not only againſt pious and virtuous perſons, againſt perſons of our own judgment or party, againſt thoſe who never did harm or offend us, againſt our relations, our friends, our benefactors; in reſpect of whom there is no ground or temptation of Ill-ſpeaking; but even againſt the moſt unworthy and wicked perſons, againſt thoſe who moſt diſcoaſt in opinion and practice from us, againſt thoſe who never did oblige us, yea thoſe who have moſt diſobliged us, even againſt our moſt bitter and ſpiteful enemies. There is no exception or excuſe to be admitted from the quality, ſtate, relation, or demeanour of men; the duty (according to the proper ſenſe, or due qualifications and limits of the act) doth extend to all men: for, *ſpeak evil of no man.*

As for the act, it may be inquired what the word βλασφημεῖν, *to BLASPHEME*, doth import. I anſwer, that it is to vent words concerning any perſon which do ſignifie in us ill opinion, or contempt, anger, hatred, enmity conceived in our minds toward him; which are apt in him to kindle wrath, and breed ill blood toward us; which tend to beget in others that hear ill conceit, or ill-will toward him; which are much deſtructive of his reputation, prejudicial to his intereſts, productive of damage or miſchief to him. It is otherwiſe in ſcripture termed λοιδορεῖν, *to rail* or *revile*, (to uſe bitter and ignominious language;) ὀνειδίζειν, *to ſpeak contumeliouſly*; φέρειν βλάσφημον κρίσιν, *to bring railing accuſation*, (or reproachful cenſure;) καταλαλεῖν, to uſe *obloquy*, or *obtrectation*; καταρᾶσθαι, *to curſe*, that is, to ſpeak words importing that we do wiſh ill to a perſon.

Luke 11. 45. 2 Pet. 2. 11. Jud. 9. Jam. 4. 11. Rom. 12. 14. Luke 6. 28. (2 Sam. 16. 10.)

Such is the language we are prohibited to uſe. To which purpoſe we may obſerve, that whereas in our converſation and commerce with men, there do frequently occur occaſions to ſpeak of men and to men words apparently diſadvantageous to them, expreſſing our diſſent in opinion from them, or a diſlike in us of their proceedings, we may do this in different ways and terms; ſome of them gentle and moderate, ſignifying no ill mind or diſaffection toward them; others harſh and ſharp, arguing height of diſdain, diſguſt, or deſpite, whereby we bid them defiance, and ſhew that we mean to exaſperate them. Thus, telling a man that we differ in judgment from him, or conceive him not to be in the right, and calling him a lier, a deceiver, a fool; ſaying that he doth amiſs, taketh a wrong courſe, tranſgreſſeth the rule, and calling him diſhoneſt, unjuſt, wicked; (to omit more odious and provoking names, unbecoming this place, and not deſerving our notice;) are ſeveral ways of expreſſing the ſame things: whereof the latter, in relating paſſages concerning our neighbour, or in debating caſes with him is prohibited: for thus the words *reproaching*, *reviling*, *railing*, *curſing*, and the like, do ſignifie; and thus our Lord himſelf doth explain them, in his divine Sermon, wherein he doth enact this law; *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *ſhall ſay to his brother, RACA*, that is, vain man, or liar, *ſhall be in danger of the council: but whoſoever ſhall ſay, THOU FOOL, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire*; that is, he rendreth himſelf liable to a ſtrict account, and to ſevere condemnation before God, who uſeth contemptuous and contumelious expreſſions toward his neighbour, in proportion to the malignity of ſuch expreſſions.

(Acts 23. 3, 4, 5.)

Matt. 5. 22.

The reaſon of things alſo doth help to explain thoſe words, and to ſhew why they are prohibited: becauſe thoſe harſh terms are needleſs; mild words ſerving as well to expreſs the ſame things: becauſe they are commonly unjuſt, loading men with greater defect or blame than they can be proved to deſerve, or their actions do import: (for every man that ſpeaketh falſhood is not therefore a liar, every man

man that erreth is not thence a fool, every man that doth amiſs is not conſequently diſhoneſt or wicked; the ſecret intentions and the habitual diſpoſitions of men not being always to be collected from their outward actions: becauſe they are uncharitable, ſignifying that we entertain the worſt opinions of men, and make the worſt conſtruction of their doings, and are diſpoſed to ſhew them no favour or kindneſs: becauſe alſo they produce miſchievous effects, ſuch as ſpring from the worſt paſſions raiſed by them.

This in groſs is the meaning of the precept. But ſince there are ſome other precepts ſeeming to claſh with this; ſince there are caſes wherein we are allowed to uſe the harſher ſort of terms, there are great examples in appearance thwarting this rule; therefore it may be requiſite for determining the limits of our duty, and diſtinguiſhing it from trangreſſion, that ſuch exceptions or reſtrictions ſhould be ſomewhat declared.

1. Firſt then, we may obſerve, that it may be allowable to perſons any-wiſe concerned in the proſecution or adminiſtration of juſtice, to ſpeak words which in private intercourſe would be reproachful. A witneſs may impeach of crimes hurtful to juſtice, or publick tranquillity; a judge may challenge, may rebuke, may condemn an offender in proper terms, (or forms of ſpeech preſcribed by law) although moſt diſgraceful and diſtaſtful to the guilty: for it belongeth to the majeſty of publick juſtice to be bold, blunt, ſevere; little regarding the concerns or paſſions of particular perſons, in compariſon to the publick welfare.

A teſtimony therefore or ſentence againſt a criminal, which materially is a reproach, and morally would be ſuch in a private mouth, is not yet formally ſo according to the intent of this rule. For practices of this kind, which ſerve the exigencies of juſtice, are not to be interpreted as proceeding from anger, hatred, revenge, any bad paſſion or humour; but in way of needful diſcipline for God's ſervice, and common benefit of men. It is not indeed ſo much the miniſter of juſtice, as God himſelf, our abſolute Lord, as the ſovereign, God's repreſentative, acting in the publick behalf, as the commonwealth it ſelf, who by his mouth do rebuke the obnoxious perſon.

2. God's miniſters in religious affairs, to whom the care of mens inſtruction and edification is committed, are enabled to inveigh againſt ſin and vice, whoever conſequentially may be touched thereby: yea ſometimes it is their duty, with ſeverity and ſharpneſs to reprove particular perſons, not only privately, but publickly, in order to their correction, and edification of others.

Thus St. *Paul* directeth *Timothy*; *Them that ſin* (notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly, he meaneth) *rebuke before all, that others may fear:* that is in a manner apt to make impreſſion on the minds of the hearers, ſo as to ſcare them from like offences. And to *Titus* he writes, *Rebuke them ſharply, that they may be ſound in the faith.* And, *Cry aloud, ſpare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and ſhew my people their tranſgreſſions, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins*, ſaith the Lord to the prophet. Such are the charges and commiſſions laid on and granted to his meſſengers. 1 Tim. 5. 20. 2 Tim. 4. 2. Tit. 1. 13. Iſa. 58. 1.

Thus may we obſerve that God's prophets of old, St. *John* the baptiſt, our Lord himſelf, the holy apoſtles did in terms moſt vehement and biting reprove the age in which they lived, and ſome particular perſons in them. The prophets are full of declamations and invectives againſt the general corruption of their times, and againſt the particular manners of ſome perſons in them. *Ah ſinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a ſeed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters! They are all adulterers, an aſſembly of treacherous men; and they bend their tongues like their bow for lies.* **Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves, every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherleſs, neither doth the cauſe of the widow come before them.* †*The prophets propheſie falſly, and the prieſts rule by their means.* ‡ *As troops of robbers wait for a man, ſo the company of prieſts murther in the way by conſent, and commit lewdneſs.* Such is their ſtyle commonly. St. *John* the baptiſt calls the ſcribes and phariſees * *a generation of vipers.* Our ſaviour ſpeaketh of them in the ſame terms; calleth them an † *evil and adulterous generation, ſerpents, and children of vipers*; ‡ *hypocrites, painted ſepulchres, obſcure graves,* (μνημεῖα ἄδηλα,) *blina guides, fools and blind, children of the devil.* St. *Paul* likewiſe calleth the ſchiſmatical and *vide* Hier. *in* Pelag. 1. 9. Iſa. 1. 4. Jer. 9. 2, 3. * Iſa. 1. 23. Hoſ. 9. 15. Ezek. 22. 6, 27. †Jer. 5. 31. & 14. 14. ‡ Hoſ. 6. 9. Ezek. 22. 26. Mic. 3. 11. Zeph. 3. 4. * Matt. 3. 7. † Matt. 16. 4. & 12. 34, 39. ‡ Matt. 23. 13, &c. Mat. 15. 7, 14. & 16. 3. & 22. 18. Luk. 12. 1. & 11. 44. Matt. 23. 24, 17. Joh. 8. 44.

heretical teachers, * *dogs, falſe apoſtles, evil and deceitful workers, men of corrupt minds, reprobates and abominable.* With the like colours do St. *Peter*, St. *Jude*, and other the apoſtles paint them. Which ſort of ſpeeches are to be ſuppoſed to proceed, not from private paſſion or deſign, but out of holy zeal for God's honour, and from earneſt charity toward men, for to work their amendment and common edification. They were uttered alſo by ſpecial wiſdom and peculiar order; from God's authority and in his name: ſo that as God by them is ſaid to preach, to entreat, or warn, and to exhort, ſo by them alſo he may be ſaid to reprehend and reproach.

* Phil. 3. 2. 2 Cor. 11. 13. 1 Tim. 6. 5. 2 Tim. 3. 8. Tit. 1. 16. 2 Cor. 5. 20. Col. 1. 28.

3. Even private perſons in due ſeaſon, with diſcretion and temper, may reprove others, whom they obſerve to commit ſin, or follow bad courſes, out of charitable deſign, and with hope to reclaim them. This was an office of charity impoſed anciently even upon the *Jews*; much more doth it lie upon Chriſtians, who are obliged more earneſtly to tender the ſpiritual good of thoſe who by the ſtricter and more holy bands of brotherhood are allied to them. *Thou ſhalt not hate thy brother; thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, and not ſuffer ſin upon him*, was a precept of the old law: *and*, νουθετεῖν ἀτάκτους, *to admoniſh the diſorderly*, is an evangelical rule. Such perſons we are enjoined to ſhun and decline: but firſt we muſt endeavour by ſober advice and admonition to reclaim them; we muſt not thus reject them till they appear contumacious and incorrigible, refuſing to hear us, or becoming deaf to reproof. This although it neceſſarily doth include ſetting out their faults, and charging blame on them, (anſwerable to their offences,) is not the culpable reproach here meant, it being needful toward a wholſome effect, and proceeding from charitable intention.

Levit. 19. 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. 1 Tim. 6. 5. Rom. 16. 17. Tit. 3. 10. 2 Theſſ. 3. 6. Matt. 18. 17.

4. Some vehemency (ſome ſmartneſs and ſharpneſs) of ſpeech may ſometimes be uſed in defence of truth, and impugning errors of bad conſequence; eſpecially when it concerneth the intereſt of truth, that the reputation and authority of its adverſaries ſhould ſomewhat be abaſed or abated. If by a partial opinion or reverence toward them, however begotten in the minds of men, they ſtrive to overbear or diſcountenance a good cauſe, their faults (ſo far as truth permitteth and need requireth) may be detected and diſplayed. For this cauſe particularly may we preſume our Lord (otherwiſe ſo meek in his temper, and mild in his carriage toward all men) did characterize the *Jewiſh* ſcribes in ſuch terms, that their authority (being then ſo prevalent with the people) might not prejudice the truth, and hinder the efficacy of his doctrine. This is part of that ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ πίστει, that duty of *contending earneſtly for the faith*, which is incumbent on us.

Jud. 3.

5. It may be excuſable upon particular emergent occaſions, with ſome heat of language to expreſs diſlike of notorious wickedneſs. As our Lord doth againſt the perverſe incredulity and ſtupidity in the phariſees, their profane miſconſtruction of his words and actions, their malicious oppoſing truth, and obſtructing his endeavours in God's ſervice. As St. *Peter* did to *Simon Magus*, telling him, that he *was in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity*. As St. *Paul* to *Elymas* the ſorcerer, when he *withſtood him, and deſired to turn away the deputy, Sergius, from the faith*; *O* (ſaid he, ſtirr'd with a holy zeal and indignation) *thou full of all ſubtlety and all miſchief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs, wilt thou not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord?* The ſame ſpirit which enabled him to inflict a ſore puniſhment on that wicked wretch, did prompt him to uſe that ſharp language toward him; unqueſtionably deſerved, and ſeaſonably pronounced. As alſo, when the high prieſt commanded him illegally and unjuſtly to be miſuſed, that ſpeech from a mind juſtly ſenſible of ſuch outrage broke forth, *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited wall.* So, when St. *Peter* preſumptuouſly would have diſſuaded our Lord from compliance with God's will, in undergoing thoſe croſſes which were appointed to him by God's decree, our Lord calleth him *Satan*;——Ὕπαγε, Σατανᾶ, *Avant, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that are of men.*

Matt. 17. 17. Acts 8. 23. Acts 13. 8, 10. Acts 23. 3. Matt. 16. 23.

Theſe ſort of ſpeeches, iſſuing from juſt and honeſt indignation, are ſometimes excuſable, oftentimes commendable; eſpecially when they come from perſons eminent in authority, of notable integrity, endued with ſpecial meaſures of divine grace, of wiſdom, of goodneſs; ſuch as cannot be ſuſpected of intemperate anger, of ill nature, of ill will, of ill deſign.

In

In ſuch caſes as are above mentioned, a ſort of *Evil-ſpeaking* about our neighbour may be allowable or excuſable. But for fear of over-doing, great caution and temper is to be uſed; and we ſhould never apply any ſuch limitations as cloaks to palliate unjuſt or uncharitable dealing. Generally it is more adviſable, to ſuppreſs ſuch eruptions of paſſion, than to vent it; for ſeldom paſſion hath not inordinate motions joyned with it, or tendeth to good ends. And however it will do well to reflect on thoſe caſes, and to remark ſome particulars about them.

Firſt, We may obſerve, that in all theſe caſes all poſſible moderation, equity and candour are to be uſed; ſo that no Ill-ſpeaking be practiſed beyond what is needful or convenient. Even in proſecution of offences, the bounds of truth, of equity, of humanity and clemency are not to be tranſgreſſed. A judge may not lay on the moſt criminal perſon more blame, or contumely, than the caſe will bear, or than ſerveth the deſigns of juſtice. However our neighbour doth incurr the calamities of ſin and of puniſhment, we muſt not be inſolent or contemptuous toward him. So we may learn by that law of *Moſes*, back'd with a notable reaſon: *And it ſhall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the Judge cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number. Forty ſtripes he may give him, and not exceed; leſt if he ſhould exceed, and beat him above thoſe ſtripes, then thy brother ſhould ſeem vile unto thee.* Whence appears, that we ſhould be careful of not vilifying an offender beyond meaſure. And how mildly governors ſhould proceed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, the example of *Joſhua* may teach us, who thus examineth *Achan*, the cauſe of ſo great miſchief to the publick; *My ſon, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion unto him; and tell me now what thou haſt done, hide it not from me. My ſon*, what compellation could be more benign and kind? *I pray thee*, what language could be more courteous and gentle? *Give glory to God, and make confeſſion*; what words could be more inoffenſively pertinent? And when he ſentenced that great malefactor, the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, this was all he ſaid, *Why haſt thou troubled us? The Lord will trouble thee*; words void of contumely or inſulting, containing only a cloſe intimation of the cauſe, and a ſimple declaration of the event he was to undergo.

Deut. 25. 2, 3.

Joſh. 7. 19, 25.

Secondly, likewiſe miniſters, in the taxing ſin and ſinners, are to proceed with great diſcretion and caution, with much gentleneſs and meekneſs; ſignifying a tender pity of their infirmities, charitable deſires of their good, the beſt opinion of them, and the beſt hopes for them, that may conſiſt with any reaſon; according to thoſe apoſtolical rules: *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual, reſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſs; conſidering thy ſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted:* and, *We that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves:* and more expreſly, *A ſervant of the Lord muſt not fight, but be gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.* Thus did St. *Peter* temper his reproof of *Simon Magus* with this wholeſome and comfortable advice; *Repent therefore from this thy wickedneſs, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.*

Gal. 6. 1. Rom. 15. 1. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. Acts 8. 22.

Thirdly, As for fraternal correption and reproof of faults, (when it is juſt and expedient to uſe it,) ordinarily the * calmeſt and mildeſt way is the moſt proper, and moſt likely to obtain good ſucceſs: it commonly doth † in a more kindly manner convey the ſenſe thereof into the heart, and therein more powerfully worketh remorſe, than the fierce and harſh way. Clearly to ſhew a man his fault, with the reaſon proving it ſuch ſo that he becometh throughly convinced of it, is ſufficient to breed in him regret, and to ſhame him before his own mind: to do more (in way of aggravation, of inſulting on him, of inveighing againſt him,) as it doth often not well conſiſt with humanity, ſo it is ſeldom conſonant to diſcretion, if we do, as we ought, ſeek his health and amendment. Humanity requireth, that when we undertake to reform our neighbour, we ſhould take care not to deform him; (not to diſcourage or diſpleaſe him more than is neceſſary;) when we would correct his manners, that we ſhould alſo conſider his modeſty, and conſult his reputation; *curam agentes* (as *Seneca* ſpeaketh) *non tantùm*

* *Reprehenſio contumeliâ vacare debet. Neque monitio aſpera ſit, nec objurgatio contumelioſa.* Ambroſ. *de Offic.* 3. 16.

‡ Prov. 17. 10. *A reproof entereth more into a wiſe man, than an hundred ſtripes into a fool.*

Ὁ ὀδηγὸς, ὅταν λάβῃ τινὰ πλανώμενον, ἄγαγεν ἐπὶ ὁδὸν τ δίκαιαν· ἀχὶ καταστελάσας ὁ λοιδορητάμβων ἀπῆλθε. κ σὺ δεῖξον αὐτῳ τ ἀλήθειαν, κ ὄψει ὅτι ἀκολουθεῖ, &c. *Epict.* 2. 12.

Sen. *de Clem.* 1. 7.

Vide Chryſ. *in* Matt. 9. 8. *Or.* 29.

Ità ſuccenſe iniquitati, ut conſulere memineris humanitati. Aug.

Ζῆλον φιλανθρωπίας κινὸς, ὁ ζῆλος, &c.

tùm ſalutis, ſed & honeſtæ cicatricis, having care not only to heal the wound, but to leave a comely ſcar behind. *Be* (adviſeth St. *Auſtin*) *ſo diſpleaſed with iniquity, as to conſider and conſult humanity:* for, *zeal void of humanity, is not,* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*) *zeal, but rather animoſity; and reproof not mixt with good will, appeareth a kind of malignity.* We ſhould ſo rebuke thoſe thoſe who, by frailty or folly incident to mankind, have fallen into miſdemeanors, that they may perceive we do ſincerely pity their ill caſe, and tender their good; that we mean not to upbraid their weakneſs, or inſult upon their misfortune; that we delight not to inflict on them more grief than is plainly needful and unavoidable; that we are conſcious and ſenſible of our own obnoxiouſneſs to the like ſlips or falls, and do *conſider, that we alſo may be tempted,* and being tempted may be over-born. This they cannot perceive, or be perſuaded of, except we temper our ſpeech with benignity and mildneſs. Such ſpeech * prudence alſo dictateth, as moſt uſeful and hopeful for producing the good ends honeſt reprehenſion doth aim at; it mollifieth and it melteth a ſtubborn heart, it ſubdueth and winneth a perverſe will, it healeth diſtempered affections. Whereas roughly handling is apt to defeat or obſtruct the cure; rubbing the ſore doth tend to exaſperate and inflame it. Harſh ſpeech rendreth advice odious and unſavoury; driveth from it, and depriveth it of efficacy: it turneth regret for a fault into diſpleaſure and diſdain againſt the reprover: it looks not like the dealing of a kind friend, but like the perſecution of a ſpiteful enemy: it ſeemeth rather an ebullition of gall, or a defluxion from rancor, than an expreſſion of good will: the offender will take it for a needleſs and pitileſs tormenting, or for a proud and tyrannical domineering over him. He that can bear a friendly touch, will not endure to be laſhed with angry and reproachful words. In fine, all reproof ought to be ſeaſoned with diſcretion, with candour, with moderation and meekneſs.

Gal. 6. 1.

* *Pleaſant words are as an hony-comb, ſweet to the ſoul, and health to the bones.* Prov. 16. 24.

A ſoft anſwer turneth away wrath; but grievous words ſtir up anger. Prov. 15. 1.

2 Theſſ. 3. 15. Μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

Fourthly, Likewiſe in defence of truth, and maintenance of a good cauſe, we may obſerve, that commonly the faireſt language is moſt proper and advantageous, and that reproachful or foul terms are moſt improper and prejudicial. A calm and meek way of diſcourſing doth much advantage a good cauſe, as arguing the patron thereof to have confidence in the cauſe it ſelf, and to relie upon its ſtrength; that he is in a temper fit to apprehend it himſelf, and to maintain it; that he propoundeth it as a friend, wiſhing the hearer for his own good to follow it, leaving him the liberty to judge, and chuſe for himſelf. But rude ſpeech, and contemptuous reflexions on perſons, as they do ſignifie nothing to the queſtion, ſo they commonly bring much diſadvantage and damage to the cauſe, creating mighty prejudices againſt it: they argue much impotency in the advocate, and conſequently little ſtrength in what he maintains; that he is little able to judge well, and altogether unapt to teach others: they intimate a diffidence in himſelf concerning his cauſe, and that, deſpairing to maintain it by reaſon, he ſeeks to uphold it by paſſion; that, not being able to convince by fair means, he would bear down by noiſe and clamour; that, not skilling to get his ſuit quietly, he would extort it by force, obtruding his conceits violently as an enemy, or impoſing them arbitrarily as a tyrant. Thus doth he really diſparage and ſlur his cauſe, however good and defenſible in it ſelf.

Qui dum dicit, malus videtur, utique male dicit. Quint. 6. 2.

Niſi quòd imperitos etiam animoſos atque iracundos eſſe manifeſtum eſt, dum per inopiam conſilii & ſermonis ad iracundiam facile vertuntur. Firmil. *apud* Cyp. *Ep.* 75.

A modeſt and friendly ſtyle doth ſuite truth; it, like its author, doth uſually reſide (not in the rumbling *wind*, nor in the ſhaking *earthquake*, nor in the raging *fire*, but) in *the ſmall voice:* ſounding in this, it is moſt audible, moſt penetrant, and moſt effectual: thus propounded, it is willingly hearkned to; for men have no averſation from hearing thoſe who ſeem to love them, and wiſh them well. It is eaſily conceived; no prejudice or paſſion clouding the apprehenſive faculties, it is readily embraced; no animoſity withſtanding or obſtructing it. It is *the ſweetneſs of the lips*, which (as the wiſe man telleth us) *encreaſeth learning*; diſpoſing a man to hear leſſons of good doctrine, rendring him

1 King. 19. 11, 12.

Prov. 16. 21.

——— *inhumanum eſt, & ipſi qui dicit inutile; tum cauſæ contrarium, quia plane & adverſarii fiunt, & inimici: & quantulumcunque his virium eſt, contumeliâ augetur.* Quint. 12. 9.

him capable to underſtand them, inſinuating and impreſſing them upon the mind: the affections being thereby unlocked, the paſſage becomes open to the reaſon.

Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντά τι τῶν χρησίμων μαθεῖν, πρὸς τὸν ἄλλων πάντων ἡδέως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκοντα.——ἡδέως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τις σχοίη πρὸς τὸν θορυβοῦντα καὶ τὸν ὑβρίζοντα. Chryſ. *in* 2 Tim. *Or.* 6.

But it is plainly a very prepoſterous method of inſtructing, of deciding controverſies, of begetting peace, to vex and anger thoſe concerned by ill language. Nothing ſurely doth more hinder the efficacy of diſcourſe, and prevent conviction, than doth this courſe, upon many obvious accounts. It doth firſt put in a ſtrong bar to attention: for no man willingly doth afford an ear to him, whom he conceiveth diſaffected toward him; which opinion harſh words infallibly will produce: no man can expect to hear truth from him, whom he apprehendeth diſordered in his own mind, whom he ſeeth rude in his proceedings, whom he taketh to be unjuſt in his dealing; as men certainly will take thoſe to be, who preſume to revile others for uſing their own judgment freely, and diſſenting from them in opinion. Again, this courſe doth blind the hearer's mind, ſo that he cannot diſcern what he that pretends to inſtruct him doth mean, or how he doth aſſert his doctrine. Truth will not be diſcerned through the ſmoak of wrathful expreſſions; right being defaced by foul language will not appear; paſſion being excited will not ſuffer a man to perceive the ſenſe or the force of an argument. The will alſo thereby is hardned and hindred from ſubmitting to truth. In ſuch a caſe, *non perſuadebis, etiamſi perſuaſeris*; although you ſtop his mouth, you cannot ſubdue his heart; although he can no longer fight, yet he never will yield: animoſity raiſed by ſuch uſage rendreth him invincibly obſtinate in his conceits and courſes. Briefly, from this proceeding men become unwilling to mark, unfit to apprehend, indiſpoſed to embrace any good inſtruction or advice: it maketh them indocil and intractable, averſe from better inſtruction, pertinacious in their opinions, and refractary in their ways.

Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ὠφέλησας ἐν τῇ χρηστότητι, τοῦτον ἐπιλλύεις τῇ θορυβώδει. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 26.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπαιδεύτως παιδεύομαι, οὐδὲ ταῖς ὕβρεσι βάλλομαι, ὅπερ πάσχουσι οἱ πολλοί, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μαχόμενοι, πῶς δ' οὐ λίαν ἀθένειάν ἐστιν ὅτι τοῖς λοιδορίαν ταῖς ὕβρεσι συγκαλύπτοντες. Naz. *Or.* 32.

Ὅταν πρός τινα ἁπλῶς ἔχωμεν, κἂν ὑγιές τι λέξῃ, οὐ πεμβύμως οὐδὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς δεχόμεθα τὰ λεγόμενα. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

Every man (ſaith the wiſe man) *ſhall kiſs his lips that giveth a right anſwer:* but no man ſurely will be ready to kiſs thoſe lips which are embittered with reproach, or defiled with dirty language. Prov. 24. 26.

It is ſaid of *Pericles*, that *with thundring and lightning he put* Greece *into confuſion:* ſuch diſcourſe may ſerve to confound things, it ſeldom tendeth to compoſe them. If reaſon will not pierce, rage will ſcarce avail to drive it in. Satyrical virulency may vex men ſorely, but it hardly ever ſoundly converts them. *Few become wiſer or better by ill words.* Children may be frighted into compliance by loud and ſevere increpations; but men are to be allured by rational perſuaſion back'd with courteous uſage: they may be ſweetly drawn, they cannot be violently driven to change their judgment and practice. Whence that advice of the apoſtle, *With meekneſs inſtruct thoſe that oppoſe themſelves*, doth no leſs ſavour of wiſdom, than of goodneſs. 2 Tim. 2. 25.

Βροντῶν καὶ ἀστράπτων ἐκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Chryſ. *in* 2 Tim. 2. 24.

Ὁ δὲ σφοδρὸς ἔλεγχος, ὅταν μετ' ἐπιεικείας γένηται, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ μάλιστα δακεῖν δυνάμενον· ἔνεστι γάρ, ἔνεστι μετὰ πραότητος καθάψασθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ μετὰ θορυβώδους στρέψαι.

Fifthly, As for the examples of extraordinary perſons, which in ſome caſes do ſeem to authorize the practice of evil-ſpeaking, we may conſider, that as they had eſpecial commiſſion enabling them to do ſome things beyond ordinary ſtanding rules, wherein they are not to be imitated; as they had ſpecial illumination and direction, which preſerved them from ſwerving in particular caſes from truth and equity; ſo the tenour of their life did evidence, that it was the glory of God, the good of men, the neceſſity of the caſe, which moved them to it. And of them alſo we may obſerve, that in divers occaſions, (yea generally, whenever only their private credit or intereſt were concerned,) altho' grievouſly provoked, they did out of meekneſs, patience and charity, wholly forbear reproachful ſpeech. Our ſaviour, who ſometimes upon ſpecial reaſon in his diſcourſes, uſed ſuch harſh words, yet when he was moſt ſpitefully accuſed, reproached

This caſe is like the other caſes, wherein the practice of good and great men, although excuſable, is not yet exemplary: as the heroical acts of David, *of* Sampſon, *of* Ehud, *of* Phineas, *of* Elias, *of* Moſes; David's *duel*, Sampſon's *ſuicide*, Moſes's *ſlaying the* Egyptian, Ehud's *ſtabbing the King of* Moab, Elias's *calling for fire, by extraordinary and peculiar inſtinct.*

reproached and perſecuted, *did not open his mouth*, or return one angry word:
1 Pet. 2. 23. *Being reviled, he did not* (as St. *Peter*, propoſing his example to us, telleth us) *revile again*; *ſuffering, he did not threaten.* He uſed the ſofteſt language to *Judas*, to the ſoldiers, to *Pilate* and *Herod*, to the Prieſts, *&c.* And the apoſtles, who ſometimes inveigh ſo zealouſly againſt the oppoſers and perverters of truth, did in their private converſation and demeanor ſtrictly obſerve their own rules of
1 Cor. 4. 12. abſtinence from reproach: *Being reviled we bleſs, being perſecuted we ſuffer*
Rom. 12. 14. *it*; ſo doth St. *Paul* repreſent their practice. And in reaſon we ſhould rather follow them in this their ordinary courſe, than in their extraordinary ſallies of practice.

In fine, however in ſome caſes and circumſtances the matter may admit ſuch exceptions, ſo that all language diſgraceful to our neighbour is not ever culpable; yet the caſes are ſo few and rare in compariſon, the practice commonly ſo dangerous and tickliſh, that worthily forbearing to reproach doth bear the ſtyle of a general rule: and particularly, (for clearer direction,) we are in the following caſes obliged carefully to ſhun it; or in ſpeaking about our neighbour we muſt obſerve theſe cautions.

1. We ſhould never in ſevere terms inveigh againſt any man without reaſonable warrant, or preſuming upon a good call and commiſſion thereto. As every man ſhould not aſſume to himſelf the power of adminiſtring juſtice, (of trying, ſentencing and puniſhing offenders,) ſo muſt not every man take upon him to ſpeak againſt thoſe who ſeem to do ill; which is a ſort of puniſhment, including the infliction of ſmart and damage upon the perſons concerned. Every man hath indeed a commiſſion, in due place and ſeaſon, with diſcretion and moderation to admoniſh his neighbour offending; but otherwiſe to ſpeak ill of him, no private man hath juſt right or authority: and therefore in preſuming to do it, he is diſorderly and irregular, treſpaſſing beyond his bounds, uſurping an undue power to himſelf.

2. We ſhould never ſpeak ill of any man without apparent juſt cauſe. It muſt be juſt: we muſt not reproach men for things innocent or indifferent; for not concurring in diſputable opinions with us, for not complying with our humour, for not ſerving our intereſt, for not doing any thing to which they are not obliged, or for uſing their liberty in any caſe: it muſt be at leaſt ſome conſiderable fault, which we can ſo much as tax. It muſt alſo be clear and certain, notorious and palpable; for to ſpeak ill upon ſlender conjectures, or doubtful ſuſpicions, is full of iniquity.
Jude 10. Ὅσα οὐκ οἴδασι, βλασφημοῦσι, *They rail at things which they know not*, is part of thoſe wicked mens character, whom St. *Jude* doth ſo ſeverely reprehend. If indeed, theſe conditions being wanting, we preſume to reproach any man, we do therein no leſs than ſlander him; which to do is unlawful in any caſe, is in truth a moſt diabolical and deteſtable crime. To impoſe odious names and characters on any perſon, which he deſerveth not, or without ground of truth, is to play the devil; and hell it ſelf will ſcarce own a fouler practice.

3. We ſhould not caſt reproach upon any man without ſome neceſſary reaſon.
Prov. 10. 12. In charity (that *charity* which *covereth all ſins*, which *covereth a multitude of*
1 Pet. 4. 8. *ſins*) we are bound to connive at the defects, and to conceal the faults of our bre-
1 Cor. 13. 4. thren; to extenuate and excuſe them, when apparent, ſo far as we may in truth and equity. We muſt not therefore ever produce them to light, or proſecute them with ſeverity, except very needful occaſion urgeth: ſuch as is the glory and ſervice of God, the maintenance of truth, the vindication of innocence, the preſervation of publick juſtice and peace; the amendment of our neighbour himſelf, or ſecuring others from contagion. Barring ſuch reaſons, (really being, not affectedly pretended,) we are bound not ſo much as to diſcloſe, as to touch our neighbour's faults; much more, not to blaze them about, not to exaggerate them by vehement invectives.

4. We ſhould never ſpeak ill of any man beyond meaſure: be the cauſe never ſo juſt, the occaſion never ſo neceſſary, we ſhould yet no-wiſe be immoderate therein, exceeding the bounds preſcribed by truth, equity and humanity. We ſhould never ſpeak worſe of any man whatever than he certainly deſerveth, according to the moſt favourable conſtruction of his doings; never more than the cauſe abſolutely requireth. We ſhould rather be careful to fall ſhort of what in rigorous truth might be ſaid againſt him, than in the leaſt to paſs beyond it. The beſt cauſe had better ſeem to ſuffer a little by our reſervedneſs in its defence, than any

man

man be wronged by our aſperſing him; for God, the patron of truth and right, is ever able to ſecure them without the ſuccour of our unjuſt and uncharitable dealing. The contrary practice hath indeed within it a ſpice of ſlander, that is, of the worſt iniquity.

5. We muſt never ſpeak ill of any man out of bad principles, or for bad ends. No ſudden or raſh anger ſhould inſtigate us thereto. For, *Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and Evil-ſpeaking, be put away from you, with all malice*, is the apoſtolical precept: they are all aſſociates and kindred, which are to be caſt away together. Such anger it ſelf is culpable, as a work of the fleſh, and therefore to be ſuppreſſed; and all its brood therefore is alſo to be ſmothered: the daughter of ſuch a mother cannot be legitimate. *The wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſs of God.* Eph. 4. 31. Col. 3. 8. Jam. 1. 20.

We muſt not ſpeak ill out of inveterate hatred or ill will. For this murtherous, this viperous diſpoſition ſhould it ſelf be rooted out of our hearts: whatever iſſueth from it cannot be otherwiſe than very bad; it muſt be a poiſonous breath that exhaleth from that foul ſource.

We muſt not be provoked thereto by any revengeful diſpoſition, or rancorous ſpleen, in regard to any injuries or diſcourteſies received. For, as we muſt not revenge our ſelves, or render evil in any other way; ſo particularly not in this, which is commonly the ſpecial inſtance expreſſly prohibited. *Render not evil for evil* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *nor railing for railing; but contrariwiſe bleſs*, or ſpeak well: and, *Bleſs them* (ſaith our Lord) *which curſe you: Bleſs* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *and curſe not.* 1 Pet. 3. 9. Matt. 5. 44. Rom. 12. 14.

We muſt not do it alſo out of contempt: for we are not to ſlight our brethren in our hearts. No man really (conſidering what he is, whence he came, how he is related, what he is capable of) can be deſpicable. Extreme naughtineſs is indeed contemptible; but the unhappy perſon that is engaged therein, is rather to be pitied, than deſpiſed. However, charity bindeth us to ſtifle contemptuous motions of heart, and not to vent them in vilifying expreſſion. Particularly, it is a barbarous practice, out of contempt to reproach perſons for natural imperfections, for meanneſs of condition, for unlucky diſaſters, for any involuntary defects: this being indeed to reproach mankind, unto which ſuch things are incident; to reproach providence from the diſpoſal whereof they do proceed. *Whoſo mocketh the poor, deſpiſeth his maker*, ſaith the wiſeman: and the ſame may be ſaid of him that reproachfully mocketh him that is dull in parts, deformed in body, weak in health or ſtrength, or defective in any ſuch way. Deut. 25. 3. *He that is void of wiſdom deſpiſeth his neighbour.* Prov. 11. 12. Prov. 17. 5.

Likewiſe we muſt not ſpeak ill out of envy; becauſe others do excel us in any good quality, or exceed us in fortune. To harbour this baſe and ugly diſpoſition in our minds is unworthy of a man, (who ſhould delight in all good ſpringing up any where, and befalling any man, naturally allied unto him;) it is moſt unworthy of a chriſtian, who ſhould tender his brother's good as his own, and *rejoyce with thoſe that rejoyce.* From thence to be drawn to caſt reproach upon any man, is horrible and hainous wickedneſs. Rom. 12. 15.

Neither ſhould we ever uſe reproach as a means of compaſſing any deſign we do affect or aim at: 'tis an unwarrantable engine of raiſing us to wealth, dignity or repute. To grow by the diminution, to riſe by the depreſſion, to ſhine by the eclipſe of others, to build a fortune upon the ruins of our neighbour's reputation, is that which no honourable mind can affect, no honeſt man will endeavour. Our own wit, courage and induſtry, managed with God's aſſiſtance and bleſſing, are ſufficient, and only lawful inſtruments of proſecuting honeſt enterpriſes; we need not, we muſt not in ſtead of them employ our neighbour's diſgrace: no worldly good is worth purchaſing at ſuch a rate, no project worth achieving by ſuch foul ways.

Neither ſhould we out of malignity, to cheriſh or gratifie ill humour, uſe this practice. It is obſervable of ſome perſons, that not out of any formed diſpleaſure, grudge, or particular diſaffection, nor out of any particular deſign, but merely out of a κακοήθεια, an ill diſpoſition, ſpringing up from nature, or contracted by uſe, they are apt to carp at any action, and with ſharp reproach to bite any man that comes in their way, thereby feeding and ſoothing that evil inclination. But as this inhumane and curriſh humour ſhould be corrected, and extirpated from our hearts; ſo ſhould the iſſues thereof at our mouths be ſtopped: the beſpatter-

ing our neighbour's good name ſhould never afford any ſatisfaction or delight unto us.

Nor out of wantonneſs ſhould we ſpeak ill, for our divertiſement or ſport. For our neighbour's reputation is too great and pretious a thing to be played with, or offered up to ſport; we are very fooliſh in ſo diſvaluing it, very naughty in ſo miſuſing it. Our wits are very barren, our brains are ill furniſhed with ſtore of knowledge, if we can find no other matter of converſation.

Nor out of negligence and inadvertency ſhould we ſputter out reproachful ſpeech; ſhooting ill words at rovers, or not regarding who ſtands in our way. Among all temerities this is one of the moſt noxious, and therefore very culpable.

In fine, we ſhould never ſpeak concerning our neighbour from any other principle than charity, or to any other intent but what is charitable; ſuch as tendeth
1 Cor. 16. 14. to his good, or at leaſt is conſiſtent therewith. *Let all your things* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *be done in charity:* and words are moſt of the *things* we do concerning our neighbour, wherein we may expreſs charity. In all our ſpeeches therefore touching him, we ſhould plainly ſhew that we have a care of his reputation, that we tender his intereſt, that we even deſire his content and repoſe. Even when reaſon and need do ſo require, that we ſhould diſcloſe and reprehend his faults, we may, we ſhould by the manner and ſcope of our ſpeech ſignifie thus much. Which rule, were it obſerved, if we ſhould never ſpeak ill otherwiſe than out of charity, ſurely moſt Ill-ſpeaking would be cut off; moſt, I fear, of our tattling about others, much of our goſſiping would be marr'd.

Indeed ſo far from bitter or ſour our language ſhould be, that it ought to be ſweet and pleaſant; ſo far from rough and harſh, that it ſhould be courteous and obliging; ſo far from ſignifying wrath, ill-will, contempt or animoſity, that it
Prov. 15. 26. & 16. 24. ſhould expreſs tender affection, good eſteem, ſincere reſpect toward our brethren; and be apt to produce the like in them toward us: the ſenſe of them ſhould be grateful to the heart; the very ſound and accent of them ſhould be delightful to
Rom. 15. 2. 1 Cor. 10. 33. the ear. *Every one* ſhould *pleaſe his neighbour for his good to edification.* Our
Col. 4. 6. *words* ſhould *always be* ἐν χάριτι, *with grace, ſeaſoned with ſalt*; they ſhould have the grace of courteſie, they ſhould be ſeaſoned with the ſalt of diſcretion, ſo as to be ſweet and ſavoury to the hearers. Commonly ill language is a certain ſign of inward enmity and ill-will. Good-will is wont to ſhew it ſelf in good terms; it cloatheth even its grief handſomely, and its diſpleaſure carrieth favour in its face; its rigor is civil and gentle, temper'd with pity for the faults and errors which it diſliketh, with the deſire of their amendment and recovery whom it reprehendeth. It would inflict no more evil than is neceſſary; it would cure its neighbour's diſeaſe without exaſperating his patience, troubling his modeſty, or impairing his credit. As it always judgeth candidly, ſo it never condemneth extremely.

Charitas—cùm arguit mitis eſt, cùm blanditur ſimplex eſt: pie ſolet ſævire, ſine dolo mulcere; patienter novit iraſci, humiliter indignari. S. Bern. *Ep.* 2.

II. But ſo much for the explication of this precept, and the directive part of our diſcourſe. I ſhall now briefly propound ſome inducements to the obſervance thereof.

1. Let us conſider, that nothing more than railing and reviling is oppoſite to the nature, and inconſiſtent with the tenour of our religion; the which (as even a heathen did obſerve of it) *nil niſi juſtum ſuadet, & lene; doth recommend nothing but what is very juſt and mild:* which propoundeth the practices of charity, meekneſs, patience, peaceableneſs, moderation, equity, alacrity or good humour, as its principal laws, and declareth them the chief fruits of the divine ſpirit and grace: which chargeth us to curb and compoſe all our paſſions; more particularly to reſtrain and repreſs anger, animoſity, envy, malice, and ſuch like diſpoſitions, as the fruits of carnality and corrupt luſt: which conſequently drieth up all the ſources, or dammeth up the
1 Pet. 4. 8. ſluices of bad language. As it doth *above all things* oblige us to bear no ill-will in our hearts, ſo it chargeth us to vent none with our mouths.

Ammian. Marcell.

Lingua Chriſtiana confeſſa non ſit maledica, non turbulenta, non convitiis & litibus perſtrepens audiatur. Cypr. *de Unit. Eccl.*

Convitiis & maledictis quaſo vos abſtinete; quia neque maledici regnum Dei conſequentur; & lingua quæ Chriſtum confeſſa eſt, incolumis & pura cum ſuo honore ſervanda eſt. Cypr. *Ep.* 7.

2. It is therefore often expreſſly condemned and prohibited as evil. 'Tis the pro-
Pſal. 64. 3. perty of the wicked, a character of thoſe who *work iniquity*, to *whet their tongues like a ſword, and bend their bows to ſhoot their arrows, even bitter words.*

3. No practice hath more ſevere puniſhments denounced to it than this. The railer (and it is indeed a very proper and fit puniſhment for him, he being exceedingly bad company) is to be baniſhed out of all good ſociety; thereto St. *Paul* adjudgeth him: *I have* (ſaith he) *now written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one not to eat.* Ye ſee what company the railer hath in the text, and with what a crew of people he is coupled: but no good company he is allowed other-where; every good Chriſtian ſhould avoid him as a blot, and a peſt of converſation: and finally he is ſure to be excluded from the bleſſed ſociety above in heaven; for *——*neither thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God:* and, † *Without* (without the heavenly city) *are dogs,* (ſaith St. *John* in his *Revelation,*) that is, thoſe chiefly, who out of curriſh ſpite or malignity do frowardly bark at their neighbours, or cruelly bite them with reproachful language. 1 Cor. 5. 11.

Hinc intelligere poſſumus quàm gravis ſit & perniciosa maledictio, quando, etiamſi alia bona adfuerint, ſola excludit à cœlo. Salv. *de Guber. Dei, lib.* 3.
* 1 Cor. 6. 10.
† Apoc. 22. 15.

4 If we look upon ſuch language in its own nature, what is it but a ſymptom of a foul, a weak, a diſordered and diſtempered mind? 'Tis the ſmoak of inward rage and malice: 'tis a ſtream that cannot iſſue from a ſweet ſpring: 'tis a ſtorm that cannot bluſter out of a calm region. *The words of the pure are pleaſant words,* as the wiſe man ſaith. Prov. 15. 26.

5. This practice doth plainly ſignifie low ſpirit, ill breeding and bad manners; and thence misbecometh any wiſe, any honeſt, any honourable perſon. It agreeth to children, who are unapt and unaccuſtomed to deal in matters conſiderable, to ſquabble; to women of meaneſt rank, (apt by nature, or cuſtom, to be tranſported with paſſion,) to ſcold. In our modern languages it is termed *Villany,* as being proper for ruſtick boors, or men of courſeſt education and employment; who, having their minds debaſed by being converſant in meaneſt affairs, do vent their ſorry paſſions, and bicker about their petty concernments, in ſuch ſtrains; who alſo, being not capable of a fair reputation, or ſenſible of diſgrace to themſelves, do little value the credit of others, or care for aſperſing it. But ſuch language is unworthy of thoſe perſons, and cannot eaſily be drawn from them, who are wont to exerciſe their thoughts about nobler matters, who are verſed in affairs manageable only by calm deliberation and fair perſuaſion, not by impetuous and provocative rudeneſs; the which do never work otherwiſe upon maſculine ſouls, than ſo as to procure diſdain, and reſiſtance. Such perſons, knowing the benefit of a good name, being wont to poſſeſs a good repute, prizing their own credit as a conſiderable good, will never be prone to bereave others of the like by opprobrious ſpeech. A noble enemy will never ſpeak of his enemy in bad terms.

In quo admirari ſoleo gravitatem & juſtitiam & ſapientiam Cæſaris, qui nunquam niſi honorificentiſſimè Pompeium appellat. Cic. *Epiſt. Tom.* 6. 6.

We may farther conſider, that all wiſe, all honeſt, all ingenuous perſons have an averſion from Ill-ſpeaking, and cannot entertain it with any acceptance or complaiſance; that only ill-natured, unworthy and naughty people are its willing auditors, or do abett it with applauſe. The good man, in the 15th pſalm, *non accipit opprobrium, doth not take up,* or accept, *a reproach againſt his neighbour:* but *a wicked doer* (ſaith the wiſeman) *giveth heed to falſe lips, and a liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue.* And what reaſonable man will do that which is diſguſtful to the wiſe and good, is grateful only to the fooliſh and baſer ſort of men? I pretermit, that uſing this ſort of language doth incapacitate a man for to benefit his neighbour, and defeateth his endeavours for his edification, diſparaging a good cauſe, prejudicing the defence of truth, obſtructing the effects of good inſtruction and wholeſome reproof; as we did before remark and declare. Farther. Pſal. 15. 3. Prov. 17. 4.

It is always taken as an argument of ill-will. *Maledicus à maleſico non diſtat, niſi occaſione.* Quint. 12. 9.

8. He that uſeth this kind of ſpeech doth, as harm and trouble others, ſo create many great inconveniences and miſchiefs to himſelf thereby. Nothing ſo inflameth the wrath of men, ſo provoketh their enmity, ſo breedeth laſting hatred and ſpite, as do contumelious words. They are often * called *ſwords and arrows*; and as

* *The ſcourge of the tongue.* Job. 5. 21. Prov. 12. 18. *There is that ſpeaketh like the piercings of a ſword.* Pſal. 57. 4. & 59. 7. & 64. 3. Pſal. 52. 2. *ſharp raſor.* Prov. 30. 14. *knives.*

ſuch they pierce deeply, and cauſe moſt grievous ſmart; which men feeling are enraged, and accordingly will ſtrive to * requite them in the like manner, and in all other obvious ways of revenge. Hence ſtrife, clamour and tumult, care, ſuſpicion and fear, danger and trouble, ſorrow and regret, do ſeize on the reviler; and he is ſufficiently puniſhed for this dealing. No man can otherwiſe than live in perpetual fear of reciprocal like uſage from him, whom he is conſcious of having ſo abuſed. Whence, if not juſtice, or charity towards others, yet love and pity of our ſelves, ſhould perſuade us to forbear it as diſquietful, incommodious and miſchievous to us.

* *The froward tongue ſhall be cut out.* Prov. 10. 31.

We ſhould indeed certainly enjoy much love, much concord, much quiet, we ſhould live in great ſafety and ſecurity, we ſhould be exempted from much care and fear, if we would reſtrain our ſelves from abuſing and offending our neighbour in this kind: being conſcious of ſo juſt and innocent demeanor toward him, we ſhould converſe with him in a pleaſant freedom and confidence, not ſuſpecting any bad language or ill uſage from him.

9. Hence with evidently good reaſon is he that uſeth ſuch language called a *fool*, and he that abſtaineth from it is commended as *wiſe*. *A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for ſtrokes. A fool's mouth is his deſtruction, and his lips are the ſnare of his ſoul. He that refraineth his tongue is wiſe. In the tongue of the wiſe is health. He that keepeth his lips keepeth his life: but he that openeth wide his mouth* (that is, in Evil-ſpeaking, gaping with clamour and vehemency) *ſhall have deſtruction. The words of a wiſe man's mouth are gracious: but the lips of a fool will ſwallow up himſelf. Death and life are in the power of the tongue; and they that love it ſhall eat the fruit thereof*; that is, of the one or the other, anſwerably to the kind of ſpeech they chuſe.

Prov. 18. 6, 7. Prov. 10. 16. Prov. 12. 18. Prov. 13. 3. Eccleſ. 10. 12. Prov. 18. 21.

In fine, very remarkable is that advice, or reſolution of the grand point concerning the beſt way of living happily, in the pſalmiſt: *What man is he that deſireth life, and loveth many days, that he may ſee good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from ſpeaking guile.* Abſtinence from Ill-ſpeaking he ſeemeth to propoſe as the firſt ſtep toward the fruition of a durably happy life.

Pſal. 34. 12, 13.

10. Laſtly, we may conſider, that it is a grievous perverting the deſign of ſpeech, (that excellent faculty, which ſo much diſtinguiſheth us from, ſo highly advanceth us above other creatures,) to uſe it to the defaming and diſquieting our neighbour. It was given us as an inſtrument of beneficial commerce, and delectable converſation; that with it we might aſſiſt and adviſe, might chear and comfort one another: we therefore in employing it, to the diſgrace, vexation, damage or prejudice in any kind of our neighbour, do foully abuſe it; and ſo doing, render our ſelves indeed worſe than dumb beaſts: for, * better far it were that we could ſay nothing, than that we ſhould ſpeak ill.

* *Mutos naſci, & egere omni ratione ſatius fuiſſet, quàm providentiæ munera in mutuam pernicium convertere.* Quint. 12. 1.

Heb. 13. 20, 21. *Now the God of* grace and *peace*——*make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

SER-

SERMON XVII.

The Folly of Slander.

He that uttereth Slander is a Fool.

PROV. X. 18.

GENERAL declamations againſt vice and ſin are indeed excellently uſeful, as rouzing men to conſider and look about them: but they do often want effect, becauſe they only raiſe confuſed apprehenſions of things, and indeterminate propenſions to action; the which uſually, before men thoroughly perceive or reſolve what they ſhould practiſe, do decay and vaniſh. As he that cries out fire doth ſtir up people, and inſpireth them with a kind of hovering tendency every way, yet no man thence to purpoſe moveth, until he be diſtinctly informed where the miſchief is; then do they, who apprehend themſelves concerned, run haſtily to oppoſe it: So, till we particularly diſcern where our offences lie, (till we diſtinctly know the hainous nature and the miſchievous conſequences of them,) we ſcarce will effectually apply our ſelves to correct them. Whence it is requiſite, that men ſhould be particularly acquainted with their ſins, and by proper arguments be diſſuaded from them.

In order whereto I have now ſelected one ſin to deſcribe, and diſſuade from, being in nature as vile, and in practice as common, as any other whatever that hath prevailed among men. It is ſlander, a ſin which in all times and places hath been epidemical and rife; but which eſpecially doth ſeem to reign and rage in our age and countrey.

There are principles innate to men, which ever have, and ever will incline them to this offence. Eager appetites to ſecular and ſenſual goods; violent paſſions, urging the proſecution of what men affect; wrath and diſpleaſure againſt thoſe who ſtand in the way of compaſſing their deſires; emulation and envy toward thoſe who hap to ſucceed better, or to attain a greater ſhare in ſuch things; exceſſive ſelf-love; unaccountable malignity and vanity, are in ſome degrees connatural to all men, and ever prompt them to this dealing, as appearing the moſt efficacious, compendious and eaſie way of ſatisfying ſuch appetites, of promoting ſuch deſigns, of diſcharging ſuch paſſions. Slander thence hath always been a principal engine, whereby covetous, ambitious, envious, ill-natured and vain perſons have ſtrove to ſupplant their competitors, and advance themſelves; meaning thereby to procure, what they chiefly prize and like, wealth, or dignity, or reputation, favour and power in the court, reſpect and intereſt with the people.

But from eſpecial cauſes our age peculiarly doth abound in this practice: for, beſides the common diſpoſitions inclining thereto, there are conceits newly coined, and greedily entertained by many, which ſeem purpoſely levelled at the diſparagement of piety, charity and juſtice, ſubſtituting intereſt in the room of conſcience, authorizing and commending, for good and wiſe, all ways ſerving to private advantage. There are implacable diſſenſions, fierce animoſities and bitter zeals ſprung up; there is an extreme curioſity, niceneſs and delicacy of judgment; there is a mighty affectation of ſeeming wiſe and witty by any means; there is a great unſettlement of mind, and corruption of manners, generally diffuſed over people: from which ſources it is no wonder that this flood hath ſo overflown, that no banks can reſtrain it, no fences are able to reſiſt it; ſo that ordinary converſation is full with it, and no demeanor can be ſecure from it.

If we do mark what is done in many (might I not ſay, in moſt?) companies, what is it, but one telling malicious ſtories of, or faſtning odious characters upon another? What do men commonly pleaſe themſelves in ſo much, as in carping and harſhly cenſuring, in defaming and abuſing their neighbours? Is it not the ſport and divertiſement of many, to caſt dirt in the faces of all they meet with; to beſpatter any man with foul imputations? Doth not in every corner a *Momus* lurk, from the venome of whoſe ſpiteful or petulant tongue no eminency of rank, dignity of place, or ſacredneſs of office, no innocence or integrity of life, no wiſdom or circumſpection in behaviour, no good nature, or benignity in dealing and carriage, can protect any perſon? Do not men aſſume to themſelves a liberty of telling romances, and framing characters concerning their neighbour, as freely as a Poet doth about *Hector* or *Turnus*, *Therſites* or *Draucus*? Do they not uſurp a power of playing with, of toſſing about, of tearing in pieces their neighbour's good name, as if it were the veriеſt toy in the world? Do not many, *having a form of godlineſs*, (ſome of them demurely, others confidently, both without any ſenſe of, or remorſe for what they do) backbite their brethren? Is it not grown ſo common a thing to aſperſe cauſeleſly, that no man wonders at it, that few diſlike, that ſcarce any deteſt it? that moſt notorious calumniators are heard, not only with patience, but with pleaſure; yea are even held in vogue and reverence, as men of a notable talent, and very ſerviceable to their party; ſo that ſlander ſeemeth to have loſt its nature, and not to be now an odious ſin, but a faſhionable humour, a way of pleaſing entertainment, a fine knack, or curious feat of policy; ſo that no man at leaſt taketh himſelf or others to be accountable for what is ſaid in this way? Is not, in fine, the caſe become ſuch, that whoever hath in him any love of truth, any ſenſe of juſtice or honeſty, any ſpark of charity toward his brethren, ſhall hardly be able to ſatisfie himſelf in the converſations he meeteth; but will be tempted, with the holy Prophet, to wiſh himſelf ſequeſtred from ſociety, and caſt into ſolitude; repeating thoſe words of his, *O that I had in the wilderneſs a lodging-place of way-faring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them: for they are——an aſſembly of treacherous men, and they bend their tongues like their bow for lies?* This he wiſhed in an age ſo reſembling ours, that I fear the deſcription with equal patneſs may ſuit both: *Take ye heed* (ſaid he then, and may we not adviſe the like now?) *every one of his neighbour, and truſt ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly ſupplant, and every neighbour will walk with ſlanders. They will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not ſpeak the truth: they have taught their tongue to ſpeak lies, and weary themſelves to commit iniquity.*

Jer. 9. 2, 3. & 6. 28. Ezek. 22. 9.

Jer. 9. 4, 5.

Such being the ſtate of things, obvious to experience, no diſcourſe may ſeem more needful, or uſeful, than that which ſerveth to correct or check this practice: the which I ſhall endeavour to do, 1. By deſcribing the nature, 2. By declaring the folly of it; or ſhewing it to be very true which the wiſe-man here aſſerteth, *He that uttereth ſlander is a fool.* The which particulars I hope ſo to proſecute, that any man ſhall be able eaſily to diſcern, and ready heartily to deteſt this practice.

I. For explication of its nature, we may deſcribe ſlander to be the uttering falſe (or equivalent to falſe, morally falſe) ſpeech againſt our neighbour, in prejudice to his fame, his ſafety, his welfare, or concernment in any kind, out of malignity, vanity, raſhneſs, ill-nature, or bad deſign. That which is in holy Scripture forbidden and reproved under ſeveral names and notions; of [a] *bearing falſe witneſs*, [b] falſe accuſation, [c] *railing cenſure*, [d] *ſycophantry*, [e] *tale-bearing*, [f] *whiſpering*, [g] *backbiting*, [h] *ſupplanting*, [i] *taking up reproach:* which terms ſome of them do ſignifie the nature, others denote the ſpecial kinds, others imply the manners, others ſuggeſt the ends of this practice. But it ſeemeth moſt fully intelligible by obſerving the ſeveral kinds and degrees thereof; as alſo by reflecting on the divers ways and manners of practiſing it.

[a] Exod. 20. 16. [b] Pſ. 35. 11. [c] Jud. 9. 2. Pet. 2. 11. [d] Luke 3. 14. & 19. 8. [e] Levit. 19. 16. Prov. 18. 8. & 26. 20. [f] Prov. 16. 28. Rom. 1. 29. 2 Cor. 12. 20. [g] Pſal. 15. 3. Rom. 1. 30. [h] Jer. 9. 4. [i] Pſal. 15. 3.

The principal kinds thereof I obſerve to be theſe.

1. The groſſeſt kind of Slander is that which in the decalogue is called *bearing falſe teſtimony againſt our neighbour*; that is, flatly charging him with facts, the which he never committed, and is no wiſe guilty of. As in the caſe of *Naboth*, when

when men were ſuborned to ſay, *Nabοth did blaſpheme God and the king:* and as was *David*'s caſe, when he thus complained, *Falſe witneſſes did riſe up, they laid to my charge things that I knew not of.* This kind in the higheſt way (that is, in judicial proceedings) is more rare; and of all men, they who are detected to practiſe it, are held moſt vile and infamous; as being plainly the moſt pernicious and perillous inſtruments of injuſtice, the moſt deſperate enemies of all mens right and ſafety that can be. But alſo out of the court there are many knights-errant of the poſt, whoſe buſineſs it is to run about ſcattering falſe reports, ſometimes loudly proclaiming them in open companies, ſometimes cloſely whiſpering them in dark corners; thus infecting converſation with their poiſonous breath: theſe no leſs notoriouſly are guilty of this kind, as bearing always the ſame malice, and ſometimes breeding as ill effects.

1 Kings 21. 13. Pſal. 35. 11.

2. Another kind is, affixing ſcandalous names, injurious epithets, and odious characters upon perſons, which they deſerve not. As when *Corah* and his complices did accuſe *Moſes* of being ambitious, unjuſt and tyrannical: when the Phariſees called our Lord an impoſtor, a blaſphemer, a ſorcerer, a glutton and wine-bibber, an incendiary and perverter of the people, one that *ſpake againſt Cæſar*, and *forbad to give tribute*: when the apoſtles were charged of being * peſtilent, turbulent, factious and ſeditious fellows. This ſort being very common, and thence in ordinary repute not ſo bad, yet in juſt eſtimation may be judged even worſe than the former, as doing to our neighbour more heavy and more irreparable wrong. For it impoſeth on him really more blame, and that ſuch which he can hardly ſhake of: becauſe the charge ſignifieth habit of evil, and includeth many acts; then, being general and indefinite, can ſcarce be diſproved. He, for inſtance, that calleth a ſober man drunkard, doth impute to him many acts of ſuch intemperance, (ſome really paſt, others probably future,) and no particular time or place being ſpecified, how can a man clear himſelf of that imputation, eſpecially with thoſe who are not throughly acquainted with his converſation? So he that calleth a man unjuſt, proud, perverſe, hypocritical, doth load him with moſt grievous faults, which it is not poſſible that the moſt innocent perſon ſhould diſcharge himſelf from.

Numb. 16. 3, 13, 14. Joh. 19. 7, 21. Matt. 26. 65. Matt. 9. 3. & 12. 24. Matt. 11. 19. Luke 23. 2, 5, 14. John 19. 12. Luke 23. 2. * Acts 17. 6. & 24. 5.

3. Like to that kind is this, aſperſing a man's actions with harſh cenſures, and foul terms, importing that they proceed from ill principles, or tend to bad ends; ſo as it doth not, or cannot appear. Thus when we ſay of him that is generouſly hoſpitable, that he is profuſe; of him that is prudently frugal, that he is niggardly; of him that is chearful and free in his converſation, that he is vain or looſe; of him that is ſerious and reſolute in a good way, that he is ſullen or moroſe; of him that is conſpicuous and brisk in virtuous practice, that it is ambition or oſtentation which acts him; of him that is cloſe and baſhful in the like good way, that it is ſneaking ſtupidity, or want of ſpirit; of him that is reſerved, that it is craft; of him that is open, that it is ſimplicity in him: when we aſcribe a man's liberality and charity to vain-glory, or popularity; his ſtrictneſs of life, and conſtancy in devotion, to ſuperſtition, or hypocriſie. When, I ſay, we paſs ſuch cenſures, or impoſe ſuch characters on the laudable or innocent practice of our neighbours, we are indeed Slanderers, imitating therein the great calumniator, who thus did ſlander even God himſelf, imputing his prohibition of the fruit unto envy toward men; (*God*, ſaith he, *doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes ſhall be opened, and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil*;) who thus did aſcribe the ſteddy piety of *Job*, not to a conſcientious love and fear of God, but to policy, and ſelfiſh deſign, *Doth Job fear God for nought?*

At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atque Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare. Probus quis Nobiſcum vivit? multum eſt dimiſſus homo. Illi Tardo cognomen pinguis damus, &c. optimè. Hor. Serm. 1. 3. Vide Sidon. Apoll. Gen. 3. 5. Job 1. 9. & 2. 4.

Whoever indeed pronounceth concerning his neighbour's intentions otherwiſe than as they are evidently expreſſed by words, or ſignified by overt-actions, is a Slanderer; becauſe he pretendeth to know, and dareth to aver, that which he noways poſſibly can tell whether it be true; becauſe the heart is exempt from all juriſdiction here, is only ſubject to the government and trial of another world; becauſe no man can judge concerning the truth of ſuch accuſations; becauſe no man can exempt, or defend himſelf from them; ſo that apparently ſuch practice doth thwart all courſe of juſtice and equity.

4. Another kind is, perverting a man's words or actions diſadvantageouſly by affected miſconſtruction. All words are ambiguous, and capable of different ſenſes, (ſome fair, ſome more foul;) all actions have two handles, one that candour and

Jer. 23. 36. Πᾶν πρᾶγμα ἔχει δύο λαβάς. Epict.

and charity will, another that diſingennity and ſpite may lay hold on: and in ſuch caſes, to miſapprehend is a calumnious procedure, arguing malignant diſpoſition and miſchievous deſign. Thus when two men did witneſs, that our Lord affirmed, he *could demoliſh the temple, and rear it again in three days*; although he did indeed ſpeak words to that purpoſe, meaning them in a figurative ſenſe, (diſcernible enough to thoſe who would candidly have minded his drift and way of ſpeaking,) yet they who crudely alledged them againſt him are called falſe witneſſes. (*At laſt*, ſaith the Goſpel, *came two falſe witneſſes, and, ſaid, This fellow ſaid, I am able to deſtroy the temple*, &c.) Thus alſo when ſome certified of S. *Stephen*, as having ſaid, that *Jeſus of Nazareth ſhould deſtroy that place, and change the cuſtoms that Moſes delivered*; although probably he did ſpeak words near to that purpoſe, yet are thoſe men called falſe witneſſes: *And* (ſaith S. *Luke*) *they ſet up falſe witneſſes, which ſaid, This man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words*, &c. Which inſtances plainly do ſhew, if we would avoid the guilt of Slander, how careful we ſhould be to interpret fairly and favourably the words and the actions of our neighbour.

Matt. 26. 60, 61. John 2. 19.

Pſal. 56. 5. *Every day they wreſt my words.* Matt. *ubi ſupra.* Acts 6. 13, 14.

5. Another ſort of this practice is, partial and lame repreſentation of mens diſcourſe, or their practice, ſuppreſſing ſome part of the truth in them, or concealing ſome circumſtances about them, which might ſerve to explain, to excuſe, or to extenuate them. In ſuch a manner eaſily, without uttering any logical untruth, one may yet grievouſly calumniate. Thus ſuppoſe that a man ſpeaketh a thing upon ſuppoſition, or with exception, or in way of objection, or merely for diſputation ſake, in order to the diſcuſſion or clearing of truth; he that ſhould report him aſſerting it abſolutely, unlimitedly, poſitively and peremptorily, as his own ſettled judgment, would notoriouſly calumniate. If one ſhould be inveagled by fraud, or driven by violence, or ſlip by chance into a bad place, or bad company; he that ſhould ſo repreſent the groſs of that accident, as to breed an opinion of that perſon, that out of pure diſpoſition and deſign he did put himſelf there, doth ſlanderouſly abuſe that innocent perſon. The reporter in ſuch caſes muſt not think to defend himſelf by pretending that he ſpake nothing falſe; for ſuch propoſitions, however true in logick, may juſtly be deemed lies in morality, being uttered with a malicious and deceitful (that is, with a calumnious) mind, being apt to impreſs falſe conceits, and to produce hurtful effects concerning our neighbour. There are ſlanderous truths, as well as ſlanderous falſhoods: when truth is uttered with a deceitful heart, and to a baſe end, it becomes a lie. *He that ſpeaketh truth* (ſaith the Wiſe-man) *ſheweth forth righteouſneſs: but a falſe witneſs, deceit.* Deceiving is the proper work of Slander; and truth abuſed to that end putteth on its nature, and will engage into like guilt.

Prov. 12. 17.

Vid. Herm. *Paſtor. where the Paſtor obſerves, that the Devil doth in his temptations interſperſe ſome truths, ſerving to render his deluſions paſſable.*

6. Another kind of Calumny is, by inſtilling ſly ſuggeſtions; which although they do not downrightly aſſert falſhoods, yet they breed ſiniſter opinions in the hearers; eſpecially in thoſe who, from weakneſs or credulity, from jealouſie or prejudice, from negligence or inadvertency, are prone to entertain them. This is done many ways, by propounding wily ſuppoſitions, ſhrewd inſinuations, crafty queſtions, and ſpecious compariſons, intimating a poſſibility, or inferring ſome likelihood of, and thence inducing to believe the fact. Doth not (ſaith this kind of Slanderer) his temper incline him to do thus? may not his intereſt have ſwayed him thereto? had he not fair opportunity and ſtrong temptation to it? hath he not acted ſo in like caſes? Judge you therefore whether he did it not. Thus the craſe Slanderer argueth; and a weak or prejudiced perſon is thereby ſo caught, that he preſently is ready thence to conclude the thing done. Again; he doth well, (ſaith the ſycophant) it is true; but why, and to what end? Is it not, as moſt men do, out of ill deſign? may he not diſſemble now? may he not recoil hereafter? have not others made as fair a ſhew? yet we know what came of it. Thus do calumnious tongues pervert the judgments of men to think ill of the moſt innocent, and meanly of the worthieſt actions. Even commendation it ſelf is often uſed calumniouſly, with intent to breed diſlike and ill-will toward a perſon commended in envious or jealous ears; or ſo as to give paſſage to diſpraiſes, and render the accuſations following more credible. 'Tis an artifice commonly obſerved to be much in uſe there, where the fineſt tricks of ſupplanting are practiſed, with greateſt effect; ſo that, *peſſimum inimicorum genus, laudantes*; there is no more

more peſtilent enemy, than a * malevolent praiſer. All theſe kinds of dealing, as they iſſue from the principles of Slander, and perform its work, ſo they deſervedly bear the guilt thereof. * *Excuſando exprobraret.* Tac. *Ann.* 1. *p.* 10.

Κακὸς τις οὗτος τρόπος ἐστὶν ἡ διαβολὴ, τὸ μὴ ψέγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦντας λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς πέλας. Polyb. lib. 4.

7. A like kind is that of oblique and covert reflexions; when a man doth not directly or expreſſly charge his neighbour with faults, but yet ſo ſpeaketh, that he is underſtood, or reaſonably preſumed to do it. This is a very cunning and very miſchievous way of Slandering; for therein the ſculking calumniator keepeth a reſerve for himſelf, and cutteth off from the perſon concerned the means of defence. If he goeth to clear himſelf from the matter of ſuch aſperſions: What need (ſaith this inſidious ſpeaker) of that? muſt I needs mean you? did I name you? why do you then aſſume it to your ſelf? do you not prejudge your ſelf guilty? I did not, but your own conſcience it ſeemeth doth accuſe you. You are ſo jealous and ſuſpicious, as perſons over-wiſe or guilty uſe to be. So meaneth this ſerpent out of the hedge ſecurely and unavoidably to bite his neighbour; and is in that reſpect more baſe and more hurtful than the moſt flat and poſitive Slanderer.

8. Another kind is that of magnifying and aggravating the faults of others; raiſing any ſmall miſcarriage into a hainous crime, any ſlender defect into an odious vice, and any common infirmity into a ſtrange enormity; turning a ſmall *mote in the eye* of our neighbour into a huge *beam*, a little dimple in his face into a monſtrous wen. This is plainly Slander, at leaſt in degree, and according to the ſurpluſage whereby the cenſure doth exceed the fault. As he that, upon the ſcore of a ſmall debt, doth extort a great ſum, is no leſs a thief, in regard to what amounts beyond his due, than if without any pretence he had violently or fraudulently ſeized on it: ſo is he a Slanderer, that by heightning faults or imperfections, doth charge his neighbour with greater blame, or loads him with more diſgrace than he deſerves. 'Tis not only Slander to pick a hole where there is none, but to make that wider which is, ſo that it appeareth more ugly, and cannot ſo eaſily be mended. For charity is wont to extenuate faults, juſtice doth never exaggerate them. As no man is exempt from ſome defects, or can live free from ſome miſdemeanors; ſo by this practice every man may be rendred very odious and infamous. Matt. 7. 3.

9. Another kind of Slander is, imputing to our neighbour's practice, judgment, or profeſſion, evil conſequences (apt to render him odious, or deſpicable) which have no dependence on them, or connexion with them. There do in every age occur diſorders and miſhaps, ſpringing from various complications of cauſes, working ſome of them in a more open and diſcernible, others in a more ſecret and ſubtle way; (eſpecially from divine judgment and providence checking or chaſtiſing ſin:) from ſuch occurrences it is common to ſnatch occaſion and matter of calumny. Thoſe who are diſpoſed this way, are ready peremptorily to charge them upon whom-ever they diſlike or diſſent from, although without any apparent cauſe, or upon moſt frivolous and ſenſeleſs pretences; yea, often, when reaſon ſheweth the quite contrary, and they who are ſo charged are in juſt eſteem of all men the leaſt obnoxious to ſuch accuſations. So uſually the beſt friends of mankind, thoſe who moſt heartily wiſh the peace and proſperity of the world, and moſt earneſtly to their power ſtrive to promote them, have all the diſturbances and diſaſters happening charged on them by thoſe fiery *Vixons* who (in purſuance of their baſe deſigns, or gratification of their wild paſſions) really do themſelves embroil things, and raiſe miſerable combuſtions in the world. So it is, that they who have the conſcience to do miſchief, will have the confidence alſo to diſavow the blame and the iniquity, to lay the burthen of it on thoſe who are moſt innocent. Thus, whereas nothing more diſpoſeth men to live orderly and peaceably, nothing more conduceth to the ſettlement and ſafety of the publick, nothing ſo much draweth bleſſings down from heaven upon the common-weal, as true religion; yet nothing hath been more ordinary than to attribute all the miſcarriages and miſchiefs that happened, unto it; even thoſe are laid at its door, which plainly do ariſe from the contempt or neglect of it; being the natural fruits, or the juſt puniſhments of irreligion. King *Ahab*, by *forſaking God's commandments*, and following wicked ſuperſtitions, had *troubled Iſrael*, 1 Kings 18. 17, 18.

drawing ſore judgments and calamities thereon; yet had he the heart and the face to charge thoſe events on the great aſſerter of Piety, *Elias: Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael?* The *Jews*, by provocation of divine juſtice, had ſet themſelves in a fair way toward deſolation and ruine; this event to come they had the preſumption to lay upon the faith of our Lord's doctrine: *If* (ſaid they) *we let him alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans ſhall come, and take away our place and nation:* when as, in truth, a compliance with his directions and admonitions had been the only means to prevent thoſe preſaged miſchiefs. And, *Si Tibris aſcenderit in mœnia*, if any publick calamity did appear, then *Chriſtianos ad leones*, Chriſtians muſt be charged and perſecuted as the cauſes thereof. To them it was that *Julian* and other pagans did impute all the concuſſions, confuſions and devaſtations falling upon the *Roman* empire. The * ſacking of *Rome* by the *Goths* they caſt upon chriſtianity: for the vindication of it from which reproach St. *Auſtin* did write thoſe renowned books *de civitate dei*. So liable are the beſt and moſt innocent ſort of men to be calumniouſly accuſed in this manner.

Joh. 11. 48.

Tertul. *Apol.*

* *Chriſtianis temporibus detrahunt, & mala quæ illa civitas pertulit, Chriſto imputant.* De Civ. D. I. 1. III. 31. *They* (ſaith that great father) *detract from the Chriſtian times, and impute the evils which that city ſuffered, unto Chriſt.*

† τὸ διεγνδικτον τ̃ διαβολ̃ης. M. Ant.

Another practice (worthily bearing the guilt of ſlander) is, † being aiding and acceſſory thereto, by any-wiſe furthering, cheriſhing, abetting it. He that by crafty ſignifications of ill-will doth prompt the ſlanderer to vent his poyſon; he that by a willing audience and attention doth readily ſuck it up, or who greedily ſwalloweth it down by credulous approbation and aſſent; he that pleaſingly reliſheth and ſmacketh at it, or expreſſeth a delightful complaiſance therein; as he is a partner in the fact, ſo he is a ſharer in the guilt. There are not only ſlanderous throats, but ſlanderous ears alſo; not only wicked inventions, which ingender and brood lies, but wicked aſſents, which hatch and foſter them. Not only the ſpiteful mother which conceiveth ſuch ſpurious brats, but the midwife that helpeth to bring them forth, the nurſe that feedeth them, the guardian that traineth them up to maturity, and ſetteth them forth to live in the world, as they do really contribute to their ſubſiſtence, ſo deſervedly they partake in the blame due to them, and muſt be reſponſible for the miſchief they do. For indeed were it not for ſuch free entertainers, ſuch nouriſhers, ſuch encouragers of them, Slanders commonly would die in the womb, or prove ſtill-born, or preſently entring into the cold air would expire, or for want of nouriſhment ſoon would ſtarve. It is ſuch friends and patrons of them who are the cauſes that they are ſo rife; they it is who ſet ill-natured, baſe and deſigning people upon deviſing, ſearching after, and picking up malicious and idle ſtories. Were it not for ſuch cuſtomers the trade of calumniating would fall. Many purſue it merely out of ſervility and flattery, to tickle the ears, to ſooth the humour, to gratifie the malignant diſpoſition, or ill-will of others; who upon the leaſt diſcouragement would give over the practice. If therefore we would exempt our ſelves from all guilt of Slander, we muſt not only abſtain from venting it, but forbear to * regard or countenance it: for † *He is* (ſaith the wiſe man) *a wicked doer*, who *giveth heed to falſe lips; and a liar*, who *giveth ear to a naughty tongue*. Yea, if we thoroughly would be clear from it, we muſt ſhew an averſation from hearing it, an unwillingneſs to believe it, an indignation againſt it; ſo either ſtifling it in the birth, or condeming it to death being uttered. This is the ſure way to deſtroy it, and to prevent its miſchief. If we would * ſtop our ears, we ſhould ſtop the Slanderer's mouth: if we would *reſiſt the calumniator, he would fly from us:* if we would reprove him, we ſhould re-

David, Pſal. 101. 5. *Whoſo privily ſlandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off;* τοῦτον ἐξεδίωκον, *him have I driven away*, ſay the LXX.

Neque verò illa juſta eſt excuſatio, Referentibus aliis injuriam facere non poſſum. Nemo invito auditori libenter refert. Sagitta in lapidem nunquam figitur; interdum reſiliens percutit dirigentem. Diſcat detractor, dum te videt non libenter audire, non facile detrahere. Hier. *ad Nepot. Ep.* 2.

Poſidonius relateth of St. *Auſtin*, that he had upon his table written theſe two verſes.

Quiſquis amat dictis abſentum rodere vitam,
Hanc menſam indignam noverit eſſe ſibi:

(He that loveth by ill ſpeech to gnaw the life of thoſe who are abſent, let him know himſelf unworthy to ſit at this table; or, that this table is unfit for him:) and if any there did uſe detraction, he was offended, and minded them of thoſe verſes, threatning alſo to leave the table, and withdraw to his chamber. *Poſid.* cap. 22.

* Οὐ λήψῃ ἀκοὴν ματαίαν, *Thou ſhalt not receive* (or, take up) *a falſe report*, ſaith the Law, *Exod.* 23. 1.

† Prov. 17. 4.

Beatus eſt, qui ità ſe contra hoc vitium armavit, ut apud eum detrahere nemo audeat. Hier. *ad Celantiam.*

* *Hedge thy ears with thorns*, &c. Eccluſ 28. 24. *ità legit* Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

pell him. For, as † *the north-wind driveth away rain, ſo* (the wiſe man telleth us) *doth an angry countenance a backbiting tongue.*

† Prov. 25. 23. Ἄν μάθωσιν οἱ κακήγοροι τὸ ἁμάρτημα, καὶ ἐπαισίσουσι μὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὡς σωτῆρας αὐτῶν γινομένους, καὶ διεργέτας ἀνακηρύξωσιν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

ἐφι ὅτι τὸ διαβαλλομένων μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεργαζόμεθα, παύσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε τὸ πονηρὸς ταύτης σωτηρίας, καὶ διορθώσονται τὸ ἁμάρτημα, καὶ ἐπαισίσονται μὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὡς σωτῆρας αὐτῶν γινομένους, καὶ διεργέτας ἀνακηρύξωσιν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Theſe are the chief and moſt common kinds of ſlander; and there are ſeveral ways of practiſing them worthy our obſerving, that we may avoid them; namely theſe.

1. The moſt notoriouſly-hainous way is, forging, and immediately venting ill ſtories. As it is ſaid of *Doeg*, *Thy tongue deviſeth miſchief*; and of another like companion, *Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit:* and as our Lord ſaith of the devil, *When he ſpeaketh a lie,* ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλεῖ, *he ſpeaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it.* This palpably is the ſupreme pitch of calumny, uncapable of any qualification or excuſe: Hell cannot go beyond this; the curſed fiend himſelf cannot worſe employ his wit, than in minting wrongful falſhoods. Pſal. 52. 2. Pſal. 50. 19. John 8. 44. (Iſa. 32. 7.)

2. Another way is, receiving from others, and venting ſuch ſtories, which they who do it certainly know, or may reaſonably preſume to be falſe: the becoming huckſters of counterfeit wares, or factors in this vile trade. There is no falſe coiner, who hath not ſome complices and emiſſaries ready to take from his hand, and put off his money: and ſuch ſlanderers at ſecond hand are ſcarce leſs guilty than the firſt authors. He that brueth lies may have more wit and skill, but the broacher ſheweth the like malice and wickedneſs. In this there is no great difference between the great devil, that frameth ſcandalous reports, and the little imps, that run about and diſperſe them.

3. Another way is, when one without competent examination, due weighing, and juſt reaſon, doth admit, and ſpread tales prejudicial to his neighbour's welfare; relying for his warrant (as to the truth of them) upon any ſlight or ſlender authority. This is a very common and current practice: men preſume it lawful enough to ſay over whatever they hear; to report any thing, if they can quote an author for it. It is not, ſay they, my invention; I tell it as I heard it: *ſit fides penes authorem*; let him that informed me undergo the blame, if it prove falſe. So do they conceive themſelves excuſable for being the inſtruments of injurious diſgrace and damage to their neighbours. But they greatly miſtake therein: for as this practice commonly doth ariſe from the ſame wicked principles, at leaſt in ſome degree, and produceth altogether the like miſchievous effects, as the wilful deviſing and conveying ſlander: ſo it no leſs thwarteth the rules of duty, and laws of equity; God hath prohibited it, and reaſon doth condemn it. *Thou ſhalt not* (ſaith God in the Law) *go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people:* as a tale-bearer, (as *Rachil*, that is,) as a merchant or trader in ill reports and ſtories concerning our neighbour, to his prejudice. Not only the framing them, but the dealing in them beyond reaſon or neceſſity, is interdicted. And it is part of a good man's character in the 15th Pſalm, *Non accipit opprobrium, He taketh not up a reproach againſt his neighbour*; that is, he doth not eaſily entertain it, much leſs doth he effectually propagate it: and in our text, *He*, it is ſaid, *that uttereth ſlander* (not only he that conceiveth it) *is a fool.*

Τί διαπορεῖς μεῖζον τὸν λόγον, &c. Chryſoſt. in Heb. 11. 3. Δίον συστέλλειν καὶ συκρύπτειν τὰ ἐλαττώματα τοῦ πλησίον. οὐ δὲ ἐκπομπεύειν, &c. Ibid. Levit. 19. 16. Prov. 18. 8. & 26. 22. Pſal. 15. 3.

And in reaſon, before exact trial and cognizance, to meddle with the fame and intereſt of another, is evidently a practice full of iniquity, ſuch as no man can allow in his own caſe, or brook being uſed toward himſelf, without judging himſelf to be extremely abuſed by ſuch reporters. In all reaſon and equity, (yea in all diſcretion) before we yield credence to any report concerning our neighbour, or adventure to relate it, many things are carefully to be weighed and ſcanned. We ſhould concerning our author conſider, whether he be not a particular enemy, or diſaffected to him; whether he be not ill-humoured, or a delighter in telling bad ſtories; whether he be not diſhoneſt, or unregardful of juſtice in his dealings and diſcourſe; whether he be not vain, or careleſs of what he ſaith; whether he be not light and credulous, or apt to be impoſed upon by any ſmall appearance; whether at leaſt in the preſent caſe he be not negligent, or too forward and raſh in ſpeaking. We ſhould alſo concerning the matter reported mind, whether it be poſſible, or probable; whether ſuitable to the diſpo-

ſition of our Neighbour, to his principles, to the conſtant tenour of his practice; whether the action imputed to him be not liable to miſapprehenſion, or his words to miſconſtruction. All reaſon and equity do, I ſay, exact from us, diligently to conſider ſuch things, before we do either embrace our ſelves, or tranſmit unto others any ſtory concerning our neighbour; leſt unadviſedly we do him irreparable wrong and miſchief. Briefly we ſhould take his caſe for our own, and conſider whether we our ſelves ſhould be content, that upon like grounds or teſtimonies any man ſhould believe, or report diſgraceful things concerning us. If we fail to do thus, we do (vainly, or raſhly, or maliciouſly) conſpire with the Slanderer to the wrong of our innocent neighbour; and that in the Pſalmiſt (by a parity of reaſon) may be transferred to us, *Thou haſt conſented unto the* liar, *and haſt partaken with the* author of Calumny.

Pſal. 50. 18.

4. Of kin to this way is the aſſenting to popular rumours, and thence affirming matters of obloquy to our neighbour. Every one by experience knows how eaſily falſe news do riſe, and now nimbly they ſcatter themſelves; how often they are raiſed from nothing, how ſoon they from ſmall ſparks grow into a great blaze, how eaſily from one thing they are transformed into another: eſpecially news of this kind, which do ſute and feed the bad humour of the vulgar. 'Tis obvious to any man how true that is of *Tacitus*, how * void of conſideration, of judgment, of equity, the buſie and talking part of mankind is. Whoever therefore gives heed to flying tales, and thruſts himſelf into the herd of thoſe who ſpread them, is either ſtrangely injudicious, or very malignantly diſpoſed. If he want not judgment, he cannot but know, that when he complieth with popular fame, it is mere chance that he doth not ſlander, or rather it is odds that he ſhall do ſo: he conſequently ſheweth himſelf to be indifferent whether he doth it or no, or rather that he doth incline to do it: whence, not caring to be otherwiſe, or loving to be a Slanderer, he in effect and juſt eſteem is ſuch; having at leaſt a ſlanderous heart and inclination. He that puts it to the venture whether he lieth or no, doth *eo ipſo* lie morally, as declaring no care or love of truth. *Thou ſhalt not* (ſaith the law) *follow a multitude to do evil:* and with like reaſon we ſhould not follow the multitude in ſpeaking evil of our neighbour.

* *Plebi non judicium, non veritas.* Tac. *Ann.* 16.
Non eſt conſilium in vulgo, non ratio, non diſcrimen, non diligentia——ex opinione plurima, ex veritate pauca judicat. Cic. *pro Planco.*
Λαῷ μὴ πίσδε· πολύτροπός ἐστιν ὁμιλος. Phocyl.
Prov. 14. 15. *The ſimple believeth every word.*

Exod. 23. 2.

5. Another ſlanderous courſe is, to build cenſures and reproaches upon ſlender conjectures, or uncertain ſuſpicions, (thoſe πονηροὶ διάνοιαι *evil ſurmiſes*, which St. *Paul* condemneth.) Of theſe occaſions can never be wanting to them who ſeek them, or are ready to embrace them; no innocence, no wiſdom can any-wiſe prevent them; and if they may be admitted as grounds of defamation, no man's good name can be ſecure. But he that upon ſuch accounts dareth to aſperſe his neighbour, is in moral computation no leſs a ſlanderer, than if he did the like out of pure invention, or without any ground at all: for doubtful and falſe in this caſe differ little; to deviſe, and to divine, in matters of this nature, do import near the ſame. He that will judge or ſpeak ill of others, ought to be well aſſured of what he thinks or ſays; he that aſſerteth that which he doth not know to be true, doth as well lie, as he that affirmeth that which he knoweth to be falſe; (for he deceiveth the hearers, begetting in them an opinion that he is aſſured of what he affirms;) eſpecially in dealing with the concernments of others, whoſe right and repute juſtice doth oblige us to be wary of infringing, charity ſhould diſpoſe us to regard and tender as our own. It is not every poſſibility, every ſeeming, every every faint ſhew or glimmering appearance, which ſufficeth to ground bad opinion, or reproachful diſcourſe concerning our brother: the matter ſhould be clear, notorious and palpable, before we admit a diſadvantageous conceit into our head, a diſtaſtful reſentment into our heart, a harſh word into our mouth about him. Men may fanſie themſelves ſagacious and ſhrewd, (perſons of deep judgment and fine wit they may be taken for,) when they can dive into others hearts, and ſound their intentions; when through thick miſts or at remote diſtances they can deſcry faults in them; when they collect ill of them by long trains, and ſubtle fetches of diſcourſe: but in truth they do thereby rather bewray in themſelves ſmall love of truth, care of juſtice, or ſenſe of charity, together with little wiſdom and diſcretion: for truth is only ſeen in a clear light; juſtice requireth ſtrict proof; *Charity thinketh no evil*, and *believeth all things* for the beſt; wiſdom is not forward

1 Tim. 6. 4. Matt. 9. 4.

Ziba. 2 Sam. 16. 3. & 19. 27.

1 Cor. 13. 5, 7.

to

to pronounce before full evidence. (*He*, ſaith the wiſe man, *that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and ſhame unto him.*) In fine, they who proceed thus, as it is uſual that they ſpeak falſely, as it is caſual that they ever ſpeak truly, as they affect to ſpeak ill, true or falſe; ſo worthily they are to be reckoned among ſlanderers. Prov. 18. 13.

6. Another like way of ſlandering is, impetuous or negligent ſputtering out of words, without minding what truth or conſequence there is in them, how they may touch or hurt our neighbour. To avoid this ſin, we muſt not only be free from intending miſchief, but wary of effecting it; not only careful of not wronging one diſtinct perſon, but of harming any promiſcuouſly; not only abſtinent from aiming directly, but provident not to hit caſually any perſon with obloquy. For as he that diſchargeth ſhot into a crowd, or ſo as not to look about regarding who may ſtand in the way, is no leſs guilty of doing miſchief, and bound to make ſatisfaction to them he woundeth, than if he had aimed at ſome one perſon: ſo if we fling out bad words at random, which may light unluckily, and defame ſomebody, we become Slanderers unawares, and before we think on it. This practice hath not ever all the malice of the worſt Slander, but it worketh often the effects thereof, and therefore doth incur its guilt, and its puniſhment; eſpecially it being commonly derived from ill temper, or from bad habit, which we are bound to watch over, to curb, and to correct. The tongue is a ſharp and parlous weapon, which we are bound to keep up in the ſheath, or never to draw forth but adviſedly, and upon juſt occaſion; it muſt ever be wielded with caution and care; to brandiſh it wantonly, to lay about with it blindly and furiouſly, to flaſh and ſmite therewith any that happeth to come in our way, doth argue malice or madneſs.

7. It is an ordinary way of proceeding to calumniate, for men, reflecting upon ſome bad diſpoſition in themſelves, (although reſulting from their own particular temper, from their bad principles, or from their ill cuſtom,) to charge it preſently upon others; preſuming others to be like themſelves: like the wicked perſon in the Pſalm, *Thou thoughteſt that I was altogether ſuch an one as thy ſelf.* This is to ſlander mankind firſt in the groſs; then in retail, as occaſion ſerveth, to aſperſe any man: this is the way of half-witted *Machiavilians*, and of deſperate reprobates in wickedneſs, who, having proſtituted their conſciences to vice, for their own defence and ſolace, would * ſhrowd themſelves from blame under the ſhelter of common pravity and infirmity; accuſing all men of that whereof they know themſelves guilty. But ſurely there can be no greater iniquity than this, that one man ſhould undergo blame for the ill conſcience of another. Pſal. 50. 21.

* *Remedium pœnæ ſuæ arbitrantur, ſi nemo ſit ſanctus, ſi omnibus detrahatur, ſi turba ſit pereuntium*, &c. Hier. *ad Aſellam. Ep.* 99.

Theſe ſeem to be the chief kinds of Slander, and moſt common ways of practiſing it. In which deſcription the folly thereof doth, I ſuppoſe, ſo clearly ſhine, that no man can look thereon without loathing and deſpiſing it, as not only a very ugly, but a moſt fooliſh practice. No man ſurely can be wiſe, who will ſuffer himſelf to be defiled therewith. But to render its folly more apparent, we ſhall diſplay it; declaring it to be extremely fooliſh upon ſeveral accounts. But the doing this, in regard to your patience, we ſhall forbear at preſent.

SER-

SERMON XVIII.

The Folly of Slander.

PROV. X. 18.

He that uttereth Slander is a Fool.

I Have formerly in this place, diſcourſing upon this text, explained the nature of the ſin here condemned, with its ſeveral kinds and ways of practiſing.

II. I ſhall now proceed to declare the folly of it; and to make good by divers reaſons the aſſertion of the wiſeman, that *He who uttereth Slander is a fool.*

1. Slandering is fooliſh, as ſinful and wicked.

All ſin is fooliſh upon many accounts; as proceeding from ignorance, error, inconſiderateneſs, vanity; as implying weak judgment, and irrational choice; as thwarting the dictates of reaſon, and beſt rules of wiſdom; as producing very miſchievous effects to our ſelves, bereaving us of the chief goods, and expoſing us to the worſt evils. What can be more egregiouſly abſurd, than to diſſent in our opinion and diſcord in our choice from infinite wiſdom; to provoke by our actions ſovereign juſtice, and immutable ſeverity; to oppoſe almighty power, and offend immenſe Goodneſs; to render our ſelves unlike, and contrary in our doings, our diſpoſition, our ſtate, to abſolute perfection and felicity? What can be more deſperately wild, than to diſoblige our beſt friend, to forfeit his love and favour, to render him our enemy, who is our Lord and our Judge, upon whoſe mere will and diſpoſal all our ſubſiſtence, all our well-fare does abſolutely depend? What greater madneſs can be conceived, than to deprive our minds of all true content here, and to ſeparate our ſouls from eternal bliſs hereafter; to gall our conſciences now with ſore remorſe, and to engage our ſelves for ever in remedileſs miſeries? Such folly doth all ſin include: whence in ſcripture-ſtyle worthily goodneſs and wiſdom are terms equivalent; ſin and folly do ſignifie the ſame thing.

If thence this practice be proved extremely ſinful, it will thence ſufficiently be demonſtrated no leſs fooliſh. And that it is extremely ſinful may eaſily be ſhewed. Pſ. 50. 19,20. It is the character of the ſuperlatively-wicked man; *Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil; and thy tongue frameth deceit: Thou ſitteſt and ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother; thou ſlandereſt thine own mother's ſon.* It is indeed plainly the blackeſt and moſt helliſh ſin that can be; that which giveth the grand fiend his names, and moſt expreſſeth his nature. He is ὁ Διάβολος, *the Slanderer*; *Satan*, the ſpiteful *adverſary*; the *old ſnake*, Apoc. 12. 10. or *dragon*, hiſſing out lies, and ſpitting forth venom of calumnious accuſation; *the* John 8. 44. *accuſer of the brethren*, a murtherous, envious, malicious Calumniator; *the father of lies*; the grand defamer of God to man, of man to God, of one man to another. And highly wicked ſurely muſt that practice be, whereby we grow name-ſakes to him, conſpire in proceeding with him, reſemble his diſpoſition and nature. It is a complication, a compriſal, a collection and ſum of all wickedneſs; oppoſite to all the principal virtues, (to veracity and ſincerity, to charity and juſtice,) tranſgreſſing all the great commandments, violating immediately and directly all the duties concerning our neighbour.

To lie ſimply is a great fault, being a deviation from that good rule which preEph. 4. 25. 1 Pet. 2. 1. ſcribeth truth in all our words; rendring us unlike and diſagreeable to God who is Pſal. 31. 5. *the God of truth*; (who * loveth truth, and practiſeth it in all his doings, who & 25. 10. & 86. 15. & 89. 14. & 146. 6. * Prov. 12. 22. & 6. 17.

abominateth

abominateth all falſehood;) including a treacherous breach of faith toward mankind; (we being all, in order to the maintenance of ſociety, by an implicit compact, obliged by ſpeech to declare our mind, to inform truly, and not to impoſe upon our neighbour;) arguing puſillanimous timorouſneſs and impotency of mind, a diſtruſt in God's help, and diffidence in all good means to compaſs our deſigns; begetting deception and error, a foul and ill-favour'd brood: Lying, I ſay, is upon ſuch accounts a ſinful and blameable thing: and of all lies thoſe certainly are the worſt which proceed from malice, or from vanity, or from both, and which work miſchief, ſuch as Slanders are.

Again, to bear any hatred or ill-will, to exerciſe enmity toward any man, to deſign or procure any miſchief to our neighbour, whom even *Jews* were commanded to *love as themſelves*, whoſe good, by many laws, and upon divers ſcores, we are obliged to tender as our own, is a hainous fault: and of this apparently the Slanderer is moſt guilty in the higheſt degree. For evidently true it is which the wiſe man affirmeth, *A lying tongue hateth thoſe that are afflicted with it*; there is no ſurer argument of extreme hatred; nothing but the height of ill-will can ſuggeſt this practice. The Slanderer is an enemy, as the moſt fierce and outrageous, ſo the moſt baſe and unworthy that can be: he fighteth with the moſt perilous and moſt unlawful weapon in the moſt furious and foul way that can be. His weapon is an envenomed *arrow*, *full of deadly poyſon*, which *he ſhooteth ſuddenly, and feareth not*; a weapon which by no force can be reſiſted, by no art declined, whoſe impreſſion is altogether inevitable and unſuſtainable. It is a moſt inſidious, moſt treacherous and cowardly way of fighting; wherein manifeſtly the weakeſt and baſeſt ſpirits have extreme advantage, and may eaſily prevail againſt the braveſt and worthieſt; for no man of honour or honeſty can in any way of reſiſtance or requital deign to uſe it, but muſt infallibly without repugnance be born down thereby. By it the vile practiſer atchieveth the greateſt miſchief that can be. His words are, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith of *Doeg*, *devouring words*, (*Thou loveſt all devouring words, O thou deceitful tongue:*) and, *A man* (ſaith the wiſe man) *that beareth falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour is a maul, and a ſword, and a ſharp arrow*; that is, he is a complicated inſtrument of all miſchiefs: he ſmiteth and bruiſeth like a *maul*, he cutteth and pierceth like a *ſword*, he thus doth hurt near at hand; and at diſtance he woundeth like a *ſharp arrow*, it is hard any-where to evade him, or to get out of his reach. *Many* (ſaith another wiſe man, the imitater of *Solomon*) *have fallen by the edge of the ſword: but not ſo many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not paſſed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in its bands. For the yoke thereof is as a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of braſs. The death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.* Incurable are the wounds which the Slanderer inflicteth, irreparable the damages which he cauſeth, indelible the marks which he leaveth. *No balſam can heal the biting of a ſycophant*; no thread can ſtitch up a good name torn by calumnious defamation; no ſoap is able to cleanſe from the ſtains aſperſed by a foul mouth. *Aliquid adhærebit*; ſomewhat always of ſuſpicion and ill opinion will ſtick in the minds of thoſe who have given ear to Slander. So extremely oppoſite is this practice unto the queen of virtues, *charity*. Its property indeed is, to *believe all things*, that is, all things for the beſt, and to the advantage of our neighbour; not ſo much as to ſuſpect any evil of him, without unavoidably-manifeſt cauſe: how much more not to deviſe any falſehood againſt him? It *covereth* all things, ſtudiouſly conniving at real defects, and concealing aſſured miſcarriages: how much more not divulging imaginary or falſe Scandals? It diſpoſeth to ſeek and further any the leaſt good concerning him: how much more will it hinder committing grievous outrage upon his deareſt good name?

Levit. 19. 18.

Prov. 26. 28.

Jam. 3. 8. Pſal. 64. 3, 4. & 57. 4.

Pſal. 52. 4.

Prov. 25. 18. & 12. 6.

An ungodly man diggeth up evil, and in his lips there is a burning fire.

Prov. 16. 27. Eccluſ 28. 18, &c.

Adverſus Sycophanta morſum nullum eſt remedium.

1 Cor. 13. 7.

Prov. 17. 9.

Again, all injuſtice is abominable; to do any ſort of wrong is a heinous crime; that crime which of all moſt immediately tendeth to the diſſolution of ſociety, and diſturbance of humane life; which God therefore doth moſt loath, and men have reaſon eſpecially to deteſt. And of this the Slanderer is moſt deeply guilty. *A witneſs of Belial ſcorneth judgment, and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity*, ſaith the wiſe man. He is indeed, according to juſt eſtimation, guilty of all kinds whatever of injury, breaking all the ſecond table of commands reſpecting our neighbour. Moſt formally and directly he *beareth falſe witneſs*

Prov. 19. 28.

againſt his neighbour: He doth *covet his neighbour's goods*; for 'tis conſtantly out of ſuch an irregular deſire, for his own preſumed advantage, to diſpoſſeſs his neighbour of ſome good, and transfer it on himſelf, that the Slanderer uttereth his tale: He is ever a thief and robber of his good name, a deflowrer and defiler of his reputation, an * aſſaſſine and murtherer of his honour. So doth he violate all the rules of juſtice, and perpetrateth all ſorts of wrong againſt his neighbour.

**Dei Epiſcopos linguæ gladio jugulâſtis, fundentes ſanguinem non corporis, ſed honoris.* Opt. *lib.* 2. *Wo be to them who juſtifie the wicked for reward, and take away the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him.* Iſa. 5. 23.

He may indeed perhaps conceive it no great matter that he committeth; becauſe he doth not act in ſo boiſterous and bloody a way, but only by words, which are ſubtle, ſlim, and tranſient things; upon his neighbour's credit only, which is no ſubſtantial or viſible matter. He draweth (thinks he) no blood, nor breaketh any bones, nor impreſſeth any remarkable ſcar: 'tis only the ſoft air he breaketh with his tongue, 'tis only a ſlight character that he ſtampeth on the fancy, 'tis only an imaginary ſtain that he daubeth his neighbour with: therefore he ſuppoſeth no great wrong done, and ſeemeth to himſelf innocent or very excuſable. But theſe conceits ariſe from great inconſiderateneſs, or miſtake; nor can they excuſe the Slanderer from grievous injuſtice. For in dealing with our neighbour, and medling with his property, we are not to value things according to our fancy, but according to the price ſet on them by the owner: we muſt not reckon that a triſle, which he prizeth as a jewel. Since then all men (eſpecially men of honour and honeſty) do, from a neceſſary inſtinct of nature, eſtimate their good name beyond any of their goods, yea do commonly hold it more dear and precious than their very lives: we, by violently or fraudulently bereaving them of it, do them no leſs wrong, than if we ſhould rob or couzen them of their ſubſtance, yea than if we ſhould maim their body, or ſpill their blood, or even ſtop their breath. If they as grievouſly feel it, and reſent it as deeply, as they do any other outrage, the injury is really as great to them. Even the Slanderer's own judgment and conſcience might tell him ſo much: for they who moſt ſlight another's fame, are uſually very tender of their own, and can with no patience endure that others ſhould touch it: which demonſtrates the inconſiderateneſs of their judgment, and the iniquity of their practice. It is an injuſtice not to be corrected or cured. Thefts may be reſtored, wounds may be cured; but there is no reſtitution or cure of a loſt good name: it is therefore an irreparable injury.

Nor is the thing in it ſelf, in true judgment, contemptible; but in it ſelf really very conſiderable. *A good name*, ſaith *Solomon* himſelf, (no fool,) *is rather to be choſen than great riches; and loving favour rather than ſilver and gold.* In its conſequences it is much more ſo; the chief intereſts of a man, the ſucceſs of his affairs, his ability to do good (for himſelf, his friends, his neighbour) his ſafety, the beſt comforts and conveniencies of his life, ſometimes his life it ſelf, depending thereon: ſo that whoever doth ſnatch or filch it from him, doth not only according to his opinion, and in moral value, but in real effect commonly rob, ſometime murther, ever exceedingly wrong his neighbour. It is often the ſole reward of a man's virtue and all the fruit of his induſtry; ſo that by depriving him of that, he is robb'd of all his eſtate, and left ſtark naked of all, excepting a good conſcience, which is beyond the reach of the world, and which no malice or misfortune can deveſt him of. Full then of iniquity, full of uncharitableneſs, full of all wickedneſs is this practice; and conſequently full it is of folly. No man, one would think, of any tolerable ſenſe, ſhould dare, or deign to incur the guilt of a practice ſo vile and baſe, ſo indeed diabolical and deteſtable. But farther more particularly.

Prov. 22. 1. & 15. 30. Eccleſ. 7. 1.

Prov. 12. 6.

2. The Slanderer is plainly a fool; becauſe he maketh wrong judgments and valuations of things, and accordingly driveth on ſilly bargains for himſelf, in reſult whereof he proveth a great loſer. He means by his calumnious ſtories either to vent ſome paſſion boiling in him, or to compaſs ſome deſign which he affects, or to pleaſe ſome humour that he is poſſeſſed with: but is any of theſe things worth purchaſing at ſo dear a rate? Can there be any valuable exchange for our honeſty? Is it not more adviſeable to ſuppreſs our paſſion, or to let it evaporate otherwiſe, than to diſcharge it in ſo foul a way? Is it not better to let go a petty intereſt, than to further it by committing ſo notorious and hainous a ſin; to let an ambi-

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ous project ſink, than to buoy it up by ſuch baſe means? Is it not wiſdom rather to ſmother, or curb our humour, than by ſatisfying it thus to forfeit our innocence? Can any thing in the world be ſo conſiderable, that for its ſake we ſhould defile our ſouls by ſo foul a practice, making ſhipwreck of a good conſcience, abandoning honour and honeſty, incurring all the guilt and all the puniſhment due to ſo enormous a crime? Is it not far more wiſdom, contentedly to ſee our neighbour to enjoy credit and ſucceſs, to flouriſh and thrive in the world, than by ſuch baſe courſes to ſully his reputation, to rifle him of his goods, to ſupplant or croſs him in his affairs? We do really, when we think thus to depreſs him, and to climb up to wealth or credit by the ruins of his honour, but debaſe our ſelves. Whatever comes of it, (whether he ſucceeds or is diſappointed therein) aſſuredly he that uſeth ſuch courſes will himſelf be the greateſt loſer, and deepeſt ſufferer. 'Tis true which the wiſe man ſaith, *The getting of treaſures by a lying tongue, is a vanity toſſed to and fro of them that ſeek death.* Prov. 21. 6. And, *Woe unto them* (ſaith the prophet) *that draw iniquity with cords of vanity*; that is, who by falſehood endeavour to compaſs unjuſt deſigns. Iſa. 5. 18.

But it is not, perhaps he will pretend, for to aſſwage a private paſſion, or to promote his particular concernment, that he makes ſo bold with his neighbour, or deals ſo harſhly with him; but for the ſake of orthodox doctrine, for the advantage of the true Church, for the advancement of publick good, he judgeth it expedient to aſperſe him. This is indeed the covert of innumerable Slanders: zeal for ſome opinion, or ſome party, beareth out men of ſectarian and factious ſpirits in ſuch practices; they may do, they may ſay any thing for thoſe fine ends. What is a little truth, what is any man's reputation in compariſon to the carrying on ſuch brave deſigns? But (to omit that men do uſually prevaricate in theſe caſes; that it is not commonly for love of truth, but of themſelves, not ſo much for the benefit of their ſect, but for their own intereſt, that they calumniate) this plea will no-wiſe juſtifie ſuch practice. For truth and ſincerity, equity and candor, meekneſs and charity are inviolably to be obſerved, not only toward diſſenters in opinion, but even toward declared enemies of truth it ſelf; we are to *bleſs them*, (that is, to ſpeak well of them, and to wiſh well to them,) *not to curſe* them, (that is, not to reproach them, or to wiſh them ill, much leſs to bely them.) Truth alſo, as it cannot ever need, ſo doth it always loath and ſcorn the patronage and the ſuccour of lies; it is able to ſupport and protect it ſelf by fair means; it will not be killed upon a pretence of ſaving it, or thrive by its own ruin. Nor indeed can any party be ſo much ſtrengthned and under-propt, as it will be weakned and undermined, by ſuch courſes: No cauſe can ſtand firm upon a bottom ſo looſe and ſlippery, as falſehood is: All the good a Slanderer can do is, to diſparage what he would maintain. In truth, no hereſie can be worſe, than that would be which ſhould allow to play the devil in any caſe. He that can diſpenſe with himſelf to ſlander a *Jew* or a *Turk*, doth in ſo doing render himſelf worſe than either of them by profeſſion are: for even they (and even pagans themſelves) diſallow the practice of inhumanity and iniquity. All men by light of nature avow truth to be honourable, and faith to be indiſpenſably obſerved. He doth not underſtand what it is to be *Chriſtian*, or careth not to practiſe according thereto, who can find in his heart in any caſe, upon any pretence, to calumniate. In fine, to proſtitute our conſcience, or ſacrifice our honeſty, for any cauſe, to any intereſt whatever, can never be warrantable or wiſe. Farther,

3. The Slanderer is a fool, becauſe he uſeth improper means and prepoſterous methods of effecting his purpoſes. As there is no deſign worth the carrying on by ways of falſehood and iniquity; ſo there is ſcarce any (no good or lawful one at leaſt) which may not more ſurely, more ſafely, more cleverly be atchieved by means of truth and juſtice. Is not always the ſtraight way more ſhort than the oblique and crooked? Is not the plain way more eaſie than the rough and cragged? Is not the fair way more pleaſant and paſſable than the foul? Is it not better to walk in paths that are open and allowed, than in thoſe that are ſhut up and prohibited; than to clamber over walls, to break through fences, to treſpaſs upon incloſures? Surely yes: *He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.* Uſing ſtrict veracity and integrity, candour and equity, is the beſt method of accompliſhing good deſigns. Our own induſtry, good uſe of the parts and faculties God hath given us, embracing fair opportunities, God's bleſſing and providence, are ſufficient Prov. 10. 9.

means to rely upon for procuring, in an honeſt way, whatever is convenient for us. Theſe are ways approved, and amiable to all men; they procure the beſt friends, and feweſt enemies; they afford to the practiſer a chearful courage, and good hope; they meet with leſs diſappointment, and have no regret or ſhame attending them. He that hath recourſe to the other baſe means, and *maketh lies his refuge*, as he renounceth all juſt and honeſt means, as he diſclaimeth all hope in God's aſſiſtance, and forfeiteth all pretence to his bleſſing; ſo he cannot reaſonably expect good ſucceſs, or be ſatisfied in any undertaking. The ſupplanting way indeed ſeems the moſt curt and compendious way of bringing about diſhoneſt or diſhonourable deſigns: but as a good deſign is certainly diſhonoured thereby, ſo is it apt thence to be defeated; it raiſing up enemies and obſtacles, yielding advantages to whoever is diſpoſed to croſs us. As in trade it is notorious, that the beſt courſe to thrive is by dealing ſquarely and truly; any fraud or couſenage appearing there doth overthrow a man's credit, and drive away cuſtom from him: ſo in all other tranſactions, as he that dealeth juſtly and fairly will have his affairs proceed roundly, and ſhall find men ready to comply with him; ſo he that is obſerved to practiſe falſehood, will be declined by ſome, oppoſed by others, diſliked by all: no man ſcarce willingly will have to do with him; he is commonly forced to ſtand out in buſineſs, as one that plays foul play.

Iſa. 28. 15, 17. Jer. 28. 15.

4. Laſtly, The Slanderer is a very fool, as bringing many great inconveniences, troubles and miſchiefs on himſelf.

Prov. 18. 7. & 13. 3. & 18. 21.

Firſt, *A fool's mouth* (ſaith the wiſe man) *is his deſtruction, his lips are the ſnare of his ſoul:* and if any kind of ſpeech is deſtructive and dangerous, then is this certainly moſt of all; for by no means can a man enflame ſo fierce anger, impreſs ſo ſtiff hatred, raiſe ſo deadly enmity againſt himſelf, and conſequently ſo endanger his ſafety, eaſe and welfare, as by this practice. Men can more eaſily endure, and ſooner will forgive, any ſort of abuſe than this; they will rather pardon a robber of their goods, than a defamer of their good name.

Secondly, Such an one indeed is not only odious to the perſon immediately concerned, but generally to all men that obſerve his practice, every man preſently will be ſenſible how eaſily it may be his own caſe, how liable he may be to be thus abuſed, in a way againſt which there is no guard or defence. The Slanderer therefore is apprehended a common enemy, dangerous to all men; and thence rendreth all men averſe from him, and ready to croſs him. Love and peace, tranquillity and ſecurity can only be maintained by innocent and true dealing: ſo the pſalmiſt hath well taught us; *What man is he that deſireth life, and loveth many days, that he may ſee good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from ſpeaking guile.*

——*eſquid*
Ad te poſt paulo ventura pericula ſentis?
Hor. *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 18.

——*Sibi quiſque timet, quanquam eſt intactus & odit.* Idem.

Pſ. 34. 12, 13.

Thirdly, All wiſe, all noble, all ingenuous and honeſt perſons have an averſation from this practice, and cannot entertain it with any acceptance or complacence. (*A righteous man hateth lying*, ſaith the wiſe man.) It is only ill-natur'd and ill-nurtur'd, unworthy and naughty people that are willing auditors or encouragers thereof. *A wicked doer* (ſaith the wiſe man again) *giveth heed to falſe lips; and a liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue.* All love of truth, and regard to juſtice, and ſenſe of humanity, all generoſity and ingenuity, all charity and good will to men, muſt be extinct in thoſe who can with delight, or indeed with patience lend an ear, or give any countenance to a Slanderer: and is not he a very fool, who chuſeth to diſpleaſe the beſt, only ſoothing the worſt of men?

Prov. 13. 5. Prov. 17. 4.

Fourthly, The Slanderer indeed doth baniſh himſelf from all converſation and company, or intruding into it becomes very diſguſtful thereto: for he worthily is not only looked upon as an enemy to thoſe whom he ſlandereth, but to thoſe alſo upon whom he obtrudeth his calumnious diſcourſe. He not only wrongeth the former by the injury, but he mocketh the latter by the falſehood of his ſtories; implicitly charging his hearers with weakneſs and credulity, or with injuſtice and pravity.

Fifthly, He alſo derogateth wholly from his own credit, in all matters of diſcourſe. For he that dareth thus to injure his neighbour, who can truſt him in any thing he ſpeaks? What will not he ſay to pleaſe his vile humour, or further his baſe intereſt? What (thinks any man) will he ſcruple or boggle at, who hath the heart in thus doing wrong and miſchief to imitate the devil? Farther,

Sixthly,

Sixthly, This practice is perpetually haunted with moſt troubleſome companions, inward regret and ſelf-condemnation, fear and diſquiet: * the conſcience of dealing ſo unworthily doth ſmite and rack him; he is ever in danger, and thence in fear to be diſcovered, and requited for it. Of theſe paſſions the manner of his behaviour is a manifeſt indication: for men do ſeldom vent their ſlanderous reports openly and loudly, to the face, or in the ear of thoſe who are concern'd in them; but do utter them in a low voice, in dark corners, out of ſight and hearing, where they conceit themſelves at preſent ſafe from being called to an account. *Swords* (ſaith the pſalmiſt of ſuch perſons) *are in their lips; Who, ſay they, doth hear?* And *whoſo privily ſlandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off*, ſaith *David* again, intimating the common manner of this practice. Calumny is like *the plague, that walketh in darkneſs.* Hence appoſitely are the practiſers thereof termed whiſperers and back-biters: their heart ſuffers them not openly to avow, their conſcience tells them they cannot fairly defend their practice. Again,

* Ὁ κακῶς εἰπὼν ἀναγνώσεως λοιπόν ἐστι, ὑποπλήττει τε, καὶ δείδοικε, καὶ μέλανοῦ, καὶ κατηφίζει τῷ ἑαυτῷ γλῶτταν, δειλικῶς καὶ τρέμων, μήποτε εἰς ἑτέρους ἐξενεχθὲν τὸ ῥῆμα μέγαν ἐπαγάγῃ τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ φεύγειν ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἀνύπνιον ἐργάσηται τοῖς εἰρηκόσι, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Pſal. 59. 7. 101. 5. 91. 6.

Seventhly, The conſequent of this practice is commonly ſhameful diſgrace, with an obligation to retract, and render ſatisfaction: for ſeldom doth calumny paſs long without being detected and * confuted, † *He that walketh uprightly walketh ſurely: but he that perverteth his ways ſhall be known:* and, ‡ *The lip of truth ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever; but a lying lip is but for a moment*, ſaith the great obſerver of things. And when the Slander is diſcloſed, the Slanderer is obliged to excuſe, (that is, to palliate one lie with another, if he can do it,) or forced to recant, with much diſgrace and extreme diſpleaſure to himſelf: he is alſo many times conſtrained with his loſs and pain, to repair the miſchief he hath done.

* Pſal. 63. 11. *The mouth of them that ſpeak lies ſhall be ſtopped.*

† Prov. 10. 9.

‡ Prov. 12. 19. (Prov. 26. 26.) —*Refrain your tongue from back-biting: for there is no word ſo ſecret that ſhall go for nought; and the mouth that ſlandereth, ſlayeth the ſoul.* Sap. 1. 11.

Et delator habet quod dedit exitium. *Vide* Tac. *An.* 1. *p.* 45.

Eighthly, to this in likelihood the concernments of men, and the powers which guard juſtice will forcibly bring him: and certainly his conſcience will bind him thereto; God will indiſpenſably exact it from him. He can never have any ſound quiet in his mind, he can never expect pardon from heaven without acknowledging his fault, repairing the wrong he hath done, reſtoring that good name of which he diſpoſſeſſed his neighbour: for in this no leſs than in other caſes conſcience cannot cannot be ſatisfied, remiſſion will not be granted, except due reſtitution be performed: and of all reſtitutions this ſurely is the moſt difficult, moſt laborious, and moſt troubleſome. 'Tis no-wiſe ſo hard to reſtore goods ſtolen or extorted, as to recover a good opinion loſt, to wipe off aſperſions caſt on a man's name, to cure a wounded reputation; the moſt earneſt and diligent endeavour can hardly ever effect this, or ſpread the plaiſter ſo far as the ſore hath reached. The Slanderer therefore doth engage himſelf into great ſtraits, incurring an obligation to repair an almoſt irreparable miſchief.

Ninthly, this practice doth alſo certainly revenge it ſelf, impoſing on its actor a perfect retaliation; *a tooth for a tooth*; an irrecoverable infamy to himſelf, for the infamy he cauſeth to others. Who will regard his fame, who will be concerned to excuſe his faults, who ſo outrageouſly abuſeth the reputation of others? He ſuffereth juſtly, he is paid in his own coin, will any man think, who doth hear him reproached.

He that diligently ſeeketh good procureth favour: but he that ſeeketh miſchief, it ſhall come unto him. Prov. 11. 27. Prov. 26. 27. It was the puniſhment of Slanderers in the law.——*Then ſhall ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother.* Deut. 19. 19. Prov. 19. 5. *A falſe witneſs ſhall not be unpuniſhed; and he that telleth lies ſhall not eſcape.* Pſal. 52. 4, 5. *God ſhall deſtroy thee for ever, thou falſe tongue. Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord; but they that deal truly are his delight.* Prov. 12. 22.

Tenthly, in fine, the Slanderer (if he doth not by ſerious and ſore repentance retract his practice) doth baniſh himſelf from heaven and happineſs, doth expoſe himſelf to endleſs miſeries and ſorrows. For, if none that *maketh a lie ſhall enter into the heavenly city*; if *without* thoſe manſions of joy and bliſs *every one* muſt eternally abide *that loveth, or maketh a lie*; if πᾶσι τοῖς ψεύδεσι, *to all liars their portion* is aſſigned *in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone*; then aſſuredly the capital liar, the Slanderer, (who lieth moſt injuriouſly and miſchievouſly,) ſhall be far excluded from felicity, and thruſt down

Apoc. 21. 27. 22. 15.

* Apoc. 21. 8. It is one of thoſe things which God eſpecially doth abominate. *Prov.* 6. 19. & 12. 22. *A falſe witneſs ſhall periſh.* Prov. 21. 28.

1 Cor. 6. 10. & 5. 11. down into the depth of that miſerable place. If (as St. *Paul* ſaith) no *railer*, or evil-ſpeaker, *ſhall inherit the kingdom of God*; how far thence ſhall they be removed, who without any truth or juſtice do ſpeak ill of, and reproach their neighbour? If for every *ἀργὸν ῥῆμα*, *idle*, or vain, *word* we muſt *render a* ſtrict *account*; how much more ſhall we be ſeverely reckoned with for this ſort of words, ſo empty of truth and void of equity; words that are not only negatively vain, or uſeleſs, but poſitively vain, as falſe, and ſpoken to bad purpoſe? If Slander perhaps here may avoid detection, or ſcape deſerved puniſhment; yet infallibly hereafter, at the dreadful day, it ſhall be diſcloſed, irreverſibly condemned, inevitably perſecuted with condign reward of utter ſhame and ſorrow.

Matth. 12. 36.

Is not he then, he who, out of malignity, or vanity, to ſerve any deſign, or ſooth any humour in himſelf or others, doth by committing this ſin involve himſelf into all theſe great evils, both here and hereafter, a moſt deſperate and deplorable fool?

Having thus deſcribed the nature of this ſin, and declared the folly thereof, we need, I ſuppoſe, to ſay no more for diſſuading it; eſpecially to perſons of a generous and honeſt mind, who cannot but ſcorn to debaſe and defile themſelves by ſo mean and vile a practice; or to thoſe who ſeriouſly do profeſs chriſtianity, that is, the religion which peculiarly above all others preſcribeth conſtant truth, ſtricteſt juſtice, and higheſt charity.

I ſhall only add, that ſince our faculty of ſpeech (wherein we do excel all other creatures) was given us, as in the firſt place to praiſe and glorifie our maker, ſo in the next to benefit and help our neighbour; as an inſtrument of mutual ſuccour and delectation, of friendly commerce and pleaſant converſe together; for inſtructing and adviſing, comforting and chearing one another; it is an unnatural perverting, and an irrational abuſe thereof, to employ it to the damage, diſgrace, vexation, or wrong in any kind of our brother. Better indeed had we been as brutes without its uſe, than we are, if ſo worſe than brutiſhly we abuſe it.

Finally, all theſe things being conſidered, we may, I think, reaſonably conclude it moſt evidently true, that, *He which uttereth Slander, is a fool.*

SERMON XIX.

Againſt Detraction.

St. JAMES IV. 11.

Speak not evil of one another, brethren.

Μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί.

ONE half of our religion conſiſteth in charity toward our neighbour; and of that charity much the greater part ſeemeth exerciſed in ſpeech; for as ſpeaking doth take up the greateſt part of our life, (our quick and active mind continually venting its thoughts, and diſcharging its paſſions thereby; all our converſation and commerce paſſing through it, it having a large influence upon all our practice) ſo ſpeech commonly having our neighbour and his concernments for its objects, it is neceſſary, that either moſt of our charity will be employed therein, or that by it we ſhall moſt offend againſt that great duty, together with its aſſociates, juſtice and peace.

And all offences of this kind (which tranſgreſs charity, violate juſtice, or infringe peace) may perhaps be forbidden in this apoſtolical precept; for the word καταλαλεῖν, according to its origination, and according to ſome uſe, doth ſignifie all kind of obloquy, and ſo may comprize ſlander, harſh cenſure, reviling, ſcoffing, and the like kinds of ſpeaking againſt our neighbour; but in ſtricter acceptation, and acccording to peculiar uſe, it denoteth that particulat ſort of obloquy, which is called *Detraction*, or *Back-biting:* So therefore we may be allowed to underſtand it here; and accordingly I now mean to deſcribe it, and to diſſuade from its practice.

There is between this, and the other chief ſorts of obloquy, (ſlander, cenſuring and reviling) much affinity, yet there is ſome difference; for ſlander involveth an imputation of fallhood; reviling includeth bitter and foul language; but Detraction may be couched in truth, and cloathed in fair language; it is a poiſon often infuſed in ſweet liquor, and miniſtred in a golden cup. It is of nearer kin to cenſuring, and accordingly S. *James* here coupleth it thereto: *He that detracteth from a brother, and he that cenſureth his brother, back-biteth the law, and cenſureth the law:* yet may theſe two be diſtinguiſhed; for cenſuring ſeemeth to be of more general purport, extending indifferently to all kinds of perſons, qualities and actions, which it unduly taxeth; but Detraction eſpecially reſpecteth worthy perſons, good qualities, and laudable actions, the reputation of which it aimeth to deſtroy, or to impair.

This ſort of ill practice (ſo rife in uſe, ſo baſe in its nature, ſo miſchievous in its effects) it ſhall be my endeavour to deſcribe, that we may know it, and to diſſuade, that we may ſhun it.

It is the fault (oppoſite to that part of charity and goodneſs, which is called ingenuity or candour,) which out of naughty diſpoſition or deſign, ſtriveth to diſgrace worthy perſons, or to diſparage good actions, looking for blemiſhes and defects in them, uſing care and artifice to pervert and miſrepreſent things to that purpoſe.

An honeſt and charitable mind diſpoſeth us, when we ſee any man endued with good qualities, and purſuing a tenour of good practice, to eſteem ſuch a perſon, to commend him, to interpret what he doth to the beſt, not to ſuſpect any ill of him, or to ſeek any exception againſt him; it inclineth us, when we ſee any action materially good, to yield it ſimply due approbation and praiſe, without ſearching for, or ſurmiſing any defect in the cauſe or principle, whence it cometh, in the deſign or end to which it tendeth, in the way or manner of performing it. A good man would be ſorry to have any good thing ſpoiled: as to find a crack in a fair building, a flaw in a fine jewel, a canker in a goodly flower, is grievous to any indifferent man; ſo would it be diſpleaſing to him to obſerve defects in a worthy perſon, or commendable action; he therefore will not eaſily entertain a ſuſpicion of any ſuch, he never will hunt for any. But on the contrary, 'tis the property of a Detractor, when he ſeeth a worthy perſon, (whom he doth not affect, or whom he is concerned to wrong) to ſurvey him throughly, and to ſift all his actions, with intent to deſcry ſome failing, or any ſemblance of a fault, by which he may diſparage him: when he vieweth any good action, he peereth into it, labouring to eſpy ſome pretence to derogate from the commendation apparently belonging to it. This in general is the nature of this fault. But we may get a fuller underſtanding of it, by conſidering more diſtinctly ſome particular acts, wherein it is commonly exerciſed, or the ſeveral paths, in which the detracting ſpirit treadeth. Such are theſe following:

1. A Detractor is wont to repreſent perſons and actions under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances he can, ſetting out thoſe which may cauſe them to appear odious or deſpicable, ſlipping over thoſe which may commend or excuſe them. There is no perſon ſo excellent, who is not by his circumſtances forced to omit ſome things, which would become him to do, if he were able: to perform ſome things lamely, and otherwiſe than he would do, if he could reach it; no action ſo worthy, but may have ſome defect in matter, or manner, uncapable of redreſs; and he that repreſenteth ſuch perſon or action, leaving out thoſe excuſing circumſtances, doth tend to beget a bad or mean opinion of them, robbing them of their due value and commendation: thus to charge a man of not having done a good work, when he had not the power or opportunity to perform it, or is by croſs accidents hindered

Πολὺ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθὲν, οὐδὲ δεξάμενον τὸ εὖ. Theoph.

hindered from doing it according to his deſire; to ſuggeſt the action was not done exactly, in the beſt ſeaſon, in the righteſt mode, in the moſt proper place, with expreſſions, looks or geſtures moſt convenient, theſe are tricks of a Detractor, who when he cannot deny the metal to be good, and the ſtamp true, he clippeth it, and ſo would reject it from being current.

2. He is wont to miſconſtrue ambiguous words, or to miſinterpret doubtful appearances of things: Let a man ſpeak never ſo well, or act never ſo fairly, yet a Detractor will ſay his words may bear this ill ſenſe, his actions may tend to that bad purpoſe; we may therefore ſuſpect his meaning, and cannot yield him a full approbation.

At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atque
Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare; probus quis
Nobiſcum vivit? multum eſt demiſſus homo; illi
Tardo cognomen pinguis damus, &c.
Hor. *Ser. l.* 1. *Sat.* 3.

3. He is wont to miſ-name the qualities of perſons or things, aſſigning bad appellations or epithets to good or indifferent qualities: the names of virtue and vice do ſo nearly border in ſignification, that it is eaſie to transfer them from one to another, and to give the beſt quality a bad name: Thus, by calling a ſober man ſour, a chearful man vain, a conſcientious man moroſe, a devout man ſuperſtitious, a free man prodigal, a frugal man ſordid, an open man ſimple, a reſerved man crafty, one that ſtandeth upon his honour and honeſty proud, a kind man ambitiouſly popular, a modeſt man ſullen, timorous or ſtupid, is a very eaſie way to detract, and no man thereby can ſcape being diſparaged.

4. He doth imperfectly characterize perſons, ſo as ſtudiouſly to vail, or faintly to diſcloſe their virtues, and good qualities, but carefully to expoſe, and fully to aggravate or amplifie any defects or failings in them. The Detractor will pretend to give a character of his neighbour, but in ſo doing he ſtifleth what may commend him, and blazoneth what may diſgrace him; like an envious painter he hideth, or in dusky colours ſhadoweth all the graceful parts and goodly features, but ſetteth out all blemiſhes in the briskeſt light, and moſt open view. Every face hath in it ſome mole, ſpot or wrinkle: there is no man, that hath not (as they ſpeak) ſome blind place, ſome blemiſhes in his nature or temper, ſome faults corrected by education or cuſtom, ſomewhat amiſs proceeding from ignorance, or miſapprehenſion of things: theſe (although they be in themſelves ſmall and inconſiderable, altho' they are ſome of them involuntary and thence inculpable, although they be much corrected or reſtrained by virtuous diſcipline, although they are compenſated by greater virtues, yet theſe) the Detractor ſnatcheth, mouldeth, and out of them frameth an idea of his neighbour, apt to breed hatred, or contempt of him in an unwary ſpectator; whereas were charity, were equity, were humanity to draw the perſon, it repreſenting his qualities with juſt advantage, would render him lovely and venerable.

5. He is wont not to commend or allow any thing abſolutely and clearly, but always interpoſing ſome exception, to which he would have it ſeem liable: the man indeed, ſaith he, doth ſeem to have this or that laudable quality; the action hath a fair appearance, but then if he can, he blurteth out ſome ſpiteful objection; if he can find nothing colourable to ſay againſt it, yet he will ſeem to know, and to ſuppreſs ſomewhat; but (ſaith he) I know what I know, I know more than I'll ſay—— ſo (adding perhaps a crafty nod or ſhrug, a malicious ſneer or ſmile) he thinks to blaſt the faireſt performance.

Non audes repetere, qui tacendo amplius criminaris: & quia non habes quod objicias, ſimulas verecundiam; ut lector te putet mihi parcere, qui mentiens nec tuæ animæ peperciſti. Hier. *in Ruff.* 3. 6.

6. He is ready to ſuggeſt ill cauſes and principles (latent in the heart) of practices apparently good; aſcribing what is well done to bad diſpoſition, or bad purpoſe: So to ſay of a liberal man, that he is ſo from an ambitious temper, or out of a vain-glorious deſign; of a religious man, that his conſtant exerciſes of devotion proceed not from a conſcientious love and fear of God, or out of intention to pleaſe God and work out his ſalvation, but from hypocriſie, from affectation to gain the favour and good opinion of men, from deſign to promote worldly intereſts; this is the way of Detraction: He doth well (ſaith the Detractor) it cannot be denied; but for what reaſon doth he ſo? is it not plainly his intereſt to do ſo? doth he not mean to get applauſe, or preferment thereby? *Doth Job ſerve God for nought?* ſo ſaid the father of detracting ſpirits.

7. He derogateth from good actions by pretending to correct them, or to ſhew better that might have been done in their room: it is, ſaith he, done in ſome re-

ſpect well or tolerably ; but it might have been done better, with as ſmall trouble and coſt ; he was overſeen in chuſing this way, or proceeding in this manner: Thus did *Judas* blame the good woman, who anointed our Lord's feet ; *Why* (ſaid he) *was not this ointment ſold, and given to the poor?* So did his covetous baſeneſs prompt him to detract from that performance, of which our Saviour's goodneſs did pronounce, that it was a *good work*, which ſhould perpetually *through the whole world* paſs for *memorable*. John 12. 5. Matth. 26. 10, 13.

8. A Detractor not regarding the general courſe and conſtant tenor of a man's converſation, which is conſpicuouſly and clearly good, will attack ſome part of it, the goodneſs whereof is leſs diſcernable, or more ſubject to conteſt and blame ; as if in a body admirably handſome, one overlooking that curious harmony, that delicate complection, thoſe fine lineaments, and goodly features which running through the whole, do conſpire to render it a lovely ſpectacle, ſhould pitch on an eye, or a noſe to carp at ; or as if in a town, otherwhere begirt with impregnable defences, one ſhould ſearch for the weakeſt place, to form a battery againſt it.

9. In fine, The Detractor injecteth ſuggeſtions of every thing any-wiſe plauſible or poſſible, that can ſerve to diminiſh the worth of a perſon, or value of an action, which he would diſcountenance ; he pryeth into every nook, he bolteth every circumſtance, he improveth every pretence, he alledgeth any report or rumour, he uſeth all the tricks imaginable to that end. Such is the nature and way of Detraction ; in enlarging upon which I am the more ſparing, becauſe the arts and methods of Detraction being in great part common with thoſe of ſlander and cenſure, I have other-while in treating upon thoſe offences more fully declared them.

Now for diſſuading from its practice, I ſhall propound to your conſideration the cauſes whence it proceedeth, the irregularities and pravities which it involveth, the effects which it produceth ; the which will appear ſo baſe and ugly, that whoever ſhall conſider them, cannot I ſuppoſe but loath the daughter of ſuch parents, the ſubject of ſuch qualities, and the mother of ſuch children.

The cauſes of Detraction are

I. 1. Ill-nature, and bad humour : As good-nature and ingenuous diſpoſition incline men to obſerve, like, and commend what appeareth beſt in our neighbour ; ſo malignity of temper and heart prompteth to eſpy, and catch at the worſt : one, as a bee, gathereth honey out of any herb ; the other, as a ſpider, ſucketh poiſon out of the ſweeteſt flower.

2. Pride, ambition, and inordinate ſelf love : the Detractor would engroſs praiſe, and derive all glory to himſelf ; he would be the chief, the only excellent perſon ; therefore he would juſtle another's worth out of the way, that it may not endanger ſtanding in competition with his, or leſſening it by a partnerſhip ; that it may not outſhine his reputation, or dim it by the luſtre thereof.

Expedit vobis neminem videri bonum, quaſi aliena virtus exprobatio veſtrorum dilectorum ſit. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 19.

3. Envy : A Detractor liketh not to ſee another thrive, and flouriſh in the good eſteem of men, therefore he would gladly blaſt his worth, and virtue ; his *Eye* is *evil* and ſore, therefore would he quench, or cloud the light that dazleth it.

4. Malicious revenge and ſpite : his neighbour's good practice condemneth his bad life ; his neighbour's worth diſparageth his unworthineſs ; this he conceiveth highly prejudicial to him ; hence in revenge he will labour to vilifie the worth and good works of his neighbour.

5. Senſe of weakneſs, want of courage, or deſpondency of his own ability : He that in any kind deemeth himſelf able, or confideth in his own ſtrength and induſtry, will allow to others the commendation beſeeming their ability ; for he thinketh himſelf in capacity to deſerve the fame, and as he would not loſe the fruits of his own deſerts, ſo he taketh it for equitable, that another ſhould enjoy them ; to deprive another of them, he ſeeth were in conſequence to prejudice his own capacity and hope : but he that feeleth himſelf deſtitute of worth, and deſpaireth to arrive to the credit of others, is thence tempted to diſparage and defame ſuch perſons : this courſe he taketh as the beſt allay of his contemptibleneſs, the only ſolace for his defects that he can hope for ; being he cannot ariſe to another's pitch, he would bring down that other to his ; he cannot directly get any praiſe, therefore he would indirectly find excuſe by ſhrouding his unworthineſs under the blame of others : Hence Detraction is a ſign of the weakeſt and baſeſt ſpirit ; 'tis an impotent and groveling ſerpent, that lurketh in the hedge, waiting opportunity to bite the heel of any nobler creature that paſſeth by.

οἱ ἀτελεῖς τῷ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μὴ ἐπαινέσθαι φαίνεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ ψέγειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κρείττονας δεινοὶ βάλλουσι. Socr. *Hiſt. Eccl.* 6. 13.

6. Evil

Remedium pœnæ ſuæ arbitrantur ſi nemo ſit ſanctus, ſi omnibus detrahatur, ſi turba ſit pereuntium, ſi multitudo peccantium. Hier. *ad* Aſellam. *Ep.* 99.

6. Evil conſcience: A man that is conſcious to himſelf of a ſolid worth and virtue, of having honeſt intentions, of having performed good deeds, is ſatisfied with the fruits of inward comfort, and outward approbation, which they do yield; he therefore will ſcorn to ſeek the bettering himſelf by the diſcredit of others; he will not by ſo mean a practice adulterate that worth, in which he feeleth ſufficient complacence; he rather doth like that others ſhould enjoy their due commendation, as juſtifying his own claim thereto; he willingly payeth it, becauſe he may juſtly demand it; and becauſe with-holding it from another, may prejudice his own right thereto: But he that is ſenſible of no good qualities in himſelf, that is conſcious of no worthy actions that he hath done, to breed a ſatisfaction of mind, or build a reputation upon, would pleaſe himſelf in making others as little better than himſelf as he can, would ground a kind of credit upon the ruins and rubbiſh of another's fame. When he knoweth he cannot ſhine by his own light, he would ſeem leſs obſcure by eclipſing the brightneſs of others, and ſhutting out the day from about him; conceiving that all things look alike in the dark, and that bad appeareth not bad where no good is near.

As alſo a good man liketh worth and virtue, becauſe they reſemble what he diſcerneth in himſelf; ſo evil men hate them, becauſe they do not find themſelves maſters of them; they are like the fox, who ſaid, the grapes were ſour, becauſe he could not reach them; and that the hare was dry meat, becauſe he could not catch her. A Detractor therefore is always a bad man, and wanteth thoſe good qualities which he would diſparage.

7. Bad ſelfiſh deſign: Detraction is a common engine, whereby naughty men ſtrive to compaſs their ends; when by fair means, by their own wit, induſtry, courage, worthy behaviour, they cannot promote their intereſts, they cannot drive on their ambitious or covetous projects, they cannot attain that preferment or that gain which they affect, then they betake themſelves to this crooked and foul way of ſupplanting, by detracting thoſe whom they conceit to ſtand in the way of their deſigns. It was the firſt piece of wicked policy that ever was practiſed in the world, the devil by detracting from the goodneſs and veracity of God (miſrepreſenting his intentions, and miſconſtruing his commands) ſtrove to atchieve his miſchievous deſign of ſeducing our fore-fathers; and in his footſteps his ſerpentine progeny (the race of malicious, envious, ambitious, covetous and crafty politicians) do tread. It is obſerved to be a fault that uſually haunteth courts, wherein there is competition for the favour of a prince, and the conſequences thereof, (for dignity, power, wealth, repute;) to get which to themſelves, they ſtrive to diſpoſſeſs, or prevent others by this inſtrument of Detraction. It is alſo rife among ſcholars, that is, among competitors for wit, learning, induſtry, and the rewards of them, reputation or preferment. From ſuch principles and cauſes uſually doth this practice ſpring.

II. It doth involve theſe kinds of irregularity and pravity.

1. Injuſtice: A Detractor careth not how he dealeth with his neighbour, what wrong he doth him. Juſtice obligeth to render every man his due; *honour to whom honour is due*, and praiſe to him that deſerveth praiſe. There can be no greater injury done a man, than to ſpoil his beſt good, his virtue; than to rob him of the beſt reward of his pains and cares, which is a fair reputation; (I ſpeak of rewards which lie in the reach of men.) No man prizes any thing comparably to his honeſty and honour; who therefore by any means blurreth them, is moſt
Prov. 17. 15. injurious. *Wo unto them—— who take the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him*, Iſa. 5. 23.

Injurious indeed he is not only to the virtuous perſon, but to virtue it ſelf; for commendation is a debt we owe to it where-ever it is found; which conduceth to its encouragement and advancement; and to wrong goodneſs it ſelf, is the moſt heinous injuſtice.

2. Uncharitableneſs: It is evident that the Detractor doth not love his neigh-
1 Cor. 13. bour; for charity maketh the beſt of every thing: *Charity believeth every thing, hopeth every thing* to the advantage of its object: charity delighteth to ſee the beloved to proſper and flouriſh; and will therefore contribute its endeavour to the procuring it to do ſo: the Detractor therefore (who would defile the beſt, and diſplay the worſt in his neighbour) can have no charity; he indeed manifeſteth the greateſt hatred, ſeeing he ſtriveth to do the greateſt miſchief, to cauſe the greateſt

greateſt vexation to his neighbour, in bereaving him of his moſt precious and dear enjoyments.

3. Impiety: He that loveth and reverenceth God, will acknowledge and approve his goodneſs, in beſtowing excellent gifts and graces to his brethren; when ſuch appear, he will be afraid to diſavow, or diſgrace them, that he may not rob God himſelf of the glory thence due to his favour and mercy, or through his neighbour's ſide wound the divine benignity: he will be ready to bleſs and praiſe God for all ſuch emanations of his goodneſs; as thoſe did in the goſpel, who beholding our Saviour's miraculous works of grace, did *glorifie God, who had given ſuch gifts unto men:* but the Detractor careth not for that; he feareth not to bereave God of the honour of diſpenſing good gifts, that his brother may not have the honour of receiving them; he will rather deny God to be good, than allow a man to be ſo by his grace and bleſſing; ſo is he no leſs a Detractor from God, than from his neighbour.

Hence of all offences, Detraction certainly muſt be moſt odious to God: He is the God of truth, and therefore deteſteth lying, of which Detraction ever (eſpecially in moral eſteem) hath a ſpice: He is the God of juſtice, and therefore eſpecially doth abhor wronging the beſt perſons and actions; he is the God of love, and therefore cannot but loath this capital violation of charity; he is jealous of his glory, and cannot therefore endure it to be abuſed by ſlurring his good gifts and graces; he cannot but hate that offence, which approacheth to that moſt heinous and unpardonable ſin, that conſiſteth in defaming the excellent works performed by divine power and goodneſs, aſcribing them to bad cauſes. Matth. 12.

4. Detraction involveth degenerous baſeneſs, meanneſs of ſpirit, and want of good manners. All men affect to ſeem generous, and will ſay, they ſcorn to be baſe; but generoſity is in nothing more ſeen, than in a candid eſtimation of other mens virtues and good qualities; to this generoſity of nature, generoſity of education, generoſity of principles and judgment do all conſpiringly diſpoſe: 'Tis the nobleſt kind of courteſie, to tender and farther the reputation of others; to be liberal in beſtowing commendation on deſerving perſons; it obligeth men more than any other benefit can do, procuring them commonly real advantage, always chearing and ſatisfying their mind; for in nothing more do they pleaſe themſelves, than in reaping this fruit of their good intention, and honeſt induſtry, the approbation of worthy men; it is therefore a moſt gentile thing thus to oblige men. But on the other ſide, nothing more plainly argueth a degenerate and ignoble heart, ill-breeding and ill-formed manners, a ſorry mind and poor judgment, than to diſeſteem or diſparage worth and virtue in others: 'Tis the moſt ſavage rudeneſs, the moſt ſordid illiberality, the moſt ugly clowniſhneſs that can be; of all men therefore it moſt doth misbecome thoſe who pretend to be gentlemen.

5. In conſequence to theſe things, Detraction includeth folly: for every unjuſt, every uncharitable, every impious, every baſe perſon is (as ſuch) a fool: none of thoſe qualities are conſiſtent with wiſdom; but the folly of it will particularly appear (together with its pravity) by the bad and hurtful effects which it produceth, both in regard to others, and to him that practiſeth it; ſome of which are theſe:

III. 1. The practice thereof is a great diſcouragement, and obſtruction to the common practice of goodneſs: for many ſeeing the beſt men thus diſparaged, and the beſt actions vilified, are diſheartned and deterr'd from practiſing virtue, eſpecially in a conſpicuous and eminent degree: Why, will many a man ſay, ſhall I be ſtrictly good, ſeeing goodneſs is ſo liable to be miſuſed, ſeeing thereby I ſhall provoke the detracting tongue, ſeeing my reward ſhall be to have a ſevere inquiſition paſs upon me, to have my life defac'd, and my name beſpattered? Had not I better be contented with a mediocrity and obſcurity of goodneſs, than by a glaring luſtre thereof to draw the envious eye, and kindle raging obloquy upon me? Thus men of a weaker ſpirit, or a baſhful temper (who are not ſtiff and reſolute in their way, who have not the heart or the face to bear up againſt rude aſſaults of their reputation) will be ſcared and daunted by Detraction; ſo as conſequently to be induced.

——*placare invidiam virtute relictâ.* Hor.

And when thus the credit of virtue is blaſted in its practiſers, many will be di-

verted from it; ſo will it grow out of requeſt, and the world will be corrupted by theſe agents of the *evil one*.

It were indeed upon this conſideration, adviſable and juſt, not to ſeem ever to detract; even not then when we are well aſſured that by ſpeaking ill, we ſhall not really do it; if we ſhould diſcover any man to ſeem worthy, or to be ſo reputed, whom yet we diſcern (by ſtanding in a nearer light) not to be truly ſuch, having had opportunity to know his bad qualities, bad purpoſes or bad deeds; yet wiſdom would commonly dictate, and Goodneſs diſpoſe not to mar his repute: If we ſhould obſerve (without danger of miſtake) any plauſible action to be performed out of bad inclinations, principles or deſigns; yet ordinarily in diſcretion and honeſty we ſhould let it paſs with ſuch commendation as its appearance may procure, rather than to ſlur it by venting our diſadvantageous apprehenſions about it: for it is no great harm that any man ſhould enjoy undeſerved commendation, or that a counterfeit worth ſhould find a diſſembled reſpect; it is but being over juſt, which if it be ever a fault, can hardly be ſo in this caſe, wherein we do not expend any coſt, or ſuffer any damage; but it may do miſchief to blemiſh an appearance of virtue; it may be a wrong thereto to deface its very image; the very diſcloſing hypocriſie doth inflict a wound on goodneſs, and expoſeth it to ſcandal; for bad men thence will be prone to infer, that all virtue proceedeth from the like bad principles: ſo the diſgrace caſt on that which is ſpurious, will redound to the prejudice of that which is moſt genuine: and if it be good to forbear detracting from that which is certainly falſe, much more is it ſo in regard to that which is poſſibly true; and far more ſtill is it ſo in reſpect to that which is clear and ſure.

2. Hence Detraction is very noxious and baneful to all ſociety; for all ſociety is maintained in welfare by encouragement of honeſty and induſtry; the which, when diſparagement is caſt upon them, will be in danger to languiſh and decay; whence a Detractor is the worſt member that can be of a ſociety: he is a very moth, a very canker therein.

3. Detraction worketh real damage and miſchief to our neighbour: it bereaveth him of that goodly reputation which is the proper reward of virtue, and a main ſupport to the practice of it: it often really obſtructeth and diſappointeth his undertakings, eſtranging thoſe from him, or ſetting them againſt him, who do credulouſly entertain it.

4. The Detractor abuſeth thoſe, into whoſe ears he inſtilleth his poiſonous ſuggeſtions, engaging them to partake in the injuries done to worth and virtue; cauſing them to entertain unjuſt and uncharitable conceits, to practice unſeemly and unworthy behaviour toward good men.

5. The Detractor produceth great inconveniences and miſchiefs to himſelf.

He raiſeth againſt himſelf fierce animoſity and wrath: for men that are conſcious to themſelves of their own honeſt meaning and blameleſs proceedings, cannot endure to be abuſed by unjuſt diſparagement; hence are they ſtirred to boil with paſſion, and to diſcharge revenge upon the Detractor.

He expoſeth himſelf to general hatred; all good men loath him as a baſe and miſchievous perſon, and a particular enemy of theirs, always ready to wrong them: every man is apt to ſay, He that doth thus abuſe another, will be ready to ſerve me in like manner if I chance to come in his way, vilifying the beſt thing I can do, even the worſt men will diſlike him; for even ſuch affect to do ſomewhat laudable or plauſible, and would be glad to enjoy approbation for it, and cannot therefore brook thoſe who lie in wait to rob them of the fruit of their good endeavours; ſo do all men worthily deteſt and ſhun the Detractor, as a common enemy to goodneſs firſt, and then unto men. Farther,

6. The Detractor yieldeth occaſion to others, and a kind of right to return the ſame meaſure upon him. If he hath in him a ſhew of any thing laudable, men will not allow him any commendation from it: for why, conceive they, ſhall he receive that which he will not ſuffer others to enjoy? How can any man admit him to have any real worth or virtue in himſelf who doth not like it or treat it well in another? Hence, if a Detractor hath any good in him, he much injureth himſelf, depriving himſelf of all the reſpect belonging thereto.

7. Again, the Detractor (eſteeming things according to moral poſſibility) will aſſuredly be defeated in his aims; his Detraction in the cloſe will avail nothing, but

but to bring trouble and ſhame upon himſelf; for God hath a particular care over innocence and goodneſs, ſo as not to let them finally to ſuffer: the *good man's righteouſneſs he will bring forth as the light, and his judgment as the noon day:* Pſal. 37. 6. Wiſe men eaſily will diſcern the foul play, and will ſcorn it; good men ever will be ready to clear and vindicate the truth: Worth however clouded for a time, will break through all miſts, and glorioufly expand it ſelf, to the confuſion of its moſt ſly oppoſers.

Such are the natural and obvious effects of this practice; the conſideration whereof (together with the cauſes producing it, and the eſſential adjuncts which it doth involve) will, I ſhould think, ſuffice to deter us from it.

I ſhall only adjoin one conſideration, which our text ſuggeſteth: *Speak not evil of one another, brethren*, ſaith the Apoſtle: *Brethren*; that appellation doth imply a ſtrong argument enforcing the precept: Brethren, with eſpecial tenderneſs of affection, ſhould love one another, and delight in each others good; they ſhould tender the intereſt and honour of each other as their own; they ſhould therefore by all means cheriſh and countenance virtue in one another, as that which promoteth the common welfare, which adorneth and illuſtrateth the dignity of their family. We ſhould rejoice in the good qualities and worthy deeds of any chriſtian, as glorifying our common father, as gracing our common profeſſion, as edifying the common body, whereof we are members; *members we are one of another*, and as ſuch ſhould find complacence in the health and vigour of any part, from whence the whole doth receive benefit and comfort: for one brother to repine at the welfare, to malign the proſperity, to decry the merit, to deſtroy the reputation of another, is very unnatural; for one chriſtian any-wiſe to wrong or prejudice another, is highly impious.

To conclude: It is our duty (which equity, which ingenuity, which charity, which piety do all concurrently oblige us to) when-ever we do ſee any good perſon, or worthy deed, to yield hearty eſteem, to pay due reſpect, gladly to congratulate the perſon, and willingly to commend the work; rendring withal, thanks and praiſe for them to the *donor of all good gifts:* unto whom, for all the good things beſtowed upon us, and upon all his creatures, be for ever all glory and praiſe. *Amen.*

SERMON XX.

Againſt raſh cenſuring and judging.

St. MATTH. VII. 1.

Judge not.

THESE words (being part of our Saviour's moſt divine ſermon upon the mount) contain a very ſhort precept, but of vaſt uſe and conſequence; the obſervance whereof would much conduce to the good of the world, and to the private quiet of each man; it interdicting a practice, which commonly produceth very miſchievous and troubleſome effects; a practice never rare among men, but now very rife; when with the general cauſes, which ever did and ever will in ſome meaſure diſpoſe men thereto, ſome ſpecial ones do concur, that powerfully incline to it.

There are innate to men an unjuſt pride, emboldning them to take upon them beyond what belongeth to them, or doth become them; an exceſſive ſelf-love,

prompting them as to flatter themſelves in their own conceit, ſo to undervalue others, and from vilifying their neighbours, to ſeek commendation to themſelves; an envious malignity, which ever luſteth to be pampered with finding or making faults; many corrupt affections, ſpringing from fleſhly nature, which draw or drive men to this practice; ſo that in all ages it hath been very common, and never any profeſſion hath been ſo much invaded, as that of the judge.

But divers peculiar cauſes have ſuch an influence upon our age, as more ſtrongly to ſway men thereto: there is a wonderful affectation to ſeem hugely wiſe and witty; and how can we ſeem ſuch more, than in putting on the garb and countenance of Judges; ſcanning and paſſing ſentence upon all perſons, and all things incident? There is an extreme niceneſs and delicacy of conceit, which maketh us apt to reliſh few things, and to diſtaſte any thing; there are diſſenſions in opinion, and addictedneſs to parties, which do tempt us, and ſeem to authorize us in condemning all that differ from us; there is a deep corruption of mind and manners, which engageth men in their own defence to cenſure others, diverting the blame from home, and ſhrowding their own under the covert of other mens faults; there are new principles of morality and policy become current with great vogue, which allow to do or ſay any thing ſubſervient to our intereſts or deſigns; which alſo do repreſent all men ſo bad, that (admitting them true) nothing hardly can be ſaid ill of any man beyond truth and juſtice.

Expedit vobis neminem videri bonum; quaſi aliena virtus exprobratio veſtrorum delictorum ſit. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 19.

Hence is the world become ſo extremely critical and cenſorious, that in many places the chief employment of men, and the main body of converſation is, if we mark of it, taken up in judging: every goſſiping is, as it were, a court of juſtice; every ſeat becometh a tribunal; at every table ſtandeth a bar, whereto all men are cited, whereat every man (as it happeneth) is arreigned and ſentenced: No ſublimity or ſacredneſs of dignity, no integrity or innocence of life, no prudence or circumſpection of demeanor can exempt any perſon from it: Not one eſcapeth being taxed under ſome ſcandalous name, or odious character, one or other. Not only the outward actions and viſible practices of men are judged; but their retired ſentiments are brought under trial, their inward diſpoſitions have a verdict paſt on them, their final ſtates are determined. Whole bodies of men are thus judged at once, and nothing it is in one breath to damn whole churches, at one puſh to throw down whole nations into the bottomleſs pit. All mankind in a lump is ſeverely cenſured, as void of any real goodneſs or true virtue; ſo fatally depraved as not to be corrigible by any good diſcipline, not to be recoverable even by the grace of God: yea, God himſelf is hardly ſpared, his providence coming under the bold obloquy of thoſe, (who as the pſalmiſt ſpeaketh of ſome in his time, whoſe race doth yet ſurvive) *ſpeak loftily, and ſet their mouth againſt the heavens.*

Εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ καθαιρέζειν δύπανᾶ) ἡμῖν ἅπας ὁ βίος· καὶ οὐδένα ἂν εὕροις τάχεως, ὃ βιωτικὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ μοναχὸν τοῦτης ἐλεύθερον τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καίτοιγε πάντες ἀπείρως κειμένης αὐτῆς. Chryſ. *ad den. T.* 6. *Orat.* 42.

Pſal. 73. 8, 9.

This being too apparently the preſent ſtate of things, and obvious practice of men, it were deſirable, that in order to their being reclaimed, men commonly did well underſtand the nature of this practice with the hainous guilt, and conſequently the deadly hazard they do incur thereby: at this purpoſe my diſcourſe ſhall aim, wherein I ſhall endeavour both to deſcribe the nature of the practice forbidden in my text, and to declare the pravity, iniquity and folly of it.

Judge not. As to the word we may obſerve, that it being in it ſelf according to its primitive ſenſe of a middle and indifferent ſignification, is yet frequently in the Scripture uſed in the worſt ſenſe; ſo as to import thoſe acts, or thoſe effects of judgment, which paſs to the diſadvantage of the perſons ſubjected thereto; for condemnation, and for infliction of puniſhment: And this ſenſe here ſurely the word doth principally reſpect, yet not ſo precisely as to exclude ſomewhat contained in the larger ſenſe: We are ſo prohibited the condemning and puniſhing our neighbour in his good name, that withal ſome acts antecedent, or concomitant to thoſe, are glanced at in the prohibition: undue application thereto, unjuſt proceeding therein are alſo ſignified unlawful; for the meaning of the word, and the reaſon of the caſe may be ſo far extended.

But for the fuller and clearer underſtanding of the matter, we muſt obſerve that there are divers ſorts of judging, or acts reſembling judgment, which do no

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belong to this precept; which it is requiſite to diſtinguiſh from this judging prohibited.

1. That exerciſing publick judgment, or adminiſtring juſtice is not here prohibited, I need not to inſiſt; that is neceſſary; humane ſociety could not ſubſiſt, right could not be maintained, nor peace preſerved without it; God thereby governeth the world, earthly judges being his inſtruments and ſubſtitutes; ſuch judgment is not ſo much the act of men, as of God himſelf, by whoſe authority, in whoſe name, for whoſe ſervice it is miniſtred. As *Moſes* told the judges in his time, *You ſhall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's.* And in numberleſs places of Scripture this judgment is allowed and authorized; it therefore is not touched here. Deut. 1. 17.

2. That trial and cenſure (although out of court, and without formal proceſs) which any kind of ſuperiors do exerciſe upon their inferiors, committed to their inſpection and care; ſuch as of parents over children, maſters over ſervants, paſtors over their flock, any governors over their charge, their admonitions, reprehenſions and corrections are to be excepted hence, as being in themſelves needful and warranted, yea enjoined by God.

3. Neither are fraternal correption or friendly reproof (proceeding out of charitable deſign, upon clear ground, in fit ſeaſon, within reaſonable compaſs) concerned in this prohibition; this being a wholeſome practice, and a duty incumbent on us: *Thou ſhalt* (ſaith the law) *not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, and not ſuffer ſin upon him.* Levit. 19. 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14.

4. All obſerving and reflecting upon our neighbours actions, all framing an opinion about them, and expreſſing our minds concerning them are not forbidden. For we are not bound perpetually to ſhut our eyes, or go about hood-winked; nor to ſtop our ears and make our ſelves deaf: And how can we forbear to think according to plain evidence? How can we reſiſt the impreſſions of ſenſe upon our minds? How can we conteſt notorious experience? How alſo, barring ſuch apprehenſions of obvious and apparent things, could we bear teſtimony concerning them? How could we ſignifie our approbation or diſlike of them? How could we for his amendment admoniſh or reprove our neighbour, as in ſome caſes we are obliged to do?

5. We are not hence obliged to think ſo well of all men, as without competent knowledge always to rely upon their pretences, or to intruſt our intereſts in their hands; for common experience acquainteth us that we may be deceived in truſting men, prudence biddeth us in matters of importance not to confide in uncertainties; wherefore we ſhall not be culpable for being wary in ſuch caſes: this indeed is not a poſitive judgment, but only a waving to declare in favour, when ſufficient ground of doing ſo doth not appear; it is only a reaſonable ſuſpecting the poſſibility of miſcarriage in ſome perſons, not a downright aſſerting ill concerning any one man; wherefore to do it as it ſuiteth diſcretion, ſo it doth not thwart juſtice or charity; and cannot therefore be prohibited here.

6. We are alſo not hence obliged, in contradiction to plain ſenſe, to judge well of men; accounting him for a ſaint, or a good man, whom we ſee living diſorderly, or committing ſcandalous offences, plainly repugnant to the rules of piety, juſtice or ſobriety.

In fine, There are ſome ſpecial caſes and circumſtances wherein good men excuſably may in ſevere terms declare their reſentment of manifeſt wickedneſs, eſpecially ſuch as is prejudicial to God's honour, and publick good. Of this there are divers inſtances, which yet hardly can be reduced to common rules, or propoſed for general example; the matter being tickliſh, and men being apt to pervert any liberty or pretence of this kind, by indulging to their own bad humours and paſſions.

Theſe ſorts of allowable judgments being excepted, it is then private, affected, needleſs, groundleſs, raſh and harſh cenſuring the perſons or actions of our brethren; ſuch as doth reſemble not the acting of a lawful ſuperior, of a needful witneſs, of a faithful friend, but of a judge, acting without competent right, upon no good grounds, or in undue manner, which is here interdicted: the word *judging* doth well imply the nature of this fault, the manner of our proceeding therein, the grounds of its unlawfulneſs; neither perhaps can we better underſtand our duty in this matter, than by expending what are the properties and obligations of a judge,

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and comparing our practice thereto; for thence it may plainly appear how unqualified we are to bear this office, and how unduly we execute it.

1. No judge ſhould intrude himſelf into the office, or aſſume a judicial power without competent authority; that is, by delegation from ſuperior powers, or by voluntary reference of the parties concerned. This condition we fail in, whenever without warrant from God, or ſpecial reaſon exacting it from us, we do pry into, ſcan and tax the actions of our neighbour. When, I ſay, we are pragmatically inquiſitive into the purpoſes and proceedings of our ſuperiors, of our equals, of thoſe who are not ſubject to our charge and care, when we narrowly examine them, when we peremptorily blame them, then do we unduly exalt our ſelves above them, and exerciſe an unwarrantable juriſdiction over them. What ſenſe doth offer, we may receive in; what judgment reaſon doth extort, we may follow; what teſtimony publick benefit requireth, we may yield; what expreſſion charity doth call for toward our neighbour's edification, we may ſeaſonably vent: but if we proceed farther in this way, the party concerned may appeal from us as incompetent and unlawful judges of his actions or his ſtate; we are arrogant and injurious in preſuming to exerciſe that office. God is the maſter and judge of men, and without authority from him, we muſt not preſume to judge his ſervants and ſubjects: So we are taught by St. *Paul*; *Who* (ſaith he) *art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant? To his own maſter he ſtandeth or falleth:* and St. *James* in like manner, upon the ſame ground, expoſtulateth with the cenſurer; *There is* (ſaith he) *one law-giver, who is able to ſave, or to deſtroy; who art thou that judgeſt another?* Our Lord himſelf for this reaſon declined intermedling in the affairs of men; *Who* (ſaid he) *made me a judge or divider over you?* And ſhall we conſtitute our ſelves in the office, ſhall we ſeat our ſelves on the tribunal, without any commiſſion from God, or call from men? How many judges, if this *proviſo* were obſerved, would have their *Quietus?* How many cenſurers would be voided hence?

1 Pet. 4. 15. 1 Theſſ. 4. 11. Prov. 27. 16. 1 Tim. 5. 13.

Quid in poteſtatem alienam irruis? quid temerarius Dei Tribunal aſcendis? Opt. *lib.* 2.

Rom. 14. 4.

Jam. 4. 11.

Luk. 12. 14.

2. A judge ſhould be free from all prejudices, and all partial affections; eſpecially from thoſe which are diſadvantageous to the party in danger to ſuffer; ſuch as tempt or incline to condemn him; from ill-opinion and ill-will, from anger, envy, revengefulneſs, contempt, and the like: for he that is poſſeſſed with theſe, is unfit ſo qualified to be a judge; his eyes are blinded, or diſtorted, or infected with bad tinctures, ſo that he cannot diſcern what is right, or that he ſeeth things repreſented in the wrong place, and under falſe colours: His mind is diſcompoſed and diſturbed, ſo that he cannot calmly and ſteddily apprehend or conſider the juſt ſtate of the caſe; his will is biaſſed, and ſtrongly propendeth one way, ſo that he cannot proceed uprightly in a ſtreight and even courſe: Being not indifferently affected, but concerned on one ſide, he is become a party, or an adverſary, and thence unfit to be a judge; he hath determined the cauſe with himſelf beforehand, ſo that no place is left to farther diſcuſſion or defence; wherefore before ſuch a judge the beſt cauſe will fall, the cleareſt innocence ſhall not preſerve from condemnation. He therefore that will undertake this office, muſt firſt deveſt himſelf of all prejudices, muſt rid himſelf of all paſſions, muſt purifie himſelf from all corrupt inclinations, taking care not to come with a condemning mind, or a luſt to puniſh the obnoxious party; otherwiſe a juſt exception lieth againſt him, and reaſonably his juriſdiction may be declined.

Jam. 2. 1. Matt. 22. 16. 1 Tim. 5. 21.

If this rule were put in practice, there would be little cenſuring; for few come to it with a free and pure mind; few blame their neighbours without ſome preoccupation of judgment, or ſome diſaffection toward them.

3. A judge ſhould never proceed in judgment, without careful examination of the cauſe, ſo as well to underſtand it. Even thoſe, who out of indiſpenſable duty, or by a juſt power, may call others to account, are yet obliged to be wary, and never to paſs ſentence without due cognizance of the cauſe; otherwiſe they will judge blindly and raſhly; they will either decide wrongly, or ſo truly, that doing it muſt be imputed not to their virtue, but to their fortune; often they will be miſtaken, and 'tis luck that they are not ſo always; and what plainer iniquity can there be, than that the reputation or real intereſt of any man ſhould be put to the arbitrement of chance; that he ſhould be defamed, or damnified, not for a certain fault, but from an unhappy lot? As things viewed at a diſtance appear much different in bigneſs, ſhape and colour, from what they are in nature and reality; ſo if

Deut. 1. 16.

we do not look nearly and narrowly, we ſhall greatly miſapprehend the nature, the degrees, the right characters of things, and of perſons; then be our pretence to judge never ſo fair, yet our proceeding is unjuſt; then if we do unduly invade the place, it will be a great aggravation of our miſdemeanor: If of our own head and pleaſure, we will conſtitute our ſelves judges, yet at leaſt we ſhould act the judge's part, in patiently attending to, and heedfully ſifting the cauſe: If we have not a ſtomach to hear, if we will not afford the care to mind what may be alledged in favour of the party concerned; if we cannot, or will not ſcan every point and circumſtance which may ſerve to acquit him, or to excuſe and extenuate his guilt, why do we undertake to be his judges? Why do we engage our ſelves into the commiſſion of ſo palpable injuſtice? Yea, of ſo diſgraceful folly: for, *He that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is* (ſaith the wiſe man) *a folly, and ſhame unto him.* This caution excludeth raſh judgment, from which if men would abſtain, there would be little cenſuring: for nothing is more ordinary than for men to do like thoſe of whom St. *Jude* ſaith, "Οσα οὐκ οἴδασι βλασφημοῦσι, *they rail at what they know not*; they cenſure perſons with whom they are not thoroughly acquainted, they condemn actions whereof they do not clearly ken the reaſons; they little weigh the cauſes and circumſtances which urge or force men to do things; they ſtand at great diſtance, and yet with great aſſurance and peremptorineſs determine how things are, as if they did ſee through them, and knew them moſt exactly. Prov. 18. 13. Jude 10.

4. A judge ſhould never pronounce final ſentence, but *ex allegatis & probatis*, upon good grounds, after certain proof, and upon full conviction. Not any ſlight conjecture, or thin ſurmiſe; any idle report or weak pretence is ſufficient to ground a condemnation upon: the caſe ſhould be irrefragably clear and ſure before we determine on the worſe ſide: *Judge not* (ſaith our Lord) *according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.* The *Jews*, ſeeing our Lord cure an infirm perſon upon the ſabbath day, preſently upon that ſemblance condemned him of violating the law; not conſidering either the ſenſe of the law, or the nature of his performance; and this he termeth unrighteous judgment. Every accuſation ſhould be deemed null, until both as to matter of fact, and in point of right, it be firmly proved true; it ſufficeth not to preſume it may be ſo; to ſay, It ſeemeth thus, doth not ſound like the voice of a judge; otherwiſe ſeeing there never is wanting ſome colour of accuſation, every action being liable to ſome ſuſpicion, or ſiniſter conſtruction, no innocence could be ſecure, no perſon could eſcape condemnation; the reputation and intereſt of all men would continually ſtand expoſed to inevitable danger. It is a rule of equity and humanity, built upon plain reaſon, that rather a nocent perſon ſhould be permitted to eſcape, than an innocent ſhould be conſtrained to ſuffer: for the impunity of the one is but an inconvenience, the ſuffering of the other is a wrong; the puniſhment of the guilty, yieldeth only a remote probable benefit; the affliction of the blameleſs, involveth a near certain miſchief: wherefore it is more prudent and more righteous to abſolve a man, of whoſe guilt there are probable arguments, than to condemn any man upon bare ſuſpicions. And remarkable it is how God in the law did preſcribe the manner of trial and judgment, even in the higheſt caſe, and moſt nearly touching himſelf, that of *idolatry*; *If* (ſaith the law, *Deut.* 17. 4.) *it be told thee, and thou haſt heard of it, and enquired diligently, and behold it be true, and the thing certain, that ſuch an abomination is wrought in Iſrael; then ſhalt thou bring forth that man, or that woman, and ſhalt ſtone them:* See what great caution is preſcribed, what pregnant evidence is required in ſuch caſes; it is not enough that it be reported, or come to our ear; diligent inquiry muſt be made, it muſt be found true, it muſt appear certain, before we may proceed to condemn, or execute; it is indeed not fair judgment, but meer calumny, to condemn a man, before he doth by ſufficient proof appear guilty. John 7. 24.

———μὴ κρίνετε κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνετε. Chryſ. *in* Gen. *Hom.* 42.

Quod probari non potest, nihil præſumendum eſt. Bern.

De occultis cordis alterius temere judicare iniquum eſt, & bona intentione facta, quæ videntur opera niſi bona, peccatum eſt ex ſuſpicione reprehendere. Joh. 3. 1. *Ep.* 1.

If this rule were regarded, how many cenſures would be prevented? For do not men catch at any ſhadow of a fault? Are they not ready upon the leaſt preſumption to condemn their neighbour? Doth not any, even the weakeſt and vaineſt

eſt teſtimony, any wandring hear-ſay, or vulgar rumour ſerve to ground the moſt heavy ſentences?

5. From hence is plainly conſequent, that there are diverſe cauſes wholly exempted from our judgment, and which in no caſe we muſt pretend to meddle with; ſuch as are the ſecret thoughts, affections and purpoſes of men, not expreſſed by plain words, nor declared by overt-acts; for a capacity of judging, doth ever ſuppoſe a power of cognizance; and it being impoſſible for us to reach the knowledge of thoſe things, we cannot therefore pretend to judge of them. As it is the property of God to ſearch the hearts, and try the reins, ſo it is his prerogative to judge concerning the ſecret motions in them; the which we attempting to do, no leſs vainly and fooliſhly, than preſumptuoſly and profanely do encroach upon.

This point alſo being regarded, would prevent innumerable raſh judgments; for men commonly do no leſs dive into the thoughts, and reprehend the inward diſpoſitions and deſigns of their neighbour, than they do his moſt apparent and avowed actions; 'tis almoſt as ordinary to blame men for the inviſible workings of their mind, as for their moſt viſible deportment in converſation.

6. Hence alſo it is not commonly allowable to judge concerning the ſtate (either preſent or final) of our neighbour in regard to God; ſo as to take him for a wicked man, or to denounce reprobation upon him: for the ſtate of men is not ſo much determined by ſingle actions, as by a body of practice, or by a long courſe and tenor of life, compounded and complicated of actions in number and kind unconceivably various, it dependeth not only upon external viſible behaviour, but upon the practice of cloſe retirements, and occult motions of ſoul; upon the reſults of natural temper, upon the influence of fortuitous circumſtances; upon many things indiſcernible, inſcrutable and unaccountable to us; the which God alone can perceive and eſtimate throughly: *God ſeeth not* (as he did himſelf tell *Samuel*) *as man ſeeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart: He ſearcheth our hearts, and underſtandeth our thoughts afar off: He compaſſeth our path, and is acquainted with all our ways: He weigheth our ſpirits; he knoweth our frame; he numbreth our ſteps*; he ſcanneth our deſigns, and poiſeth all our circumſtances exactly; he doth penetrate and conſider many things tranſcending our reach, upon which the true worth of perſons and real merit of actions do depend; he therefore only can well judge of mens ſtate: as a ſpecious outſide doth often cover inward hollowneſs and foulneſs, ſo under an unpromiſing appearance much ſolidity and ſincerity of goodneſs may lodge; a dirty ground doth often contain good ſeeds within it; our judgment therefore in ſuch caſes is likely (at leaſt in degree) to be fallacious and unjuſt; and therefore it is fit to ſuperſede it, according to the advice and diſcourſe of St. *Paul*; *He that judgeth me is the Lord; therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and make manifeſt the counſels of the heart; and then ſhall every man have praiſe* (that is, a right eſtimate of his perſon and deeds) *from God.*

If this were duly conſidered, many hard thoughts, and many harſh words would be ſpared; men would not be ſo apt to damn thoſe, whom they have no skill to try.

7. Farther; a judge ſhould not undertake to proceed againſt any man, without warning and citing him to appear, or without affording him competent liberty and opportunity to defend and juſtifie himſelf. Judgment ſhould not be adminiſter'd clancularly, in dark corners, but in open court; not ſuſpiciouſly, in a muttering or whiſpering way; but frankly with a clear and audible voice; not upon ſurprize, but with allowance of leiſure and advice, that the party may be able to apprehend his caſe, and manage his plea, for his beſt defence: for it may juſtly be preſumed, that as he is moſt concerned, ſo he is beſt acquainted with his own proceedings, and may alledge reaſons for them, which no man can ſo well perceive as himſelf; it is therefore fit that he ſhould be heard before he is condemned, that he may not ſuffer wrong; at leaſt that he may be convinced that he doth not, and that our proceeding may be cleared from miſpriſion; that alſo the world may be ſatisfied of juſtice being done; and that likewiſe falſe accuſers may be liable to due ſhame and chaſtiſement. The manner of proceeding uſed by the *Romans*, and reported by *Feſtus* in St. *Paul*'s caſe, was full of reaſon and equity: *It is not* (ſaid that governor)

Πολλὰ δεῖ περιθεῖναι, καὶ πάθει, καὶ ἄλλα παντοῖα ἐνοικέβαντα. Greg. Naz. Or. 26.

Pſal. 139. 6. 1 Sam. 16. 7. Iſa. 11. 3. Pſ. 139. 2, 3. Prov. 16. 2. 1 Sam. 2. 3. Pſal. 103. 14. Job 14. 16.

1 Cor. 4. 5.

Acts 25. 16.

vernor) *the manner of the* Romans *to deliver a man to die, before that he, which is accuſed, have the accuſers face to face, and have licence to anſwer for himſelf, concerning the crime laid againſt him:* Otherwiſe indeed any innocence may eaſily be oppreſſed irrecoverably, without any defence, and conſequently without any means of evaſion or redreſs. We ſhould never yield both ears to the accuſer, but reſerve one for the accuſed. The end of juſtice, we may conſider, is not to condemn nor to work miſchief to any one, but rather, ſo far as may be, to acquit and prevent evil to all; at leaſt it aimeth to clear the truth, and ſtate the caſe indifferently; wherefore 'tis juſt, that all advantage that well can be, ſhould be afforded to the obnoxious party for his juſtification and deliverance; at leaſt that he be not denied equal advantage with his proſecutors; humanity would allow him ſome favour; the moſt rigorous juſtice cannot refuſe him leave to conteſt his cauſe upon equal terms: wherefore 'tis fit that he ſhould be acquainted with his caſe, that competent time and means ſhould be afforded him to prepare for his defence, that his plea ſhould receive, if not a favourable, yet a free audience: the contrary practice is indeed rather backbiting, whiſpering, ſupplanting, or ſycophantry, than fair and lawful judging.

Χρὴ τὴς ἑτέρους δικάζοντας τῷ καλυπτομμένῳ θαλίειν ταῖν ἀκοαῖν ἀκριβῆ φυλάξαι, &c. Theod. *Ep.* 91.

God himſelf (as ſome of the Fathers obſerve) hath ſhewed us an example of this equity; deſcendam igitur & videbo, &c. *Gen.* 18. 21.

Καίτοι σαφῶς ὑδεὶς τὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀνείδιον τὸ πονηρὸν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔφη καλαβὰς ὄψομαι, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἀκριβῆ τὸ πραγμάτων τὸ πεῖρον. Theod. *Ep.* 119. P. Pelagius *ad* Eliam.

The obſervation of this rule would alſo cut off many cenſures; for ſeldom it is that our cenſurers do charge men to their faces, but rather take all poſſible care, that what they ſay may never come to the ears of thoſe whom they accuſe; they fear nothing more than being confronted and detected; they decline the ſhame and the requital due to their ſycophantick practice; which is a manifeſt argument of their foul dealing; and they no leſs in reality do thence condemn themſelves, than they would ſeem to condemn others.

8. Moreover, a judge is obliged to conform all his determinations to the ſettled rules of judgment, ſo as never to condemn any man for acting that which is enjoined, or approved, or permitted by them; he muſt not pronounce according to his private fancy, or particular affection, but according to the ſtanding laws; which as they are the only certain rules of moral action, the only grounds of obligation, the only ſtandards of guilt and innocence, ſo in reaſon they ſhould be the ſole meaſures of judging; he that proceedeth otherwiſe, is an arbitrary and a ſlippery judge; he encroacheth upon the right and liberty of thoſe with whom he meddleth, pronouncing them guilty, whom God and reaſon do proclaim blameleſs. This is that which St. *Paul* doth reprove in the 14th to the *Romans*, and other-where; the caſe was this: ſome were of opinion, that abſtaining from ſome kinds of meat, and obſerving ſome feſtival times, were matters of duty required by God; others thought it free to eat any thing, and to uſe any times alike: theſe, according to ſuch their private opinions, did cenſure the practices of each other; one party condemned the other as tranſgreſſing duty, the other contemned them as weak in judgment; but the apoſtle reproveth both as irregular in their behaviour, in taxing one another for matters which on both hands were indifferent; the divine law having clearly neither enjoined thoſe obſervances, nor prohibited them; ſo that each man had a liberty to do, or to abſtain as he thought good, or moſt agreeable to his duty, and conducible to his ſalvation: So is it culpable in us to blame any man for doing that which is not repugnant to God's expreſs command, or to the plain dictates of reaſon. Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. 8. Col. 2. 16.

The obſerving this condition would ſmother many cenſures: For do we not commonly reprehend our neighbours for practices wholly blameleſs, perhaps commendable? Do we not ſometimes grievouſly reproach them for not complying with our deſires, for not ſerving our intereſts, for not jumping with our humours, for not dancing after our pipe; for diſſenting from us in any conceit, although dubious or falſe; for diſcoſting from our practice, although bad or inconvenient? Say we not ordinarily, he is moroſe, peeviſh, ſingular, rude, becauſe he would not *run with us into the ſame exceſs of riot*; he is weak, nice, ſuperſtitious, becauſe he conſtantly and ſtrictly adhereth to his duty; he is negligent, looſe, profane, becauſe he uſeth his liberty in ſome matters indifferent? Bar ſuch matters of obloquy, into how narrow compaſs would it be reſtrained?

"Ενας δ' κρίνει καλῶς ἃ γινώσκει, καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθὸς κριτής. Ariſt. *Eth.* l. 3.

9. Hence farther it is to be ſuppoſed, that a judge ſhould be a perſon of good knowledge and ability; well verſed and skilful in the laws concerning matters under debate, endued with good meaſure of reaſon, enabling him as to ſift and canvas matters of fact, ſo to compare them accurately with the rules of right: for nothing is more abſurd than an ignorant and unskilful judge. Men therefore of weak capacity, of mean education, of ſmall experience, are qualified to judge in few caſes, moſt things being placed above their reach; ſuch never ſhould preſume to cenſure actions, the worth or moral quality whereof depend upon the ſtating and reſolution of abſtruſe, intricate or ſubtile queſtions: It is not therefore for mechanicks or ruſticks to judge about difficulties of ſcience, about controverſies in religion, about myſteries of policy, or reaſons of ſtate, or to cenſure thoſe who deal in them; in ſo doing they hugely treſpaſs beyond their calling and ſphere; they do ſtrangely misbecome the bench, and will very untowardly misbehave themſelves thereon; the deciſion of ſuch matters is to be reſerved to thoſe, who by ſtudy and experience have attained peculiar faculties to do it reſpectively.

Obſerving this point, would draw many down from their uſurped ſeats of judicature, and ſtop numberleſs vain ſentences; we ſhould have very few judges left, if all men would be ſo modeſt and ſo wiſe, as not to meddle beyond their skill and ability.

Sine dubio in omnibus ſtatim accuſationibus hoc agendum eſt, ne ad eas libenter deſcendiſſe videamur. Quint. 11. 1.

10. Again: It is proper for a judge not to make himſelf an accuſer; not to ſeek for miſdemeanors, not to draw more cauſes under his cognizance than are in courſe preſented before him: He ſhould rather judge as out of conſtraint than of choice; rather as ſorry to find a neceſſity, than glad to ſnatch an occaſion of condemning offenders. So ſhould we rather decline, than ſeek the office of cenſuring our brethren, rather conniving at, and concealing their faults, than being forward to expoſe them; abſolute reaſon only ſhould induce, or indiſpenſable neceſſity force us thereto.

This alſo greatly would diminiſh the trade of cenſuring, for if we ſhould never cenſure without great reaſon or neceſſity, how ſeldom ſhould we do it? Do we not rather affect to do it cauſeleſſly and needleſſly? Do we not eagerly ſearch after, and greedily embrace all occaſions to do it? Is it not a pleaſant entertainment to us, to be carping and cavilling at any body we meet, at any thing we ſee done? Farther,

Cum ipſe ſit reus, in alterum audes ferre ſententiam? Opt. 2.

11. He that pretendeth to judge others, ſhould himſelf be innocent; under no indictment, and not liable to condemnation: Is it not very improper for a criminal, for one who is not only in truth and in his own conſcience guilty, but who ſtandeth actually convicted of hainous offences, to ſit upon the bench, determining about the deeds and the ſtates of others? It is the caſe of us all, we are all notoriouſly guilty of hainous crimes before God, we all do lie under the ſentence of his law; we do all ſtand in need of pardon from our judge, his mercy is our only hope and refuge; and ſhall we then pretend to be judges, or be paſſing ſentence on our brethren? If only thoſe, who are free and guiltleſs ſhould judge, who could undertake it? There would ſurely be no more than there appeared then, when in the caſe of the woman taken in adultery, our Lord propounded the like condition; Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν, *He that is without ſin among you, let him caſt the firſt ſtone at her:* upon which propoſition the ſequel was, *and they which heard it, being convicted by their own conſcience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldeſt, even to the laſt, and Jeſus was left alone and the woman ſtanding in the midſt*; ſo infallibly ſhould no man be allowed to judge, who were not himſelf void of like guilt, would every man eſcape cenſure.

Pſal. 143. 2.

Joh. 8. 7, 9.

12. Laſtly: It is the property of a good judge to proceed with great moderation, equity, candour and mildneſs, as a general friend, a friend to juſtice, to the publick, to mankind, to the party impeached: As a friend to juſtice, he ſhould be careful that the defendent receive no wrong in his credit or intereſt; as a lover of the publick, he ſhould wiſh that no offences or ſcandals be found; out of humanity he ſhould deſire, that no man may incur the blemiſh of guilt, or pain of ſuffering: he ſhould tender the parties caſe as compaſſionable, and deſire that he may be delivered from the evil threatning him; this ſhould render him willing to acquit and free the party, apt to apprehend and interpret all things favourably, ready to excuſe and mollifie the buſineſs what he can, far from picking faults out of obſcure furmiſes, or ſlender pretences, from aggravating the miſcarriages that are detected, from ſtretching the

blame

blame farther than it will reach of it ſelf, or making the caſe worſe than it needs muſt be, from pronouncing a harſh or heavy ſentence thereon. He ſhould always be of counſel to the defendent, pleading his cauſe ſo far as truth and equity will permit, putting himſelf in his caſe, and thence no-wiſe dealing with him more rigorouſly, than he, according to impartial judgment, ſhould in the like caſe deem it equal that himſelf ſhould be dealt with: in fine, however the matter in the reſult appear to ſtand, he ſhould avoid rigour and extremity, he ſhould exerciſe clemency and mercy.

If this courſe were obſerved, innumerable cauſes, which now are ſeverely judged, would never be mentioned, or come under trial, but would preſently be caſt out; many would ſoon, after ſmall diſcuſſion, be voided, few would paſs that extremity of cenſure, which now by the cruel aſperity of men, they are forced to undergo: For, do we not accuſe men for things that are no faults? Do we not exaggerate the guilt of petty faults? Do we not inſult over great miſcarriages with too unmerciful ſeverity, as if they were incorrigible and unpardonable?

Seeing then few of us, according to thoſe reaſonable qualifications and conditions, are capable of being judges; ſeeing if thoſe equal rules were obſerved, moſt cenſures would be diſcarded; ſeeing hard it is for any man either warrantably to undertake, or uprighty to diſcharge this office, great reaſon there is for this precept, moſt fit it is that we ſhould be forbidden to judge.

So much for the part explicative and directive; now for the perſuaſive, and for inducing us to eſchew this practice, let us briefly declare the pravity and vanity of it; the performing which, will, I ſuppoſe, be ſufficient to diſſuade and deter us from it. Be pleaſed only firſt to note, that ſome conſiderations which we ſhall propound, will be applicable to ſome kind of bad cenſure, ſome to another, according to the ſeveral defects and incapacities we have to judge lawfully, upon the grounds already touched.

1. Cenſuring is an impious practice in regard to God.

By taking upon our ſelves to judge unduly, without authority, or beyond it, we do invade God's office, ſetting up our ſelves as judges in his room; we uſurp his right, exerciſing juriſdiction over his ſubjects, without order and licence from him: 'tis St. *Paul*'s argument, *Who art thou that judgeſt another's ſervant?* That is, how intolerably bold and arrogant, how ſacrilegiouſly injurious and profane art thou, to climb up into God's tribunal, and thence to pronounce doom upon his ſubjects? Rom. 14. 4.

By raſh judgment in matters not ſubject to our cognizance, (as when we pronounce concerning the ſecret thoughts and intentions of men) we proudly and perverſly do arrogate to our ſelves the incommunicable perfections of God, who alone can know ſuch things, and determine rightly in ſuch caſes: Who therefore hath reſerved them to himſelf, commanding us *to judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come.* 1 Cor. 4. 5.

By paſſing ſentence about the ſtate of our neighbour, we do anticipate God's judgment, and by prejudging ſtrive to fruſtrate it We take upon us to *purge his floor*, to ſever the chaff from the corn, and the tares from the wheat, to diſcriminate the goats from the ſheep; which to perform, will be the work of God's infinite wiſdom and juſtice at *the great day.* Matt. 3. 12, 13. & 25. 32.

Quantus arrogantiæ tumor eſt, quanta humilitatis ac lenitatis oblivio, arrogantiæ ſuæ quanta jactatio, ut quis aut facere ſe poſſe credat, quod nec Apoſtolis conceſſit Dominus, ut zizania à frumento putet ſe poſſe diſcernere, aut quaſi ipſi paleam auferre, & aream purgare conceſſum ſit, paleas conetur à tritico ſeparare? Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

By cenſuring our brethren cauſelеſſly, for not complying with our conceits, humours or practices, we lay hold upon, and appropriate to our ſelves God's legiſlative power, we ſubject his law to our fancy and pleaſure, we in effect condemn his law of error and imperfection, we do at leaſt make our ſelves ſharers with him in the enacting laws, and diſpenſing juſtice: *He* (ſaith St. *James*) *that ſpeaketh againſt his brother, and judgeth his brother, ſpeaketh againſt the law, and judgeth the law*; that is, he opprobriouſly doth imply the law to be defective, until he doth compleat or correct it; making it a guilt not to ſatisfie his will or conceit, beſide the plain intent of the law; the diſpenſation of juſtice is not ſufficient, unleſs he partake therein, taxing whom and why he pleaſeth; God without him is not a perfect law-giver or judge. Jam. 4. 11.

We are alſo very ingrateful in not being favourable towards our brethren in judgment; when as God is in his judgment ſo benign, patient and merciful toward us, who *is* not *extreme to mark what we do amiſs*; is not forward to ſeek or find faults, but rather *waiteth to be gracious*, hideth *his face from our ſins*, and *paſſeth by our tranſgreſſions*; doth not aggravate our offences, but rather doth excuſe them, *remembring that we are fleſh*; is not glad of occaſion to puniſh, but *delighteth in mercy*, and *doth not afflict willingly, or grieve the children of men*; is not ſevere, but *puniſheth us leſs than our iniquities deſerve*, and *in his wrath remembreth mercy*. And are we not impious if we do ſo ill requite him, and ſo little reſemble him, in being rigorous and harſh toward our brethren, when they offend, or ſeem to do ſo?

Pſal. 130. 3. Iſa. 30. 18. Pſal. 51. 9. Mich. 7. 18. Pſal. 78. 39. & 103. 14. Mich. 7. 18. Lam. 3. 33. Ezr. 9. 13. Hab. 3. 2.

In fine, cenſuring is impious, as involving the violation of thoſe great commandments, of exerciſing (in all our demeanour and dealing) humility, meekneſs, pity and mercy toward our brethren; of purſuing and promoting peace among them.

2. Cenſuring, in reſpect to our neighbour, is an unjuſt practice. It is unjuſt to meddle in affairs with which we have nothing to do; to draw thoſe perſons under our juriſdiction who are not ſubject to it, but are liable to render their account at another bar; to puniſh thoſe in their reputation or intereſt, over whom we have no juſt authority, *Who have their own maſter, to whom they muſt ſtand or fall.*

'Tis moſt unjuſt to judge any man without competent means of knowing, or skill to determine his caſe; to condemn him without diligent tryal, without certain proof, without full conviction of his fault; to puniſh him without juſt cauſe, or beyond due meaſure.

'Tis very unjuſt to uſurp an intereſt in the goods which are to our neighbour moſt proper and dear, his credit and concernments depend thereon, diſpoſing of them as we pleaſe, to his diſadvantage and prejudice.

—*Æquum eſt Peccatis veniam poſcentem reddere rurſus.* Hor. *Serm.* 1. 3.
Det ille veniam facile, cui venia eſt opus. Sen. *Tr.*

'Tis alſo very unjuſt, when as we do need the candid judgment, the forbearance and pardon of others for many things faulty and offenſive that we commit, to refuſe the like to others.

3. Cenſuring is alſo a very uncharitable practice, and ſo contrary to the principal duty of our religion: it is ſo eminently in all caſes wherein it is unjuſt, (for charity doth virtually contain juſtice, and tranſcendeth it) it is ſo peculiarly whenever it is harſh or rigorous, when it is affected, when it is needleſs or unprofitable; for charity diſpoſeth us to be gentle, meek, patient and merciful in all our dealings; it engageth us to hide and ſmother, to diminiſh and excuſe, to paſs by and pardon offences: *Charity ſeeketh no evil*, it *covereth all things*, it *believeth all things*; it tendreth our neighbour's good, and advantage of all kinds, (his credit, his intereſt, his convenience and pleaſure) it therefore will inflict no more evil than reaſon and neceſſity ſhall indiſpenſably require.

1 Cor. 13. 5, 7.

Οὕτως ἔχει οὐ τοῖς ἀμφιβόλοις, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, τῷ κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον, ἢ καλλιεπῆσαι τὸ ὑπαίτιον. Naz. *Or.* 21.

A Cenſurer is indeed unjuſt and uncharitable, not only toward thoſe whom he cenſureth, but alſo toward thoſe into whom thereby he doth infuſe ill-opinion, and ill-will toward their neighbour: he is guilty of their injuſtice and uncharitableneſs, a miſchief more irreparable than his own.

4. Cenſuring is a very fooliſh and vain practice in manifold reſpects: as arguing great ignorance and inconſiderateneſs, as producing grievous inconveniences and miſchiefs, eſpecially to the practiſer of it.

Eſt proprium ſtultitiæ aliorum vitia cernere, obliviſci ſuorum. Cic. *Tuſc.* 1.

It ſignifieth that we do not well underſtand, or not well conſider the natural impotency and frailty of mankind: how liable others are to miſtake and ſlip, and how prone we our ſelves are thereto: how (as St. *James* ſaith) *in many things we offend all:* did we obſerve or would weigh this, we ſhould not be ſo forward to cenſure, or ſo vehement and bitter in it; we ſhould ſee failing and tripping in many things to be a common caſe, rather demanding commiſeration than cenſure.

Jam. 3. 2.

It implieth alſo, that we little conſider how our eſcaping any faults, which our neighbour ſlippeth into, is no wiſe imputable to any worth or virtue in us, ſo much as the good providence, and merciful grace of God, guarding or reſcuing us from them: if we did apprehend and reflect on this, it would appear our duty rather to bleſs God for our being protected from miſcarriages, than cenſoriouſly to inſult over thoſe who ſeem to fall into them. It ſignifieth we have no ſight

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ſenſe of our own defects; for did we clearly ſee, did we humbly reſent them, that would damp our heat and earneſtneſs to cenſure. It declares a fond ſelf-conceit, that we deem our ſelves ſuperior to our neighbour in wiſdom, and leſs obnoxious to blame, and therefore fit to be his Judges; whereas according to a ſober eſteem of our ſelves, we ſhould appear more fit to ſtand at the bar, than to ſit upon the bench; and ſhould thence more dread the one than affect the other.

It ſheweth likewiſe, that we do not rightly conceive the nature, or worthily eſteem the conſequences of this practice: We know not, or regard not, the value of our neighbour's reputation, which by cenſure we do mean to ruin or impair: We perhaps by no means would rob him of his ſubſtance, or of his life; yet we ſcruple not by grievous cenſure to bereave him of his good name, which he, the beſt prizer of his own goods, may eſteem beyond his eſtate, or his life it ſelf; we think it nothing, or a ſlight matter to carp at him, but he feeleth it very painful and deeply reſenteth it.

It argueth in us an untamed fierceneſs of mind, and diſcompoſedneſs of paſſion which can never conſiſt or cohabit with wiſdom: for a well-ordered, calm and free mind, will be ſlow in conceiving offence or diſlike, moderate in eſtimating things, reſerved in expreſſing its ſentiments, not eaſily tranſported into extremity or exceſs; it conſequently hardly will ſuffer a man to break forth into raſh or harſh cenſure. So many ſigns and arguments of incogitancy and blindneſs this practice doth involve.

Prov. 12. 16. *A Fool's wrath is preſently known; but a prudent man covereth ſhame.*

Prov. 29. 11. *A fool uttereth all his mind; but a wiſe man keepeth it till afterwards.*

5. Furthermore, this practice will produce many great inconveniences and miſchiefs to us.

—*At tibi contrà Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rurſus & illi.* Hor. *Serm.* l. 3.

1. We do thereby provoke, and in a ſort authorize others to requite us in the ſame kind: for nothing more doth excite the indignation, doth enflame the anger, doth engender the hatred of men toward us, than being pragmatical in finding fault, and haſty to cenſure their doings cauſeleſly or immoderately; nothing ſeeming to them a more certain argument that we bear them ill-will, or do contemn them; and if we ſo vex them, they will in requital be as ready by finding or making faults in us, to vex and trouble us; it engageth their care, and quickneth their induſtry, and whetteth their invention to obſerve, or deviſe matter of recrimination. Men think it not only lawful, but even needful for them, in their own defence, to diſparage the Cenſurer, that his judgment may have the leſs weight to their prejudice: ſo that it will infallibly come upon us, as our Lord warneth (uſing it as an argument to diſſuade us from this practice) that, *with what judgment we judge, we ſhall be judged; and with what meaſure we mete, it ſhall be meaſured to us again:* Men take it for allowable to retaliate in this way to the height, and ſtoutly to load the cenſorious man with Cenſure. Matt. 7. 2. Luk. 6. 37, 38.

2. We do by this practice, not only expoſe our ſelves to cenſure, but implicitly, and according to ready conſequence, do paſs it upon our ſelves, ſeeing we ſeldom, in kind or equivalently, are our ſelves clear of that which we charge upon others; with our own weapon of ſharp cenſure, we through another's ſide do imprudently wound our ſelves; and often, as *David* did in his parley with *Nathan*, adjudge our ſelves to capital puniſhment: ſo that to any cenſorious perſon it may be ſaid, in St. *Paul's* words, *Wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf; for thou that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things.* *Vid.* Chryſ. *in Matt. Or.* 36. *p.* 249. 2 Sam. 12. Rom. 2. 1.

3. We do by cenſuring others aggravate our own faults, and deprive them of excuſe, and render our ſelves uncapable of mercy and pardon: for of all men, he that is forward and prone to cenſure, who is rigorous and ſevere in judging others, deſerveth no favour, nor can reaſonably pretend thereto. *Inexcuſable* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *art thou, O man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt:* for, *thinkeſt thou this, O man, that judgeſt them which do ſuch things, and doſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God?* And, Μὴ στενάζετε κατ' ἀλλήλων. *Do not* (ſaith St. *James*) *moanfully complain one againſt another, leſt you be condemned:* and, *he ſhall have judgment without mercy, that hath ſhewed no mercy,* in his judgment, ſaith the ſame

Ὁ πικρῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐξετάζων οὐ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν πλημμελήμασιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιπλῶσι συγγνώμης ποτέ. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Rom. 2. 1, 3.

—Ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλεῖστοι βροτοῖς μὲν ἐστι τὰ ἰδίων κρεῖσσον, ταχεῖς δ' τὰ ἀλλοτρίων ἐξετασαί. Naz. Or. 26. Οὕτω τὸ μὴ ἐτέροις ἁμαρτωλοῖσιν πικροὶ καθέμενοι δικασαὶ, τὰς δ' ἰσοῖσιν δοκεῖς παρεῖμεν. Chryſ. *ad* Demet. *Tom.* 6. Or. 52.

Jam. 5. 9. & 2. 13.

Apoſtle.

Apoſtle. Which paſſages imply, that to be unmerciful in this kind, will expoſe us to the ſeverity of judgment in regard to our offences; or that if we deal harſhly with our brethren now, God will then proceed the more ſeverely toward us, when our great cauſe doth come under tryal.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ τ φύσεως τ πεπλημμελημένων ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ κ διὰ τ κρίσεως τ σὺν ἑτέρων οἴσει τ ψῆφον ὁ Θεός. Chryſ. *Ibid.* Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ φιλάδελφος, κ φιλοικτίρμων, κ συγγνωμονικὸς ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τ πλείονα τ ἁμαρτημάτων ὄγκον, ὅταν ὁ σκηπτὸς, κ ὁμὸς, κ ἀπαραίτητος πολὺ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἁμαρτήμασι περιέσται μιγεὶς. Ib.

4. Indeed cenſuring others is an argument that we do little mind our own caſe, or conſider to what a dreadful judgment we do ſtand obnoxious: did we think of that we ſhould ſee cauſe rather to employ our leiſure and care in ſtating our own accompts, than in examining thoſe of others; more adviſeable it would appear to mind our own caſe, than to buſie our ſelves in canvaſing and determining the ſtate of our neighbour, finding what great need our actions will have in that day of favourable conſtruction and merciful allowance, we ſhould become candid and mild in reflecting upon the actions of others; we ſhould not be forward to carp at any thing, we ſhould ſcarce have the heart to condemn any man: this St. *Paul* ſeemeth to imply, when he thus argueth: *Why doſt thou judge thy brother, or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? We ſhall all ſtand at the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt:* that is, why do any of us judge others, ſeeing we muſt all be judged our ſelves? It is not ſeemly, it is not expedient for thoſe, who ſoon muſt be arraigned, and put to anſwer for themſelves, to be buſie in queſtioning and prejudging others; but rather to ſpend their care and pains in preparing for their own accompt.

Rom. 14. 10.

Τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐξετάζωμεν, κ πόσα ἐφ' ἡμῖν κακῶς. Chryſ. *in* 2 Tim. Or. 2.

5. Nothing indeed more cauſeth us to neglect our own caſe, nothing more engageth us to leave our own faults unobſerved and uncorrected, than this humour. It is eaſie to obſerve, that as they who are moſt ſparing and gentle in cenſure, are uſually moſt exempt from blame (for that carefully reflecting upon their own infirmities and defects, ſpending their heat and activity of ſpirit upon amending their own errors and faults, they have leſs time, leſs concernment, leſs mind to ſearch out and ſcan the imperfections and miſdemeanours of others; they do find leſs reaſon alſo, and therefore have leſs will to be fierce or ſevere toward them) ſo the moſt cenſorious are uſually the moſt ſtupid in diſcerning, and moſt careleſs in retrenching their own faults. And needs it muſt be ſo, for the actions of other men devour their leiſure, take up the intention of their ſpirits, employ the keeneſs of their paſſions upon them, ſo that they cannot, and will not attend to themſelves; they are ſo much abroad, they are ſo very buſie otherwhere, that they little know, or care what is done at home; while they are *ſpying* and pulling out *motes from their brother's eye*, they *conſider not the beam that is in their own eye*, altho' never ſo groſs and obvious.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐστι ἄνθρωποι καταλογίζεσθαι κ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πολυπραγμοσύνῃ βίου τ ἰδίας ἐπιμελοῦμαι πολὺ ζυγὸς. Τὸς γὰρ σπουδῆς ἅπαντας αὐτῇ εἰς τ ἑτέρων πολυπραγμοσύνῃ ἀναλισκομένους, ἀνάγκη τὰ αὐτῶν παντελῶς κενὰς κ ἀμελεμένους. Chryſ. Ανδρ. 7.

Vide Chryſ. *Tom.* 2. *Or.* 42. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 27. Βορβόρῳ ἐοικότων ἐκεῖνοι τὸ πρὸς κακίαν δυσκίνητον. Naz. *Orat.* 8.

6. Hence, I ſay, it is that commonly the beſt men are the moſt candid and gentle, and they are moſt apt to blame others who deſerve worſe themſelves, that the ſharpeſt tongues and fouleſt lives do uſually go together, that they who are the ſtricteſt judges of their own are the faireſt interpreters of other mens actions; and they who will leaſt pardon others do moſt excuſe themſelves, that they who are ſtrangely acute in deſcrying other mens faults are ſtark blind in diſcerning their own. Our Saviour therefore chargeth ſuch perſons with hypocriſy, (*Thou hypocrite, firſt caſt the beam out of thine own eye*) implying, that they do but falſly pretend a reſpect for goodneſs and zeal againſt ſin, ſeeing in their own practice they indulge it; that it is indeed rather pride, peeviſhneſs, idleneſs, ſpleen, or ſelfiſh deſign that acteth them.

Matt. 7. 3, 4. Τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐλλόβιον, κ ὑφορᾶσθαι κακίαν ἀλλοτρίαν, N. Ep. 27. Ὁ μὲ γὰρ κακὸς τάχιστα ἂν καταγνοίη κ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὁ ἀγαθὸς δ' οἶδε τὸ κακὸν ῥᾳδίως. Naz. *Orat.* 21. *Ego mi ignoſco, Manius inquit. Stultus & improbus hic amor eſt, dignuſque notari.* Hor. *Serm. l.* 3.

7. In fine, the cenſorious humour, as it argueth ill-nature to be predominant, (a vulturous nature, which eaſily ſmelleth out, and haſtily flyeth toward, and greedily feedeth on carrion) as it ſignifieth bad conſcience; for he that knoweth evil of himſelf is moſt prone to ſuſpect, and moſt quick to pronounce ill concerning others, ſo it breedeth and foſtereth ſuch ill diſpoſitions; it debaucheth the minds of men, rendring them dim and doltiſh in apprehending their own faults, negligent and heedleſs in regard to their own hearts and ways; apt to pleaſe and comfort themſelves in the evils, real or imaginary, of their neighbours; which to do is a very barbarous and brutiſh practice.

Thele

Theſe conſiderations may, I hope, ſuffice to perſuade the obſervance of this precept, by the help of God's grace, to which I commend you, and conclude.

Now the God of peace——make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON XXI.

Of Quietneſs, and doing our own Buſineſs.

1 THESS. IV. 11.

And that ye ſtudy to be quiet, and to do your own buſineſs. Chryſ. in 2 Cor. Or. 19.

AS frequently between neighbouring ſtates there do riſe diſſentions and conteſts about the juſt limits of their territories; ſo doth it frequently happen between virtue and vice, right and wrong, duty and miſcarriage in practice; for although the extreme degrees, and even the middle regions of theſe things are very diſtant, yet the borders of them do lie very cloſe together, and are in a manner contiguous; a certain ridge of ſeparation running between them, which commonly (being very narrow, thin and obſcure) it is not eaſie to diſcern. So it particularly falleth out in the matter before us, wherein our text is concerned. Duty and offence do nearly confine, and almoſt indiſcernibly differ one from the other; for there are about this caſe precepts which ſeem to contradict; there are duties appearing to thwart one another.

St. *Paul* here biddeth us to be ſtudious or ambitious of quiet; other-where he enjoineth us to be earneſtly active, (to be σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροὶ, *not ſlothful in buſineſs*;) Here he would have us to mind our own affairs; other-where he preſcribeth, that we ſhould *not look every man to his own things, but every man alſo to the things of others.* Rom. 12. 11. Phil. 2. 4.

According to the general drift of ſcripture, and the tenour of our religion, we are in charity obliged to concern our ſelves heartily for the good of our neighbour, and to ſtrive earneſtly in promoting it; we are enjoined ſo far to interpoſe and meddle in the affairs of others, as to watch over them for their good; to inſtruct and adviſe them, to admoniſh and excite them, to check and reprove them upon occaſion; to offer and yield them ſuccour, to compoſe differences between them; to promote their edification and peace: *Let us* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *conſider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works. Let us* (ſaith St. *Paul* to the *Romans*) *follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another*; and, *exhort your ſelves together, and edify one another; warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, ſupport the weak*, ſaith he to the *Theſſalonians* in this epiſtle. Καταστῶμεν ἀλλήλους. Heb. 10. 24. Rom. 14. 19. & 15. 2. 1 Theſſ. 5. 11, 14.

To be zealous and earneſt in the maintenance and propagation of truth, of virtue, of piety, is a duty incumbent on us, which implieth care and activity concerning others; that we offer to inſtruct them, that we enter into conteſt with them, that we examine their words and actions, that we preſume to tax and oppoſe them. Tit. 1. 11.

In fine: Our religion doth ſeem by the bands of mutual relation, and obligations of charity ſo to unite us together, ſo to endear us to one another, and to

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all men; that all things belonging to our brethren do nearly touch us, and ſhould anſwerably affect us; ſo that by intermeddling with any thing relating to their welfare, we can hardly be ſaid to meddle with what doth not concern us.

The condition of things alſo may ſeem to require, that we ſo intermeddle; for the Duties and affairs of men are ſo entangled or interwoven, that we can hardly proſecute any concernments of our own, without being engaged in the matters of others: in diſcharging all offices of ſociety, in purſuance of any traffick or commerce, in all intercourſe and converſation, while we tranſact our own buſineſs, we cannot avoid the furthering or obſtructing the buſineſs of others, who are engaged in the ſame, or contrary deſigns: Society doth ſubſiſt by combinations of care and pain, regarding common intereſts, ſo that it ſeemeth impoſſible ſo to mind our own buſineſs, as not to meddle with the buſineſs of others.

Yet notwithſtanding St. *Paul* enjoineth us ſo to affect quiet, as ſimply to mind our own buſineſs, or not to be meddleſome in the concernments of others; for that *doing our own buſineſs*, is meant excluſive to meddling with the affairs of others is plain enough, by the importance of τὰ ἴδια, which is emphatical, and ſignifieth only our own, or our proper buſineſs; and becauſe it is joined with *being quiet*, which reſpecteth others, and importeth not ſtirring beyond our own bounds; to be ſo meddleſome, being alſo a practice expreſſly condemned by
1 Pet. 4. 16. St. *Peter*, in that prohibition, *But let none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a thief, or as a malefactor, or as a buſy-body in other mens matters:* where pragmaticalneſs is we ſee not only forbidden, but is coupled with the moſt hainous offences.

How then ſhall we reconcile theſe things? How ſhall we in the caſe ſever between the bounds of duty and blame? It is indeed ſomewhat difficult to do it preciſely, and with diſtinctions which ſhall reach all caſes: But ſomewhat I ſhall endeavour toward it, by propounding ſome rules and directions, which ſhould commonly be obſerved in our dealing and intercourſe with others; but firſt let us a little reflect upon the terms in which the precept is couched.

Study to be quiet: Study; the word is φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, which ſignifieth to be ambitious, that is, to affect quiet with the like vehemency of deſire and care as men are wont to purſue reputation, dignity and power, the objects of ambition: the expreſſion containeth a remarkable emphaſis, or a grave *acumen*; for whereas ambition commonly doth prompt men to be reſtleſly buſie, and engageth them in the concernments proper to others, St. *Paul* biddeth them to be ambitious the contrary way, in affecting quiet, and abſtinence from other affairs beſide their own.

To be quiet: This doth ſignifie not a phyſical, but a moral reſt; not a total forbearance of action; not a faſtidious or drowſie liſtleſneſs to do any thing; not a ſenſeleſs indifferency concerning the matters of others; not an abſolute ſequeſtring our ſelves from common affairs; this is not quiet or tranquillity, the τὸ ἡσυχάζειν here, but a naughty ſloth, ſtupidity or ſavageneſs: the quiet here meant is oppoſed to diſorderly motion, to turbulency, to contention, to pragmatical curioſity, to all ſuch exorbitant behaviour, whereby the right of others is infringed, their peace diſturbed, their juſt intereſt or welfare any-wiſe prejudiced: This quiet is a calm, ſteady, regular way of proceeding, within the bounds and meaſures preſcribed by reaſon, juſtice and charity, modeſty and ſobriety: ſuch a motion as the heavenly Bodies do keep, which ſo move that they ſeem ever to ſtand ſtill, and never diſturb one another: in fine, what a quiet is meant, the ſubſequent words and the context do ſhew; it followeth.

And πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια, *to do our own buſineſs*, or to act things proper and pertinent to us; things which ſuit to our condition, our ſtation, our vocation; whereby we may diſcharge our own duties, and ſupply our own needs; may work benefit to others, or however avoid being any-wiſe burthenſome or troubleſome to them; an inſtance of which practice is immediately ſubjoined; *to work with our own hands——that we may have lack of nothing*; in another place St. *Paul* cal-
2 Theſſ. 3. 12. leth it μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργάζεσθαι, *to work with quiet*, oppoſing it to περιεργάζεσθαι, being over-buſy, or pragmatically curious, and to walking diſorderly; that is, beyond the bounds of our calling, or the rules of our duty; ſo as to encroach upon the rights, or moleſt the quiet of others.

The words then as they do imply an obligation lying upon us to be induſtrious in our own buſineſs, ſo they chiefly deſign to prohibit our meddling with the con-

cernments of others; but how to ſettle the limits between this quiet minding our own buſineſs, and a culpable neglect of the duties concerning others; how to diſtinguiſh between meddling innocently, from being blameably meddleſome, *hic labor, hoc opus eſt*, this is that hard task which I am to undertake, but cannot hope thoroughly to perform. However, the method toward it, which I ſhall obſerve, is this: Firſt, I ſhall touch ſome caſes in which it is allowable or commendable to meddle with the affairs of others; then I ſhall propound ſome general rules, according to which ſuch meddleſomeneſs is commonly blameable: In the next place, I ſhall aſſign ſome directions proper to ſome chief and moſt obvious kinds of medling: and laſtly, offer ſome conſiderations to diſſuade men from this pragmatical humour.

I. 1. Superiors may intermeddle with the buſineſs of their inferiors, (that is, of ſuch as are ſubject to their care and charge) in all matters relating to the needful execution of their office. Magiſtrates may inſpect the carriage, may examine the doings, may reprehend and puniſh the offences of their ſubjects: Parents may adviſe, rebuke and correct their children: Spiritual guides and paſtors may admoniſh and reprove their flock: Theſe things while (with due prudence, equity and moderation) they perform, they do indeed πράττειν τὰ ἴδια, *do their own buſineſs*; it is their proper work, to which God hath deſigned them, and which reaſon exacteth of them; they are appointed (to uſe St. *Paul*'s expreſſion) *to attend continually upon this very thing*; their proceedings therefore are not to be charged with culpable pragmaticalneſs. Rom. 13. 6.

2. In any caſe, wherein the honour and intereſt of God is much concerned, we may interpoſe in vindication and maintenance of them. If any man dareth to blaſpheme God's name, we may and ought to ſtand up in its defence; if any man diſparageth religion, we ſhould ſtrive to clear its repute; if any man impugneth any divine truth of moment, we ſhould endeavour to aſſert it; if any man notoriouſly tranſgreſſeth God's law, we may diſcountenance his preſumption, and reprove him for it: Every man in ſuch caſes, as God's ſubject, hath not only a commiſſion, but an obligation; is indeed by his allegiance bound to ſerve God, in maintaining the honour and intereſt of his empire; 'tis foul diſloyalty, 'tis pitiful baſeneſs to forbear medling in ſuch caſes. Thus have good men, without fear or ſhame, defended religion and truth, againſt the mightieſt powers and moſt dangerous oppoſition that could be: Thus *ſtood up Phineas and executed judgment*, Pſal. 106. 30. not only checking, but avenging that hainous ſcandal: Thus *Elias* maintained the true worſhip of God againſt all the corrupters of it, the Kings and whole Nation of *Iſrael*: Thus the prophets did not forbear to tax the wicked manners of the princes, the prieſts, and the people in their times: Thus St. *John Baptiſt* did not ſtick to reprove king *Herod* for his unlawful practice: So our ſaviour cenſured the ſuperſtitious and hypocritical ſcribes, and he chaſtiſed the profaners of God's houſe: So, in fine, the holy apoſtles reſolutely did aſſert God's truth againſt all the World.

Κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα, δημόσιον τὸ ἀδίκημα· ἔξεστιν ἑκάστῳ τῆς βλασφημίας κατηγορεῖν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ά.

Καὶ ἀκούσῃς τινὸς εἰς ἀμφίδρομον, ἢ εἰς ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ βλασφημοῦντος τὸν θεὸν, πρόσελθε, ἐπίστμησον, κἂν πληγὰς ἐπιθεῖναι δέῃ, μὴ ὀκνήσῃς· ῥᾴστον αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄψιν, σύντριψον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ἁγίαστον σὸν τὸν χεῖρα ἀφ' ἁπλῆς, &c. Chryſ. *Ibid.*

3. When the publick weal and ſafety are manifeſtly concerned, we may alſo intermeddle to ſupport or ſecure them: So may we rebuke him that ſlandereth or reproacheth our prince: We may check him that would break the peace, we may impeach him that violateth the laws, conducing to publick welfare: Every man is a ſoldier againſt traytors and enemies of his countrey: Every man is born with a commiſſion to defend the publick againſt thoſe which plot its ruin or harm: Every man is a party for his prince againſt rebels, for the church againſt ſchiſmaticks, for the law againſt lawleſs tranſgreſſors, for common *peace* againſt thoſe who outragiouſly diſturb it: Duty to our ſuperiors, juſtice and charity to mankind, juſt regard to our own welfare, allow and oblige us to ſuch meddling. Tertull.

4. We may alſo meddle for the ſuccour of right againſt palpable wrong and outrage: We may help an honeſt man againſt a thief aſſaulting him: We may guard the life of any man againſt an aſſaſſin; we may vindicate the reputation of an innocent perſon aſperſed by a ſlanderous tongue; as *Moſes*——*ſeeing one of his brethren ſuffer wrong, defended him; and avenged him that was oppreſſed, and ſmote the* Egyptian; as the penitent thief rebuked his companion, unjuſtly railing upon Act. 7. 24. Luk. 23. 40.

our ſaviour, the common intereſt of juſtice and charity do not only excuſe, but commend meddling in ſuch caſes.

5. We may likewiſe meddle with the proceedings of others, when our own juſt defence requireth it: We may * repel thoſe who attack our ſafety or peace, who invade or rifle our goods, who traduce our good name: We may endeavour to defeat their plots, and to reſtrain their violence. This is indeed doing our own buſineſs, for to preſerve our life with its conveniencies and comforts, to maintain our right and juſt intereſt, to keep our honour and reputation clear from ſcandal, is incumbent upon us: We are naturally the patrons, advocates and guards of thoſe conſiderable goods aſſigned or entruſted to us by providence.

* *Cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ.*

6. When the life or welfare (either ſpiritual or temporal) of our neighbour is deeply concerned, and cannot otherwiſe than by our aid be ſupported or relieved, we may lawfully interpoſe to yield it: If we ſee him expoſing his life to any great hazard, or engaging his ſoul into any great ſin, we may in any fair way, (by admonition, advice, reproof, politick device, harmleſs force) without any invitation or licence, with or againſt his will, preſume to reclaim or reſtrain him. We may ſtop him in his career to ruin or grievous miſchief, we may withhold him from running into a ſnare, or tumbling down a precipice, or drinking in poyſon; we may (as St. *Jude* ſpeaketh) *ſnatch him out of the fire.* In ſuch caſes we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that our neighbour, being himſelf, will allow us to meddle, or will not be diſpleaſed therewith; if he hath not his wits about him, we may ſupply him with ours in ſuch exigence: His preſent conſent and approbation are not then requiſite, he not being in a condition to yield them; he needeth guardians, and opportunity conſtituteth us in that office: Extreme and evident need will not only excuſe the liberty we ſhall aſſume, but it obligeth us to uſe our power to ſave him; in caſe of neglect, that ſurly anſwer, *Am I my brother's keeper?* will not ſerve our turn. We may, we ſhould, it is not only innocent, but juſt and laudable for us to be watchful over our neighbour's concernment and deportment, if we do it out of pure charity, in a diſcreet, quiet and gentle manner.

Jude v. 23. ὁρπάζοντες. *Invito non tribuitur quodcunque pro eo præſtatur.* Reg. J. *Furioſis nulla voluntas eſt.* R. J. Gen. 4. 9. Μήμοι λέγε τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ῥῆμα. Τί δέ μοι μέλει; ἀλλὰ ἔχω καιρὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν, &c. *Vid.* Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. 1. & *Tom.* 2. *Or.* 59. *in* Mat. *Orat.* 77, 78. *in* Joh. *Or.* 15. *in* Eph. *Or.* 19. Chryſ. *in* Tit. *Or.* 5. *in* Hebr. *Or.* 30.

7. In fine, if any ſignal opportunity of doing our neighbour conſiderable good, eſpecially to his ſoul, doth offer it ſelf, we may lawfully, we ſhould in charity embrace it: we may then even obtrude upon him our direction and ſuccour, if he be ſo blind as not to diſcern our good will, ſo peeviſh as to diſlike our proceeding, ſo ingrateful as not to thank us for our pains, yet our good intent will juſtifie us before God, and at the bar of reaſon: And we have, to countenance us therein, the common example of good men, who, for doing thus, have worthily been accounted the friends and benefactors of mankind.

In theſe and the like caſes we may, without offending, intermeddle; in doing ſo, we may indeed truly be ſaid to be quiet, and to do our own buſineſs; becauſe there is no exorbitancy or diſorder in ſuch proceeding, becauſe God's law and ſound reaſon have appropriated theſe things to us, and made them our concernment: There is no buſineſs more proper or pertinent to us, than that wherein we labour to promote the glory of God, or to procure the good of men; this is the principal deſign of our being, and therefore employment therein cannot misbecome us: But we muſt however in ſuch caſes take heed that our pretences are real and well-grounded, that our proceedings are regular and fair: We muſt not take or uſe ſuch liberty maliciouſly, we muſt never out of hypocritical pretence to the maintenance of God's honour, of publick good, of juſtice, truth or peace, be irregularly pragmatical or turbulent: This is to be doubly bad, adding to the irregularity of offence, the wickedneſs of fraud and malice.

II. 1. We ſhould never (out of ambition, covetous deſire or ſelf-conceit) ſo meddle as to invade any man's office, or to aſſume the exerciſe of it. A private man ſhould not preſume to act the prince or the ſtateſman, offering to controll thoſe who are not under him, to deliberate, debate, determine or paſs cenſure about political affairs or occurrences: A lay-man ſhould not intrude himſelf to adminiſter the ſacred functions of authoritative teaching, of diſpenſing the ſacraments, of exerciſing ſpiritual cenſures, of defining theological controverſies, which are committed to the guides and paſtors of the church. No man ſhould ſet himſelf upon the tribunal to judge, or undertake without licence or invitation to arbitrate the cauſes of others: Doing thus, is to encroach upon God, and to uſurp upon man: We encroach upon God, aſſuming

aſſuming to our ſelves powers not derived from his order, and deſerting the ſtation aſſigned us by his providence; we uſurp upon man, exerciſing authority over him, which he is not bound to ſtoop unto.

2. We ſhould not (without call or allowance) meddle with our ſuperiors, ſo as to adviſe them, to reprehend them, to blame or inveigh againſt their proceedings; for this is to confound the right order of things, to treſpaſs beyond the bounds of our calling and ſtation, to do wrong, not only to them, but to the publick, which is concerned in the upholding their power and reſpect: It is indeed a worſe fault than aſſuming the enſigns of their dignity, or counterfeiting their ſtamps; for that is but to borrow the ſemblance, this is to enjoy the ſubſtance of their authority.

Nothing in this buſie and licentious age is more uſual, than for private men to invade the office, to exerciſe the duties, to canvas and controll the actions of their ſuperiors; diſcuſſing what they ought to do, and preſcribing laws to them; taxing what is done by them; murmuring at their decrees, and inveighing againſt their proceedings: Every one is finding holes in the ſtate, and picking quarrels with the conduct of political affairs: Every one is reforming and ſettling the publick according to models framed in his own conceit: Things (ſaith one) are out of order, the conſtitution is very defective, and ought to be corrected; ſuch a law in all reaſon ſhould be repealed, and ſuch an one enacted: Here our ſtatemen were out of their politicks, and there our law-givers failed in point of equity or prudence: No, clamors another no leſs eagerly, all things ſtand as well as can be, nothing can be amended, or ought to be altered; our eſtabliſhment in all reſpects is more perfect than *Plato*'s commonwealth, or the ſtate of *Utopia*: Thus doth each man appoint himſelf counſellor of ſtate, and turns legiſlator without any call from the king, or choice of the countrey: Every one ſnatcheth at the ſcepter, and inveſts himſelf with the ſenator's robe: Every one acteth a prince and a biſhop, or indeed is rather a cenſor and controller of both orders; not conſidering the wrong he committeth, nor the arrogance he practiſeth, nor the miſchiefs which naturally enſue upon ſuch demeanour: For to direct, or to check governors, is in effect to exauctorate or depoſe them, ſubſtituting our ſelves in their room; and what greater injury can we do them, or the publick? To fix or reverſe laws, belongeth to the higheſt authority and deepeſt wiſdom, which 'tis enormous preſumption for us to arrogate to our ſelves; by attempting ſuch things, we confound the ranks of men, and courſe of things; we ruffle the world, we ſupplant publick tranquillity, and what greater miſchief than this can we do among men?

It is the buſineſs and duty of thoſe whom God hath conſtituted his repreſentatives and miniſters to deliberate and conclude what is to be done; and for the due performance of their charge, they are accountable to their maſter, not to us; *Nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt*; our duty and our privilege, (for ſo it is, if we could underſtand it, it being far more eaſie and ſafe) it is to ſubmit and obey with quiet and patience; if we do more, we are therein irregular, and no leſs undutiful to God, than to our ſuperiors; we forget thoſe divine rules and precepts: *Where the word of a king is, there is power, and who may ſay to him, what doſt thou? Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake? Do all things without murmurings and diſputings:* We conſider not what judgments are denounced upon thoſe whoſe character it is *to deſpiſe government, to be preſumptuous and ſelf-willed, not to be afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities.*

Tibi ſummum rerum judicium dii dedere; Nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt. M. Terent. *apud* Tac. *Ann. V. C.* Eccleſ. 8. 4. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 18. Phil. 2. 14. 2 Pet. 2. 11.

We do not weigh the nature of the things we meddle with, nor the advantages of the perſons whom we tax, nor our own incapacity to judge rightly about them. There is a kind of ſacredneſs in the myſteries of ſtate; as the myſteries of faith do ſurpaſs natural reaſon, ſo do thoſe of ſtate tranſcend vulgar capacity: As prieſts by ſpecial grace are qualified beſt to underſtand the one, ſo are princes by like peculiar aſſiſtance enabled to penetrate the former. He that employeth them in that great work of governing the world, and maketh them inſtruments of his providence, is not wanting in affording to them direction and aid needful for the diſcharge of their duty; whence their judgments of things are ſomewhat more than humane, and their words may with us paſs for oracular; *A divine ſentence* (the wiſe king ſaid) *is in the lips of the king, his mouth tranſgreſſeth not in judgment:* According to the ordinary reaſon of things, they are beſt able to judge of ſuch things, being, by reaſon of their eminent ſtation, able to diſcern more, and far-

Prov. 16. 10.

than others; having by experience and conſtant practice acquired a truer inſight into things, and a better skill to manage them: Whereas we being placed beneath in a valley, can have no good proſpect upon the grounds and cauſes of their reſolutions and proceedings: We, for want of ſufficient uſe and exerciſe, cannot skill to balance the contrary weights and reaſons of things; to ſurmount the difficulties and rubs, to unfold the knots and intrigues which occur in affairs of that kind: We cannot expect thoſe ſpecial influences of light and ſtrength from heaven, toward judging of affairs, which do not properly concern us: Wherefore we are altogether incompetent judges, and impertinent dealers about thoſe things; it is great odds, that in doing ſo we ſhall miſtake and misbehave our ſelves: We conſequently do vainly and naughtily to meddle with them. If the love of publick good doth tranſport us, let us reſtrain our ſelves.

3. We ſhould not indeed ſo much as meddle with the affairs of our equals, (thoſe I mean not who do equal us in dignity or worth, but all ſuch who are not ſubject to our command or charge, however otherwiſe inferior to us: Thoſe, I ſay, we ſhould not meddle with) ſo as to controll or croſs them; to direct or check, or cenſure their proceedings againſt their will, or without ſpecial reaſon engaging us thereto: For this is alſo to uſurp an undue authority, this argueth ſelf-conceit, this containeth immodeſty and arrogance.

4. We ſhould not, without the deſire or leave of parties concerned, intermeddle in the ſmaller temporal intereſts of others, upon pretence to further them, or with deſign to croſs them, for every man ſhould be left to himſelf to chuſe and to manage his own buſineſs, proſecuting it in the method he beſt liketh (conſiſtent with law and juſtice toward others) without interruption or controll: Every man hath a right to do ſo, every man deſireth it, every man commonly hath a capacity ſufficient for it; for each man is apt to ſtudy his own buſineſs, to weigh his caſe, to poiſe his abilities with the circumſtances in which he ſtandeth; and thence is likely to get righter notions concerning the ſtate of his affairs, to deſcry better ways of accompliſhing them, than others leſs regarding them can do: Every man is beſt acquainted with his own humour and temper, and thence can pick his buſineſs, and wind the management of it ſo that it ſhall comply with them, or not grate upon them. However, as every man in point of intereſt and honour is moſt concerned in the ſucceſs, and ſuffereth moſt by fruſtration of his endeavours, ſo it is equal that a free choice of his proceedings ſhould be allowed him, without impediment or diſturbance; which enjoying, he will more contentedly bear any diſappointment that ſhall happen. This eſpecially we ſay, in reſpect to matters of leſſer conſequence, (ſuch as moſt worldly intereſts are) by the ill ſucceſs whereof our neighbour is not extremely damaged or hurt; for in ſuch caſes the immodeſty and arrogancy of meddling with the vexation and trouble it is apt to work, do commonly much outweigh any benefit we can preſume by our meddling to procure.

5. We ſhould not indeed ever in matters of indifferent and innocent nature ſo far meddle, as without conſiderable reaſon or need, to infringe any man's liberty, to croſs his humour, to obſtruct his pleaſure, however diſcordant theſe may be to our judgment and palate: Every man hath a particular guſt for diet, for garb, for divertiſements and diſports, (ariſing from particular complexion, or other unaccountable cauſes) and fit it is that he ſhould ſatisfie it; it is enough that what he doth ſeemeth good, and reliſheth to himſelf; if we check him therein, we ſhall ſeem impertinent and troubleſome, and therefore we ſhall really be ſo; for it is not our office to be taſters, to be dreſſers, to be maſters of the ſports to all men: We in ſuch matters would pleaſe our own fancy, and therefore we ſhould not about them offend others; 'tis incivility, 'tis injuſtice to do it.

6. We ſhould never offer to put a force upon any man's inclination, or ſtrive to bend it unto a compliance with ours; in attempting that we ſhould commonly be diſappointed, and we ſhall never come fairly off: For ſome are ſo tough they will never yield to us, none will comply againſt the grain, without regret and diſpleaſure; if you extort a compliance with your deſire, you thereby do loſe their good opinion and good-will; for no man liketh to be overborn with violence or importunity.

7. We ſhould not in converſation meddle ſo as to impoſe our opinions and conceits upon others: In converſation with our equal, we have a liberty to propound our judgment, and declare our reaſons for it; but if our judgment doth not take,

nor

nor our reaſons perſuade, we ſhould have done; to preſs farther is rude, to be diſpleaſed for it is vain, to be angry or violent is unjuſt; for by the law of converſation every man taketh himſelf to have an abſolute right to uſe and follow his own reaſon; and he that affects to deprive any man thereof, will paſs for a petty tyrant, a clown, or an idiot; to retain the ſatisfaction which our own perſuaſion affordeth, is enough to content a juſt and ſober mind, without triumphing over the underſtandings of others.

8. We ſhould not ordinarily in converſe affect or undertake to teach; for this implies a pretence to a kind of ſuperiority, and a preferring our ſelves to others in wiſdom; which argueth vanity, and is offenſive to thoſe with whom we converſe, who care not to be dealt with as diſciples or underlings. We may with our equals modeſtly diſpute the caſe upon even ground, as fellow ſtudents of knowledge, or advocates of truth; but we muſt not peremptorily dictate, or pronounce with authority, like maſters or judges.

9. We ſhould indeed be cautious of interrupting any man's diſcourſe, or of taking his words out of his mouth: For this is a rude way of diſpoſſeſſing men of that which by common law of ſociety they ſuppoſe themſelves to enjoy, ſpeaking their mind through, and perfecting their diſcourſe; 'tis an implicite accuſation of impertinency or weakneſs in their ſpeech, 'tis an argument that we deem our ſelves wiſer than they, or able to ſpeak more to the purpoſe, it is therefore an unſociable and diſtaſteful practice.

Nec quid agatur in alia domus alia ſcire noverit. Hier. *Ep.* 2.

10. We ſhould be careful of intrenching upon any man's modeſty, in any way, either of commendation or diſpraiſe, ſo as to put him to the bluſh, or to expoſe him unto ſcorn: Sober men care not to be the ſubjects of talk; no man can endure to be the object of ſport; we ſhould not therefore thruſt any man upon the ſtage, 'tis vexatious, and therefore always diſcourteous, ſometimes very injurious.

11. It is good to be very ſtaunch and cautious of talking about other men and their concernments, in way of paſſing characters on them, or deſcanting upon their proceedings for want of other diſcourſe: This is the common refuge of idleneſs, and the practice of fiddling goſſips, who becauſe they will do nothing themſelves, muſt be reflecting upon the doings of others; and that they may not ſay nothing will talk impertinently: φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι, St. *Paul* well coupleth together, that is, frivolous *tattlers and buſie-bodes*; *and withal* (ſaith he of ſuch goſſiping women, 1 *Tim.* 5. 13.) *they learn to be idle, wandring about from houſe to houſe*; *and not only idle, but tatlers alſo, and buſie bodies, ſpeaking things which they ought not:* To affect talking about others, is indeed a great temptation to ſpeaking things which we ought not to ſpeak, words of unjuſt and uncharitable obloquy.

Vide Chryſ. *in* Heb. 1. 33. *Orat.* 21.

12. Farther, we ſhould not be inquiſitive into the deſigns of men, for this (beſide the vain curioſity and impertinency of ſo doing) is to aſſail their modeſty, and an adventure to vex both them and our ſelves: Thy neighbour perhaps (as moſt adviſed men are) is deſirous to keep his purpoſe cloſe to himſelf; then by inquiry thou either forceſt him unwillingly to diſcloſe what he would not, or to give thee a repulſe, which he liketh not to do; and which whenever he doth, he is diſpleaſed; what is pumped out, comes up againſt nature, and bringeth regret with it; and if we cannot get any thing out, we yet cauſe diſturbance within; and our ſelves are not well ſatisfied in the diſappointment.

Percontatorem fugito.

Φιλοπευσίαν δὲ ἀπεύχεσθε.

13. We ſhould not preſs into the retirements of men; to do ſo, is not only immodeſt and rude, but unjuſt; 'Tis immodeſt to deſire to know from any man, what he is aſhamed or unwilling to ſhew; 'Tis rude to diſturb any man in the enjoyment of his lawful freedom, to interrupt him in his converſation with himſelf, to obſtruct his private ſatisfactions: 'Tis unjuſt to bereave a man of that leiſure and opportunity which he poſſeſſeth, of doing that which he beſt liketh, and perhaps is greatly concerned in; of enjoying his own thoughts, of meditating upon his concerns, of examining his ways, of compoſing his paſſions, of ſtudying truth, of devotion and entercourſe with his God, of contriving and carrying on in any-wiſe the welfare of his own ſoul. Why doth he retire, but to ſhun diverſion, or that he may be maſter of his time and thoughts? Why then are we ſo unkind, or ſo unjuſt, as to deprive him of thoſe contents and advantages?

Arcanum neque tu ſcrutaberis ullius unquam. Commiſſúmq; tegès, & vino tortus & irâ.

14. We ſhould not pry, or peep into mens ſecrets; it is a practice upon many accounts blameable.

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It is commonly impertinent curioſity; for men hide things, becauſe they do not think others concerned to know them, the concealment argueth their opinion to be ſuch; and conſequently that he is fondly curious who would ſearch into them: *Why* (ſaid he well to one, who, ſeeing him carry a basket covered, did ask what was in it) *doſt thou ſeek to know, when thou ſeeſt it covered, that thou mayſt not know?*

Τὰ τᾶ Αἰγυπτίᾳ κάρτι πρὸς τ ἐρωτῶντα τι φέρει συσκευλυμμένα, Διὰ τᾶτο συγκεκάλυπται. Plut. περὶ πολυπρ.

It is foully diſcourteous, becauſe offenſively depriving men of the ſatisfaction they take in concealing their matters; encroaching upon the innocent freedoms which they would enjoy, without rendring account to any; treſpaſſing upon their baſhfulneſs, or fruſtrating their diſcretion; for therefore men chuſe to keep things cloſe, becauſe they like not, or judge it not expedient to declare them. *Eccleſ.* 7. 21. *Take no heed unto all words that are ſpoken, leſt thou hear thy ſervant curſe thee.*

It is alſo groſſly injurious to deal thus, for it is a robbery of what is moſt dear to men; which they with more care reſerve and guard, than they do their gold or their jewels; ſo that to break open the cloſet of a man's breaſt, to ranſack his mind, to pilfer away his thoughts, his affections, his purpoſes, may well be deemed a worſe ſort of burglary or theft, than to break open doors, to rifle trunks, or to pick pockets.

It is a practice in the common opinion of men worthily eſteemed very diſhoneſt and treacherous; for men generally do ſuppoſe each other to be under a tacit, but well underſtood compact, obliged mutually (as they tender greatly the retaining their own ſecrets, ſo) to abſtain from attempting to diſcover the ſecrets of others; to do otherwiſe, is therefore taken for an act of perfidious enmity, and a violation of mutual confidence.

In fine, to peep into chinks, to liſten at doors or windows, to mind whiſpers, to dive into letters and papers, and the like practices, are the practices of inſidious eves-dropper, ſpies and ſycophants, which common humanity will not endure.

Yea, if the knowledge of what our neighbour would conceal, doth caſually arrive to us, it is adviſable to ſmother it, 'tis inhumanity to reveal it to his prejudice. *To reveal ſecrets*, is a practice condemned in ſcripture as odious and baſe, *Prov.* 20. 9. *He that goeth about as a tale-bearer, revealeth ſecrets*, Prov. 11. 13. *A tale-bearer revealeth ſecrets, but he that is of a faithful ſpirit concealeth the matter.*

Not to take up, or ſcatter reports prejudicial. *Ecclus.* 19. 7, 10.

Μηδέποτε δὸς τιμώρης λόγον. Ἀκήκοας λόγον; ζωπυρήσαι τῶν σοι.

A wiſe man would not willingly any-wiſe know the ſecrets of others, but gladly would ſhun them, although offering themſelves to his knowledge; that he may be freed from the burthen of keeping them, and the danger of venting them, to the diſtaſte, wrong or prejudice of others; and he is commended for his diſcretion, who to a prince asking him, *What of his he ſhould impart to him?* Replied, *Whatever you pleaſe, except your ſecrets*; them he well thought unſafe to keep, and dangerous to utter: How fooliſh then is it voluntarily to intrude, or carefully to ſearch into them?

Philippides *apud* Plut. *in Apoph. ad* Lyſimach. τινός σοι, εἶπεν, τ ἐμῶν μεταδῶ; παντίως, εἰ βούλει πολλῶ τ δαπρύτων.

15. We ſhould not lie in wait to ſurprize, or catch any man at advantage, to overthrow him when he trips, to inſult upon his miſtake or his diſaſter; to do thus is always ill manners, 'tis ſometimes barbarous inhumanity. Goodneſs in ſuch caſes would diſpoſe a man to ſupport, relieve and comfort another, if he demandeth, or his caſe needeth ſuch meddling.

16. Laſtly, We ſhould never, at leaſt with much earneſtneſs, meddle with affairs more properly belonging to others, and which we do not, or may not handſomely pretend to underſtand ſo well as others: Such are affairs beſide our profeſſion, which if we underſtand not, 'tis a folly, in a peremptory manner, to treat of them; if we do underſtand them, 'tis yet undecent to conteſt or dictate about them, in the preſence at leaſt of thoſe who profeſs them: Thus ſhould private men beware (at leaſt in that magiſterial or eager way) to meddle with political affairs, illiterate men with ſcholaſtical, lay-men with theological, unexperienced men with any ſuch matters, the comprehenſion whereof dependeth upon skill and exerciſe; no man ſhould be forward to meddle with things extraneous to his way and calling: Doing ſo is wont to create much offence, it hath uſually much immodeſty and much folly in it; often it containeth much injuſtice.

Theſe

Theſe are ſome more general rules concerning the matter in hand: I ſhould now (if time did permit) inſiſt upon ſome particular kinds of meddling, (*advice*, *reproof*, *interpoſing in conteſts*) but in regard to your patience, I ſhall proceed no farther at preſent.

SERMON XXII.

Of Quietneſs, and doing our own Buſineſs.

1 THESS. IV. 11.

And that ye ſtudy to be quiet, and to do your own buſineſs.

IN a former diſcourſe upon theſe words, I have already ſhewed,

I. In what caſes it is allowable or commendable to meddle with the affairs of others.

II. Next, I propounded ſome general rules concerning this matter, according to which we may diſern in what caſes meddling with the affairs of others is commonly blameable. Thus far I have proceeded;

III. I ſhall now give ſome directions concerning particular kinds of meddling. And becauſe they are many, I ſhall at preſent only inſiſt upon three, (referring others to other occaſions) they are, *advice*, *reproof*, *interpoſing in conteſts*, and contentions.

I. As to meddling in *advice*, we may do well to obſerve theſe directions.

1. Adviſe not (except upon call) a ſuperior, or one more eminent than thy ſelf in authority, in dignity, or in age: For he that offereth to adviſe, doth thereby claim to himſelf a kind of ſuperiority, or excellence, above another; and it is not well conſiſtent with the reverence and reſpect due to our betters to ſeem to do ſo: They ſhould be wiſer than we, at leaſt it becometh us not to declare we think they are not; if they ask advice, we may without preſumption give it, ſuppoſing it to be not ſo much their defect of knowledge as prudent caution, which maketh them willing to hear what any man can ſay to the caſe; but to obtrude it on them argueth we think them to need it, and our ſelves able to direct them, which is preſumption, and will paſs for arrogance.

2. We ſhould not indeed, with any violence or importunity, thruſt advice upon our equals, or upon any man not ſubject to our charge, who is unwilling to receive it; for this is alſo an exalting our ſelves in skill and wiſdom above him, and implieth a contemptuous opinion concerning his knowledge; that he is ſo weak as to need advice, and yet more weak in not ſeeking it when needful from us; which practice conſiſteth not with modeſty, and needs muſt breed offence; it is indeed unjuſt, for every man of right is to be allowed to act by his own advice, and to chuſe his own counſellors.

3. Be not obſtinate in preſſing advice; if he that asketh thy counſel do not like [illegible] deſiſt from urging farther, and reſt content: If thou haſt performed the part of faithful friend, of a good man, of a charitable Chriſtian in adviſing what ſeemed beſt to thee, that may abundantly ſatisfie thee; for the reſt *ipſe viderit*, 'tis his concernment more than thine: If thou pretendeſt that he muſt follow thy advice, or art diſpleaſed becauſe he doth not ſo, thou makeſt thy ſelf a commander, not a counſellor; the which to appoint thee, was beſide his intention, he meant to

ſeek thy help, not to forfeit his own liberty; and thou art not juſt in pretending to ſo much.

4. Affect not to be a counſellor, nor let any conſiderations (except of friendſhip, humanity or charity) eaſily diſpoſe thee to accept the office; it is not worth the while to undertake it as a matter of reputation, or becauſe it ſeemeth to argue a good opinion concerning thy skill and ability; for it is a critical and dangerous thing to adviſe, becauſe if the buſineſs ſucceedeth well according to thy advice, the principal uſually carrieth away the profit and the praiſe; his judgment, his induſtry, his fortune are applauded; little commendation or benefit accrueth to the counſellor; but if it proſper not, the main weight of blame is ſurely laid upon him that adviſed the courſe; if you (ſaith the party, and ſay the lookers on) had not thus directed, it had not thus fallen out.

5. Wherefore it is commonly expedient not to adviſe otherwiſe than with reſervation and diffidence: 'Tis, we may ſay, the moſt probable courſe I know, but I queſtion whether it will ſucceed; I hope well of it, but do not thoroughly confide therein; this modeſt and diſcreet way, whatever the event ſhall be, will ſhelter thee from blame; yea, will advance the reputation of thy ſagacity; for if it fail, thy reaſon to ſuſpect will be approved; if it proſper, the goodneſs of thy judgment will be applauded: whereas the confident director, if ſucceſs croſſeth his advice, is exclaimed upon for his raſhneſs; if ſucceſs favoureth, he is not yet admired for his wiſdom, becauſe he ſeemed to be ſure; it being more admirable to gueſs the beſt among doubtful things, than to determine that which is certain. So much for meddling about *advice*.

II. For *reproof*, (which is neceſſary, and a duty upon ſome occaſions) we may do well to follow theſe directions.

Levit. 19. 17. Ephes. 5. 11. 1. Reprove not a ſuperior; for 'tis exerciſing a power over him, and a puniſhing him; we thereby therefore do ſoar above our pitch, we confound ranks, and pervert the order ſettled among men; the practice containeth irreverence and preſumption, it ſeemeth injurious, and is ever odious. What the miniſters of God, or ſpiritual paſtors do in this kind, they do it by ſpecial commiſſion or inſtinct, (as the prophets in reprehending princes and prieſts, as St. *John Baptiſt* in reproving *Herod*;) or as ordinary ſuperiors in the caſe of ſpiritual guidance, being *ſet over us* for that purpoſe, and *watching for our ſouls*, for which *they muſt render an account*; yet they muſt do it with great moderation and diſcretion πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, *Rebuke not an elder*, (or one more aged than thy ſelf) *but intreat him as a father*, (that is, adviſe him in the moſt reſpectful and gentle manner) is the charge of St. *Paul* to biſhop *Timothy*. In caſe of grievance or ſcandal, it becometh inferiors not proudly or peremptorily to criminate and tax, but humbly to remonſtrate and ſupplicate for redreſs.

Heb. 13. 17. 1 Tim. 5. 1.

2. Reprove not raſhly, and without certain cognizance of the fact, for to reprove for things not done, or (which in moral reckoning is the ſame) for things not apparent, is both unjuſt, and argueth a malignant diſpoſition: 'Tis unjuſt to puniſh ſo much as the modeſty of any man without clear evidence and proof; 'tis malignity to ſuſpect a man of ill, 'tis calumny to charge blame on him upon ſlender pretences, or doubtful ſurmiſes.

3. Reprove not alſo raſhly as to the point of right, or without being able to convince the matter to be aſſuredly culpable; to reprove for things not bad, or not unqueſtionably ſuch (for things that are, or perhaps may be indifferent and innocent) is alſo unjuſt, and ſignifieth a tyrannical diſpoſition: 'tis unjuſt any-wiſe to puniſh a man without clear warrant of law: 'tis tyrannical to impoſe upon men our conceit, or to perſecute them for uſing their liberty, following their judgment, or enjoying their humour; which in effect we do when we reprove them for that which we cannot prove blameable: 'Tis (St. *James* ſaith) *a judging the law*, or charging it with defect, when we condemn perſons for things not prohibited by it: *He* (ſaith the apoſtle) *that ſpeaketh againſt his brother, and judgeth his brother, ſpeaketh againſt the law, and judgeth the law.*

Jam. 4. 11.

Both theſe kinds of raſh reproof are very inconvenient, as breeding needleſs offence and endleſs contention; for whoever is thus taxed, will certainly take it ill, and will contend in his own defence; no man patiently, for no ſufficient cauſe or ſure ground, will lie under the ſtroke of reproof, which always ſmarteth, but then enrageth when it is ſuppoſed to be inflicted unjuſtly or maliciouſly: Even

thoſe who contentedly will bear friendly reproof, can worſe brook to be cauſeleſſly taxed.

4. Reprove not for ſlight matters, for ſuch faults or defects as proceed from natural frailty, from inadvertency, from miſtake in matters of ſmall conſequence: for it is hard to be juſt in ſuch reproof; or ſo to temper it as not to exceed the meaſure of blame due to ſuch faults; they occur ſo often, that we ſhould never ceaſe to be carping, if we do it upon ſuch occaſions; 'tis not worth the while, 'tis not handſome to ſeem diſpleaſed with ſuch little things; 'tis ſpending our artillery upon a game not worth the killing: Reproof is too grave and ſtately a thing to be proſtituted upon ſo mean things; to uſe it upon ſmall cauſe, derogateth from its weight, when there is conſiderable reaſon for it; friendſhip, charity and humanity ſhould cover ſuch offences. In fine, it is unſeemly to reprove men for ſuch things as all men, as themſelves are ſo continually ſubject unto: It is therefore better to let ſuch things paſs without any mark of diſpleaſure or diſlike.

Mitem animum, & mores modicis erroribus æquos. Juv. *Sat.* 14.

5. Reprove not unſeaſonably; not when a perſon is indiſpoſed to bear reproof, or unfit to profit thereby; not when there is likely to be no good effect come from it; when thou ſhalt only thereby conjure up an evil ſpirit of diſpleaſure and enmity againſt thy ſelf. Reproof is a thing of it ſelf not good or pleaſant, but ſometimes needful, becauſe wholeſome and good, in order to the end; it ſhould therefore be adminiſtred as phyſick, then only when the patient is fit to receive it, and it may ſerve to correct his diſtemper; otherwiſe you will only make him more ſick, and very angry.

'Tis ever almoſt unſeaſonable to reprove ſome perſons, as ſcorners, impudent, incorrigibly profligate perſons, who will hate the reprover without regarding the reproof: *He that reproveth a ſcorner, getteth to himſelf ſhame; and he that reproveth a wicked man, getteth himſelf a blot. Reprove not a ſcorner, leſt he hate thee.* To be maligned, to be derided, to be aſperſed with reproach and ſlander, is all one ſhall get by reproving ſuch perſons; it is both proſtituting good advice, and expoſing ones ſelf to miſchief, as our Saviour intimateth in that prohibition: *Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither caſt your pearls before ſwine, leſt they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rent you.* Prov. 9. 7, 8. & 15. 12. Matt. 7. 6.

As ſuch men ever, ſo moſt men in ſome ſeaſons are uncapable of reproof, ſo are men in calamity, who are diſcompoſed by grief, the which is rather to be mitigated by comfort than increaſed and exaſperated by blame; ſo are men in a paſſion, who have no ears to hear, no reaſon to judge, no will to comply with advice: Reproof is apt to produce rather anger and ill-blood, than any contrition or kindly remorſe in perſons ſo affected.

It is alſo uſually not ſeaſonable to reprove men publickly, when their modeſty is highly put to it, and their reputation grievouſly ſuffereth; for this is an extreme ſort of puniſhment, and is taken for needleſs, 'tis extreme, becauſe men had rather ſuffer any way than in their honour; 'tis deemed needleſs, becauſe it may be miniſtred privately.

6. Reprove mildly and ſweetly, in the calmeſt manner, in the gentleſt terms; not in a haughty or imperious way, not haſtily or fiercely; not with ſour looks, or in bitter language, for theſe ways do beget all the evil, and hinder the beſt effects of reproof: They do certainly enflame and diſturb the perſon reproved, they breed wrath, diſdain and hatred againſt the reprover, but do not ſo well enlighten the man to ſee his errour, or affect him with kindly ſenſe of his miſcarriage, or diſpoſe him to correct his fault: Such reproofs look rather like the wounds and perſecutions of enmity, than as remedies miniſtred by a friendly hand, they harden men with ſtomach, and ſcorn to mend upon ſuch occaſion. If reproof doth not favour of humanity, it ſignifieth nothing; it muſt be like a bitter pill wrapt in gold, and tempered with ſugar, otherwiſe it will not go down, or work effectually.

7. Affect not to be reprehenſive, ſeem not willingly to undertake the place of a reprover; appear to be meerly drawn thereto by ſenſe of duty, or exigency of friendſhip, or conſtraint of charity and good-will. For to affect reproving, is a ſign of ill nature and arrogance, that we delight to obſerve the faults, that we love to inſult upon the infirmities and infelicities of other men; which is the part of a domineering and cruel humour. A truly good man indeed would be glad to be excuſed from the office, it is the moſt unpleaſant thing he can do to be raking in

mens ſores, and cauſing ſmart to his neighbours; far more gladly therefore would he be commending their good deeds, and cheriſhing their virtue: Nothing therefore but conſcience and charity can put him on this employment. But ſo much for meddling in reproof.

III. Another kind of meddling is, *interpoſing in the conteſts* and contentions of others. As to this, we may, briefly, do well to obſerve theſe directions.

1. We ſhould never meddle, ſo as to raiſe diſſenſions, or to do ſuch things which breed them: We ſhould by no means create miſunderſtandings, or diſtaſts, between our neighbours: We ſhould not inſtill jealouſies, or ſurmiſes: We ſhould not miſconſtrue words or actions, to an offenſive ſenſe or conſequence: We ſhould not conveigh ſpiteful tales: We ſhould not diſcloſe the ſecrets of one to another. Theſe practiſes engender enmity and ſtrife among men; and are therefore inhumane, or rather diabolical, for the devil is the great make-bate in the world.

2. We ſhould not foment diſſenſions already commenced, blowing up the coals that are kindled, by abetting the ſtrife, or aggravating the cauſes thereof; it is not good to ſtrenghthen the quarrel, by ſiding with one part, except that part be notoriouſly oppreſſed or abuſed: In ſuch a caſe indeed, when juſtice calleth for them, we may lend our advice and aſſiſtance; and may bear the inconvenience of being engaged, as *Moſes* honeſtly and generouſly did, when he ſuccoured his brother that ſuffered wrong; otherwiſe 'tis adviſable to keep our ſelves out of the fray, that we do not encourage it by our taking part, and involve our ſelves in the miſchiefs of it.

3. Eſpecially we ſhould not make our ſelves parties in any faction, where both ſides are eager and paſſionate, for then even they who have the juſter cauſe, are wont to do unjuſt things, in which 'tis hard for any man engaged not to have ſhare, at leaſt not to undergo the imputation of them: 'Tis wiſdom therefore in ſuch caſes to hold off, and to retain a kind of indifferency; to meddle with them
Prov. 26. 17. is, (as the wiſe man ſaith) to *take a dog by the ears*; which he that doth, can hardly take care enough of his fingers.

4. We ſhould not interpoſe our ſelves (without invitation) to be arbitrators in points of difference: We may cautiouſly mediate perhaps, or adviſe to agreement; but not pretend as judges with authority to decide the controverſie; this ſavoureth of arrogance, this will work trouble to us, and bring the diſpleaſure of both ſides upon us; it is hard in doing ſo, to avoid becoming parties, and offending one ſide: Our Lord therefore did, we ſee, wave this office, and put off the invitation with a, *Who made me a divider, or a judge between you?*

Οἱ ὦν μέσῳ ὄντες ἀθῶοι ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. Ariſt.

5. If we would at all meddle in theſe caſes, it ſhould be only in endeavouring, by the moſt fair and prudent means, to renew peace, and reconcile the diſſenters; if we can by exhortation and perſuaſion to peace, by removing miſpriſions, by repreſenting things handſomely, by mitigating their paſſions, bring them to good terms, this is a laudable meddling, this is a bleſſed practice. So I leave this particular, and finiſh the directive part of my diſcourſe.

IV. I ſhall now farther only briefly propoſe ſome conſiderations inducing to quietneſs, and diſſuaſive from pragmaticalneſs; ſuch as ariſe from the nature, properties, cauſes and effects of each; ſerving to commend the one, and diſparage the other.

1. Conſider that quietneſs is juſt and equal, pragmaticalneſs is injurious. When we contain our ſelves quiet, and mind only our own buſineſs, we allow every man his right, we harm no man's repute; we keep our ſelves within our bounds, and treſpaſs not on the place or intereſt of our neighbour; we diſturb not the right order and courſe of things: But in being pragmatical, we do wrongfully deprive others of their right and liberty to manage their buſineſs; we prejudice their credit, implicitly charging them with weakneſs and incapacity to diſpatch their affairs without our direction; we therefore, upon our own unequal and impartial judgment, do prefer and advance our ſelves above them; we aſſume to our ſelves in many reſpects more than our due, withdrawing it from others. In fine, no man loveth that others ſhould invade his office, or intrude into his buſineſs; therefore in juſtice every man ſhould forbear doing ſo toward others.

2. Quietneſs ſignifieth humility, modeſty and ſobriety of mind; that we conceit not our ſelves more wiſe than our neighbour, that we allow every man his ſhare of diſcretion; that we take others for able and skilful enough to underſtand and manage

manage their own affairs, but pragmaticalneſs argueth much over-weening and arrogance; that we take our ſelves for the only men of wiſdom, at leaſt for more wiſe than thoſe, into whoſe buſineſs we thruſt our ſelves.

3. Quietneſs is beneficial to the world, preſerving the general order of things, diſpoſing men to keep within their rank and ſtation, and within the ſphere of their power and ability, regularly attending to the work and buſineſs proper to them; whereby as themſelves do well, ſo the publick doth thrive: But pragmaticalneſs diſturbeth the world, confounding things, removing the diſtinction between ſuperior, inferior and equal, rendring each man's buſineſs uncertain; while ſome undertake that which belongeth not to them: One buſie-body often (as we find by experience) is able to diſturb and peſter a whole ſociety.

4. Quietneſs preſerveth concord and amity: For no man is thereby provoked, being ſuffered undiſturbedly to proceed in his courſe, according to his mind and pleaſure: But pragmaticalneſs breedeth diſſenſions and feuds: For all men are ready to quarrel with thoſe, who offer to controll them, or croſs them in their way; every man will be zealous in maintaining his privilege of chuſing and acting according to his choice; and cannot but oppoſe thoſe, who attempt to bereave him of it; whence between the buſie-body aſſailing, and others defending their liberty, combuſtions muſt ariſe.

5. Quietneſs to the perſon endued with it, or practiſing it, begetteth tranquillity and peace; for he that letteth others alone, and cometh in no man's way, no man will be apt to diſquiet or croſs him; he keepeth himſelf out of broils and factions, but the buſy-body createth vexation and trouble to himſelf; others will be ready to moleſt him in his proceedings, becauſe he diſturbeth them in theirs; he that will have a ſickle in another's corn, or an oar in every man's boat, no wonder if his fingers be rapped; men do not more naturally bruſh off flies, which buz about their ears, ſit upon their faces or hands, and ſting or tickle them, than they ſtrive to drive away clamorous and encroaching buſie-bodies. *Let* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *none of you ſuffer as a buſy-body in other men's matters*; it is, he intimateth, a practice whereby a man becometh liable to ſuffer, or which men are apt to puniſh ſoundly: And ſo the wiſe man, implying the fondneſs and danger of it, *He* (ſaith he) *that paſſeth by, and meddleth with ſtrife not belonging to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears*; that is, without any probable good effect, he provoketh a creature that will ſnarl at him, and bite him. 1 Pet. 4. 15. Prov. 26. 17.

6. Quietneſs is a decent and lovely thing, as ſignifying good diſpoſition, and producing good effects; but pragmaticalneſs is ugly and odious. Every man gladly would be a neighbour to a quiet perſon, as who by the ſteady calmneſs and ſmoothneſs of his humour, the inoffenſive ſtillneſs and ſweetneſs of his demeanour, doth afford all the pleaſure of converſation, without any croſs or trouble. But no man willingly would dwell by him, who is apt ever to be infeſting him by his turbulent humour, his obſtreperous talk, his tumultuous and furious carriage; who, upon all occaſions, without invitation or conſent, will be thruſting in his eyes, his tongue, his hand; prying into all that is done, dictating this or that courſe, taxing all proceeding, uſurping a kind of juriſdiction over him and his actions: No man will like, or can well endure ſuch a neighbour. It is commonly obſerved, that pride is not only abominable to God, but loathſome to man; and of all prides, this is the moſt offenſive and odious: For the pride which keepeth at home, within a man's heart or fancy, not iſſuing forth to trouble others, may indeed well be deſpiſed, as hugely ſilly and vain; but that which breaketh out to the diſturbance and vexation of others, is hated as moleſtful and miſchievous.

7. Quietneſs adorneth any profeſſion, bringing credit, reſpect and love thereto; but pragmaticalneſs is ſcandalous, and procureth *odium* to any party or cauſe: Men uſually do cloak their pragmatical behaviour with pretences of zeal for publick good, or of kindneſs to ſome party, which they have eſpouſed; but thereby they do really caſt reproach, and draw prejudice upon their ſide; if it be a good cauſe, they do thereby wrong it, making it to partake of the blame incident to ſuch carriage, as if it did produce or allow diſorder; if it be a bad cauſe, they wrong themſelves, aggravating the guilt of their adherence thereto; for it is a leſs fault to be calm and remiſs in an ill way, than buſie or violent in promoting it. Nothing hath wrought more prejudice to religion, or hath brought more diſparagement upon truth, than boiſterous and unſeaſonable zeal; pretending in ways of paſſion, of fierceneſs,

of rudeneſs to advance them: A quiet ſectary doth to moſt mens fancy appear more lovely, than he that is furiouſly and factiouſly orthodox: The ornament of *a meek and quiet ſpirit, is* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *in God's ſight of great price*; and it is alſo very eſtimable in the opinion of men.

1 Pet. 3. 4.

Τῷ ὄντι φαύλῃ καὶ ταπεινῇ ἀνυχίαν βίου ἀκίνδυνόν τι καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ἔχειν. Chryſ. *apud* Plut.

8. Quiet is a ſafe practice, keeping men not only from needleſs encumbrances of buſineſs, but from the hazards of it, or being charged with its bad ſucceſs: But pragmaticalneſs is dangerous; for if things go ill, the meddler ſurely will be loaded with the blame; the profit and commendation of proſperities will accrue to the perſons immediately concerned; but the diſaſter and damage will be imputed to thoſe who meddled in the buſineſs; to excuſe or eaſe themſelves, men will caſt the diſgrace on thoſe who did project or further the undertaking: He therefore that would be ſecure, let him be quiet; he that loveth peril and trouble, let him be pragmatical.

9. It is conſequently a great point of diſcretion to be quiet, it yielding a man peace and ſafety, without any trouble; and it is a manifeſt folly to be pragmatical, it being only with care, pains and trouble to ſeek diſſatisfaction to others, and danger to himſelf; it being alſo to affect many not only inconveniences, but impoſſibilities.

Is it poſſible for any man to graſp or compaſs an infinity of buſineſs? Yet this the pragmatical man ſeemeth to drive at; for the buſineſſes of other men are infinite, and into that abyſs he plungeth himſelf, who paſſeth beyond his own bounds; by the ſame reaſon that he meddleth with any beſide his own, he may undertake all the affairs in the world; ſo he is ſure to have work enough, but fruit ſurely little enough of his pains.

Is it imaginable, that we can eaſily bring others to our bent, or induce men to ſubmit their buſineſs to our judgment and humour? Will not he that attempteth ſuch things, aſſuredly expoſe himſelf to diſappointment and regret? Is it not therefore wiſdom to let every man have his own way, and purſue his concernments without any check or control from us?

Ὁ πλεῖστα πράσσων πλεῖστ' ἁμαρτάνει βροτῶν. Eurip.

10. We may alſo conſider, that every man hath buſineſs of his own ſufficient to employ him; to exerciſe his mind, to exhauſt his care and pains, to take up all his time and leiſure: To ſtudy his own near concernments, to provide for the neceſſities and conveniences of his life, to look to the intereſts of his ſoul, to be diligent in his calling, to diſcharge faithfully and carefully all his duties relating to God and man, will abundantly employ a man; well it is if ſome of them do not encumber and diſtract him; he that will ſet himſelf with all his might to perform theſe things, will find enough to do; he need not ſeek farther for work, he need not draw more trouble on him.

Ἀπράγμονας εἶναι σχολαίτερον δὲ τὸ καλὸν. Zenon. *apud* Laert. Chryſ. *Tom.* 2. *Eth.* 64.

Seeing then every man hath burthen enough on his ſhoulders, impoſed by God and nature, it is vain to take on him more load, by engaging himſelf in the affairs of others; he will thence be forced, either to ſhake off his own buſineſs, or to become over-burthened and oppreſſed with more than he can bear. It is indeed hence obſervable, and it needs muſt happen, that thoſe who meddle with the buſineſs of others, are wont to neglect their own; they that are much abroad, can ſeldom be at home; they that know others moſt, are leaſt acquainted with themſelves: And the wiſe *Hebrew*, Eccius. 38. 26. *The wiſdom of a learned man comes by opportunity of leiſure,* (σοφία σοφισθῆ ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ γρόνου) *and he that hath little buſineſs ſhall be wiſe*; (ὁ ἐλαττούμενος πράξει ἀσοφισθήσεται.) Whence it is ſcarce poſſible that a pragmatical man ſhould be a good man; that is, ſuch an one, who honeſtly and carefully performeth the duties incumbent on him.

Ὁ σοφὸς, ἰδιοπράγμων, ἢ ἀπράγμων. Democ. Sen. *Ep.* 72, 22. Tertullian *calleth* Stoiciſm, *Quietis magiſterium.* De pall. 5. 2 Tim. 2. 4. Luke 10. 41. τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά.

Philoſophers therefore generally have adviſed men to ſhun needleſs occupations, as the certain impediments of a good and happy life; they bid us endeavour ἁπλοῦν ἑαυτὸς, *to ſimpliſie our ſelves*, or to get into a condition requiring of us the leaſt that can be to do; St. *Paul* intended the ſame, when he adviſed us, μὴ ἐμπλέκεσθαι ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, *not to be entangled in the negotiations of life*; and our Saviour, when he touched *Martha* for *being troubled about many things*. So far therefore we ſhould be from taking in hand the affairs of other men, that we ſhould labour to contract our own, and reduce them to the fewneſt that we can; otherwiſe we ſhall hardly attain wiſdom, or be able to perform our duty.

11. But,

11. But ſuppoſe us to have much ſpare time, and to want buſineſs, ſo that we are to ſeek for divertiſement, and muſt for relief fly to curioſity; yet it is not adviſeable to meddle with the affairs of other men; there are divers other ways more innocent, more ſafe, more pleaſant, more advantageous to divert our ſelves, and ſatisfie curioſity.

Omnium occupatorum conditio miſera, eſt, eorum tamen miſerrima, qui nè ſuis quidem occupationibus laborant. Sen. *de Brev. Vitæ.* 19.

Nature offereth her ſelf, and her inexhauſtible ſtore of appearances to our contemplation; we may, without any harm, and with much delight, ſurvey her rich varieties, examine her proceedings, pierce into her ſecrets. Every kind of animals, of plants, of minerals, of meteors preſenteth matter, wherewith innocently, pleaſantly and profitably to entertain our minds: There are many noble ſciences, by applying our minds to the ſtudy whereof, we may not only divert them, but improve and cultivate them: The hiſtories of ages paſt, or relations concerning foreign countreys, wherein the manners of men are deſcribed, and their actions reported, may afford us uſeful pleaſure and paſtime; thereby we may learn as much, and underſtand the world as well, as by the moſt curious inquiry into the preſent actions of men; there we may obſerve, we may ſcan, we may tax the proceedings of whom we pleaſe, without any danger or offence: There are extant numberleſs books, wherein the wiſeſt and moſt ingenious of men have laid open their hearts, and expoſed their moſt ſecret cogitations unto us; in purſuing them we may ſufficiently buſie our ſelves, and let our idle hours paſs gratefully; we may meddle with our ſelves, ſtudying our own diſpoſitions, examining our principles and purpoſes, reflecting on our thoughts, words and actions; ſtriving thoroughly to underſtand our ſelves; to do this we have an unqueſtionable right, and by it we ſhall obtain vaſt benefit, much greater than we can hope to get by puddering in the deſigns or doings of others. Pragmaticalneſs then, as it is very dangerous or troubleſome, ſo it is perfectly needleſs; it is a kind of idleneſs, but of all idleneſs the moſt unreaſonable: It is at leaſt worſe than idleneſs, in St. *Gregory Nazianzen's* opinion: For, *I had rather*, ſaid he, *be idle more than I ſhould, than over-buſie*. Other conſiderations might be added, but theſe, I hope, may be ſufficient to reſtrain this practice, ſo unprofitable and uneaſie to our ſelves, and for the moſt part, ſo injurious and troubleſome to others.

Tacitus ſaith of the *Stoicks* Sect. ——*qua turbidos & negotiorum appetentes facit.*

Ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρὶ περίεργα ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξελθὼν ἐπείσατο. Adag. *apud* Suidam.

Ἄρχὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον τοῦ δέονος, ὃ ἀβέλτερος δίχομαι. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 26.

Now the God of peace, make us perfect in every good word and work, through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory, for ever. Amen.

SERMON XXIII.

Of the Love of God.

MATTH. XXII. 37.

Jeſus ſaid unto him, Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

THIS text is produced by our Saviour out of *Moſes* his law in anſwer to a queſtion wherewith a learned phariſee thought to poſe or puzzle him. The queſtion was, *Which was the great and firſt commandment in the law?* A queſtion which, it ſeems, had been examined, and determined among the doctors, in the ſchools of thoſe days, (for, in St. *Luke*, to the like queſtion intimated by our Saviour, another lawyer readily yields the ſame anſwer, and is therefore commended by our Saviour, with a *rectè reſpondiſti, thou haſt anſwered rightly*) ſo that had

Deut. 6. 5. 10. 12.

πειράζων αὐτὸν.

πρώτη ἐντολή. Luke 10. 27.

had our Saviour anſwered otherwiſe; he had, we may ſuppoſe, been taxed of ignorance and unskilfulneſs, perhaps alſo of errour and heterodoxy: To convict him of which, ſeems to have been the deſign of this *Jewiſh* trier or tempter (for, he is ſaid to ask πειράζων αὐτόν, *trying*, or tempting, *him*.) But our Saviour defeats his captious intent, by anſwering, not only according to truth and the reaſon of the thing, but agreeably to the doctrine then current, and as the lawyer himſelf out of his memory and learning would have reſolved it: And no wonder, ſince common ſenſe dictates, that the law enjoining ſincere and entire love toward God is neceſſarily the firſt and chief, or the moſt fundamental law of all religion; for that whoſoever doth believe the being of God (according to the moſt common notion that name bears) muſt needs diſcern himſelf obliged firſt and chiefly to perform thoſe acts of mind and will towards him, which moſt true and earneſt love do imply: Different expreſſions of love may be preſcribed, peculiar grounds of love may be declared in ſeveral ways of religion; but in the general and main ſubſtance of the duty, all will conſpire; all will acknowledge readily, that it is love we chiefly owe to God; the duty which he may moſt juſtly require of us, and which will be moſt acceptable to him. It was then indeed the great commandment of the old (or rather of the young and leſs perfect) religion of the *Jews*, and it is no leſs of the more adult and improved religion which the Son of God did inſtitute and teach: The difference only is, that chriſtianity declares more fully how we ſhould exerciſe it; and more highly engages us to obſerve it; requires more proper and more ſubſtantial expreſſions thereof; extends our obligation, as to the matter, and intends it, as to the degree thereof: For as it repreſents almighty God in his nature and in his doings more lovely than any other way of religion (either natural, or inſtituted) hath done, or could do; ſo it proportionably raiſes our obligation to love him: It is, as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, τὸ τέλος παραγγελίας, *the* laſt *drift*, or the ſupreme pitch *of the* evangelical *profeſſion* and inſtitution to love; to love God firſt, and then our neighbour *out of a pure heart, and good conſcience, and faith unfeigned:* It is *the bond*, or knot *of* that *perfection* which the goſpel injoins us to aſpire to: 'Tis the firſt and principal of thoſe goodly *fruits*, which *the holy ſpirit* of Chriſt produceth in good chriſtians. It is therefore plainly with us alſo, the great commandment and chief duty: chiefly great in its extent, in its worth, in its efficacy and influence: Moſt great it is, in that it doth (eminently at leaſt, or virtually) contain all other laws and duties of piety; they being all as branches making up its body, or growing out of it as their root. St. *Paul* ſaith of the love towards our neighbour, that it is πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου, *a full performance of the laws* concerning him; and that *all commandments*, ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, *are recapitulated*, or ſumm'd up *in this one ſaying, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf:* And by like, or greater reaſon are all the duties of piety compriſed in the love of God; which is the chief of thoſe two hinges, *upon which* (as our Saviour here ſubjoins) *the whole law and the prophets do hang.* So great is this duty in extent; and it is no leſs in proper worth, both as it immediately reſpects the moſt excellent, and moſt neceſſary performances of duty (employing our higheſt faculties in their beſt operations) and as it imparts virtue and value to all other acts of duty: For no ſacrifice is acceptable, which is not kindled by this heavenly fire; no offering ſweet and pure, which is not ſeaſoned by this holy ſalt; no action is truly good or commendable, which is not conjoined with, or doth not proceed from the love of God; that is not performed with a deſign to pleaſe God, (or at leaſt) with an opinion that we ſhall do ſo thereby. If a man perform any good work not out of love to God, but from any other principle; or for any other deſign (to pleaſe himſelf or others, to get honour or gain thereby) how can it be acceptable to God, to whom it hath not any due regard? And what action hath it for its principle, or its ingredient, becomes ſanctified thereby, in great meaſure pleaſing and acceptable to God, ſuch is the worth and value thereof. It is alſo the great commandment for efficacy and influence, being naturally productive of obedience to all other commandments, eſpecially of the moſt genuine and ſincere obedience; no other principle being in force and activity comparable thereto: (Fear may drive to a compliance with ſome, and hope may draw to an obſervance of others; but it is love, that with a kind of willing conſtraint, and kindly violence carries on cheerfully, vigorouſly and ſwiftly to the performance of all God's commandments: *If any man loves me*, ſaith our Saviour, *he will keep my word*; to keep his word is a natural

1 Tim. 1. 5.
Coloſſ. 3. 14.
Mat. 5. 48.
Galat. 5. 22.
Rom. 13. 9, 10.
Gal. 5. 14.
Verſ. 40.
Levit. 2. 13. 9. 24. 20. 1.
2 Cor. 5. 14.
1 Joh. 2. 5.
Joh. 14. 23.

natural and neceſſary reſult of love to him; *This is the love of God* (ſaith St. *John*) *that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous*; 'tis the nature of that love to beget a free and delightful obedience.) Such then is the ſubject of our diſcourſe; even the ſum, the ſoul, the ſpring of all our religion and duty. And becauſe it is requiſite, both for our direction how to do, and the examination of our ſelves whether we do as we ought; that we ſhould underſtand what we are thus ſo far obliged to, that we may be able to perform it, and that we be effectually diſpoſed thereto, I ſhall uſe this method; I will firſt endeavour to explain the nature of this love commanded us; then, to ſhew ſome means of attaining it: Laſtly, To propound ſome inducements to the purchaſe and practice thereof. 1 Joh. 5. 3.

I. For the firſt part, we may deſcribe love in general (for it ſeems not ſo eaſie to define it exactly) to be an affection or inclination of the ſoul towards an object, proceeding from an apprehenſion and eſteem of ſome excellency or ſome conveniency therein (its beauty, worth or uſefulneſs) producing thereupon, if the object be abſent or wanting, a proportionable deſire, and conſequently an endeavour to obtain ſuch a propriety therein, ſuch a poſſeſſion thereof, ſuch an approximation or union thereto, as the thing is capable of; alſo a regret and diſpleaſure in the failing ſo to obtain it; or in the want, abſence and loſs thereof; likewiſe begetting a complacence, ſatisfaction and delight in its preſence, poſſeſſion or enjoyment, which is moreover attended with a good will thereto, ſuitable to its nature; that is, with a deſire that it ſhould arrive unto, and continue in its beſt ſtate; with a delight to perceive it ſo to thrive and flouriſh; with a diſpleaſure to ſee it ſuffer or decay in any-wiſe; with a conſequent endeavour to advance it in all good, and preſerve it from all evil. Which deſcription containing the chief properties of love in common, do in ſome ſort (not to inſiſt upon abſtracted notions, or in examples remote from our purpoſe) all of them well agree to that love which we owe to God, according to the tenour of this law, and in the degree therein expreſſed; that is, in the beſt manner and higheſt degree; for even of this divine love the chief properties (prerequiſite thereto, or intimately conjoined therewith, or naturally reſulting from it) I conceive are theſe,

1. A right apprehenſion and firm perſuaſion concerning God, and conſequently a high eſteem of him as moſt excellent in himſelf and moſt beneficial to us: For ſuch is the frame of our ſoul, that the perceptive part doth always go before the appetitive, that affection follows opinion, that no object otherwiſe moves our deſire, than as repreſented by reaſon, or by fancy, good unto us: What effect will the goodlieſt beauty, or the ſweeteſt harmony have upon him, who wants ſenſe to diſcern, or judgment to prize them? This is our natural way of acting; and according to it, that we may in due meaſure love God, he muſt appear proportionably amiable, and deſirable to us: We muſt entertain worthy thoughts of, as full of all perfection in himſelf, as the fountain of all good, as the ſole author of all that happineſs we can hope for or receive: As he, in poſſeſſion of whom we ſhall poſſeſs all things deſirable; in effect and virtue all riches, all honours, all pleaſure, all good that we are capable of; and without whom we can enjoy no real good or true content: Which eſteem of him, how can it otherwiſe than beget affection towards him? If the faint reſemblances, or the ſlender participations of ſuch excellencies (of that incomprehenſible wiſdom, that uncontrollable power, that unconfin'd bounty, that unblemiſh'd purity, which are united in him, and ſhine from him with a perfect luſtre: If, I ſay, the very faint reſemblances, and imperfect participations of theſe excellencies) diſcerned in other things, are apt to raiſe our admiration, and allure our affection toward them; if the glimmering of ſome ſmall inconſiderable benefit, the ſhadow of real profit diſcovered in theſe inferior empty things, is able ſo ſtrongly to attract our eyes, and fix our hearts upon them, why ſhould not from a like, but ſo much greater cauſe, the like effect proceed? Whence can it be that the apprehenſion of an object ſo infinitely lovely, ſo incomparably beneficial (if not paſſing curſorily through our fancy, but deeply impreſſed upon our mind) ſhould not proportionably affect and incline us towards him with all that deſire, that delight, that good will which are proper to love? If we think, as the Pſalmiſt did, that *there is none in heaven in earth comparable to God* (comparable in eſſential perfection, comparable in beneficial influence) why ſhould we not be diſpoſed alſo to ſay with him; *Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I deſire beſides thee.* Pſal. 89. 6. Pſal. 73. 25.

thee. Such a reverent eſteem is the proper foundation upon which true love is built, and which upholds it: whence, as the love of God doth commonly denote all the duties of religion; ſo doth fear (or reverence to him) likewiſe in ſcripture ſtyle comprehend and expreſs them all, it being the root from whence love doth ſprout, and by which it is nouriſhed; it being the beginning of that true wiſdom by which we embrace and faſten our affection upon the ſovereign good. Hence we may obſerve, that thoſe devout perſons, whoſe hearts were fulleſt of this love, their minds were moſt employed in meditation upon the divine excellencies, and upon the beneficial emanations from them in bounty and mercy upon the creatures; their tongues being tuned by their thoughts, and their inward eſteem breaking forth into praiſe. *Every day, all the day long, at all times did they bleſs God, praiſe his name, ſpeak of his righteouſneſs, ſhew forth his ſalvation,* as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes his practice, ariſing from love enlivened by the eſteem of God, and the apprehenſion of his excellent goodneſs: From whence alſo that ſtrong faith, that conſtant hope, that chearful confidence they repoſed in him; that hearty approbation of all his counſels and purpoſes: That full acquieſcence of mind in his proceedings; that entire ſubmiſſion of their underſtanding to his diſcipline, and reſignation of their will to his good pleaſure; that yielding up themſelves (their ſouls and bodies, their lives and goods) to his diſpoſal, with all the like high effects and pregnant ſigns of love did flow: But

Comp. Pſal. 113. 17, 18. Pſal. 31. 23. 34. 9. 145. 19, 20.

Pſal. 146. 7. 104. 23. 34. 1. 71. 15. 145. 2. 35. 28. 71. 8

2. Another property of this love is an earneſt deſire of obtaining a propriety in God, of poſſeſſing him (in a manner) and enjoying him, of approaching him and being, ſo far as may be, united to him. When we ſtand upon ſuch terms with any perſon, that we have a free acceſs unto and a familiar entercourſe with him, that his converſation is profitable and delightful to us; that we can upon all occaſions have his advice and aſſiſtance; that he is always ready in our needs, and at our deſire to employ what is in him of ability for our good and advantage, we may be ſaid to own ſuch a perſon, to poſſeſs and enjoy him; to be tied (as it were) and joined to him (as 'tis ſaid *the ſoul of Jonathan was knit to the ſoul of David, ſo that he loved him as his own ſoul.*) And ſuch a propiety in, ſuch a poſſeſſion of, ſuch an alliance and conjunction to himſelf God vouchſafes to them, who are duly qualified for ſo great a good; *He was not aſhamed* (ſaith the apoſtle concerning the faithful patriarchs) *to be called their God,* to be appropriated in a manner unto them: And, *He that acknowledgeth the Son* (ſaith St. *John* concerning good chriſtians) ὁ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει, *hath,* (or poſſeſſeth) *the Father alſo:* And *to ſeek, to find, to draw near to, to cleave unto, to abide with, to abide in,* and ſuch other phraſes frequently do occur in ſcripture denoting that near relation which good men ſtand in toward God; implying that he affords them a continual liberty of acceſs and coming into his eſpecial preſence, that he admits them to a kind of converſe and communion with himſelf, full of ſpiritual benefit and delight; that bearing an eſpecial good will and favour toward them, he is diſpoſed to exert his infinite wiſdom and power in their behalf; is ready to impart all needful and convenient good unto them (help in their needs, ſupply in wants, protection in dangers; the direction, aſſiſtance and comfort of his holy ſpirit, pardon of ſins and peace of conſcience, all the bleſſings of grace here, and all the felicities of glory hereafter) ſuch an intereſt, as it were, in God and a title unto him, ſuch a poſſeſſion and enjoyment of him we are capable of obtaining: And as that enjoyment is in it ſelf infinitely above all things deſirable; ſo, if we love God, we cannot ſurely but be earneſtly deſirous thereof: a cold indifferency about it, a faint wiſhing for it, a ſlothful tendency after it are much on this ſide love; it will inflame our heart, it will tranſport our mind, it will beget a vigorous and lively motion of ſoul towards it: For love you know is commonly reſembled unto, yea even aſſumes the name of fire; for it warms the breaſt, agitates the ſpirits, quickens all the powers of ſoul, and ſets them on work in deſire and purſuance of the beloved object: You may imagine as well fire without heat or activity, as love without ſome ardency of deſire. *Longing and thirſting of ſoul, fainting for, and panting after, crying out, and ſtretching forth the hands toward God;* ſuch are the expreſſions ſignifying the good Pſalmiſt's love; by ſo apt, and ſo pathetical reſemblances doth he ſet out the vehemency of his deſire to enjoy God. I need not add concerning endeavour, for that by plain conſequence doth neceſſarily follow deſire: The thirſty ſoul will never be at reſt till it have found out its convenient refreſhment; if we, as

1 Sam. 18. 1.

Heb. 11. 16.

1 Joh. 2. 23. Pſal. 119. 2. Iſa. 65. 1. Deut. 11. 22. Joſh. 23. 8. 1 Cor. 6. 17. Acts 11. 23. Joh. 15. 4. 17. 21. 1 Joh. 2. 24.

Pſ. 84. 2. 42. 1. 63. 1. 143. 6.

David

David did, do *long after God*, we ſhall alſo with him *earneſtly ſeek God*; nor ever be at reſt till we have found him. Coherent with this is a

3. Third property of this love, that is, a great complacence, ſatisfaction and delight in the enjoyment of God: In the ſenſe of having ſuch a propriety in him, in the partaking thoſe emanations of favour and beneficence from him, and conſequently in the inſtruments conveying, in the means conducing to ſuch enjoyment: For joy and content are the natural fruits of obtaining what we love, what we much value, what we earneſtly deſire. Yea, what we chiefly love, if we become poſſeſſed thereof, we eaſily reſt ſatisfied therewith, although all other comforts be wanting to us. The covetous perſon for inſtance, who dotes upon his wealth, let him be pinched with the want of conveniencies; let his body be wearied with toil; let his mind be diſtracted with care, let him be ſurrounded with obloquy and diſgrace——*at mihi plaudo Ipſe domi*; he nevertheleſs enjoys himſelf in beholding his beloved pelf: The ambitious man likewiſe, although his ſtate be full of trouble and diſquiet, though he be the mark of common envy and hatred, though he be expoſed to many croſſes and dangers; yet while he ſtands in power and dignity, among all thoſe thorns of care and fear, his heart enjoys much reſt and pleaſure. In like manner we may obſerve thoſe pious men, whoſe hearts were endued with this love, by the preſent ſenſe, or aſſured hope of enjoying God, ſupporting themſelves under all wants and diſtreſſes; *rejoycing*, yea *boaſting and exulting* in their afflictions; and no wonder, while they conceived themſelves ſecure in the poſſeſſion of their heart's wiſh; of that which they incomparably valued and deſired above all things, which by experience they have found ſo comfortable and delicious: *O taſte and ſee* (exclaims the Pſalmiſt, inſpired with this paſſion) *O taſte and ſee, that the Lord is good: How excellent is thy loving kindneſs, O Lord; they,* (they who enjoy it) *ſhall be abundantly ſatisfied with the fatneſs of thy houſe, and thou ſhalt make them drink of the rivers of thy pleaſures: A day in thy courts is better than a thouſand: My ſoul ſhall be ſatisfied as with marrow and fatneſs*; ſo did thoſe devout practiſers of this duty expreſs the ſatisfaction they felt in God, and in thoſe things whereby he did impart the enjoyment of himſelf unto them. So did *the light of God's* countenance chear their heart; ſo did *his loving kindneſs* appear *better than life it ſelf unto them.* Hence do they ſo frequently enjoin and exhort us *to be glad, to delight our ſelves, to glory, to rejoyce continually in the Lord*; in the ſenſe of his goodneſs, in the hope of his favour; the doing ſo being an inſeparable property of love, to which we adjoin another.

Luke 6. 23. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Rom. 5. 3. Col. 1. 24. Pſal. 34. 8. 36. 7. Pſal. 84. 1, 10. 63. 5. Neh. 9. 25. Pſal. 4. 6. 63. 3. Pſal. 33. 1. 32. 11. 105. 3. 107. 12. 37. 4.

4. The feeling much diſpleaſure and regret in being deprived of ſuch enjoyment; in the abſence or diſtance as it were of God from us; the loſs or leſſening of his favour; the ſubtraction of his gracious influences from us: For ſurely anſwerable to the love we bear unto any thing will be our grief for the want or loſs thereof: It was a ſhrewd argument which the poet uſed to prove, that men loved their moneys better than their friends, becauſe——*majore tumultu Plorantur nummi, quàm funera*——they more lamented the loſs of thoſe than the death of theſe; indeed, that which a man principally affects, if he is bereaved thereof, be his condition otherwiſe how proſperous and comfortable ſoever, he cannot be contented; all other enjoyments become unſavoury and unſatisfactory to him. And ſo it is in our caſe, when God, although only for trial, (according to his wiſdom and good pleaſure) hides his face, and withdraws his hand, leaving the ſoul in a kind of deſolation and darkneſs; not finding that ready aid in diſtreſs, not feeling that chearful vivacity in obedience, not taſting that ſweet reliſh of devotion, which have been uſually afforded thereto; if love reſided in the heart, it will ſurely diſpoſe it to a ſenſible grief; it will inſpire ſuch exclamations as thoſe of the Pſalmiſt: *How long, Lord, wilt thou hide thy face? hide not thy face from thy ſervant, for I am in trouble; turn unto me according to the multitude of thy tender mercies; draw nigh unto my ſoul and redeem it.* Even our Saviour himſelf in ſuch a caſe, when God ſeemed for a time to withdraw the light of his countenance, and the protection of his helpful hand from him (or to frown and lay his heavy hand upon him) had his ſoul περίλυπον ἕως θανάτου, *extremely grieved* and *full of deadly anguiſh*; neither ſurely was it any other cauſe than exceſs of love, which made that temporary deſertion ſo grievous and bitter to him, extorting from his moſt meek and patient heart that woful complaint, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me!* But

Pſal. 89. 46. 69. 16. 30. 7. 42. 3. Matt. 26. 38. 27. 46.

Isa. 59. 2. Jer. 5. 25. Isa. 44. 26. especially when *our iniquities have*, (as the prophet expresseth it) *separated between our God and us*; and *our sins have hid his face from us*; when that *thick cloud* hath eclipsed the light of his countenance, and intercepted his gracious influences; when by wilfully offending we have (as the *Israelites* are said to have done) *rejected our God, cast him off*, and *driven* him from us; so depriving our selves of propriety in him, and the possession of his favour; then if any love be alive in us, it will prompt us with those good men in their penitential agonies, to be grievously sensible of, and sorely to bewail that our wretched condition; there *will not* (if we so heartily love God and value his favour as they did) *be any soundness in our flesh, or rest in our bones; our spirit will be overwhelmed within us, and our heart within us desolate. Our heart will be smitten and withered like grass*, upon the consideration and sense of so inestimable a loss. Love will render such a condition very sad and uneasie to us, will make all other delights insipid and distastful, all our life will become bitter and burthensome to us; neither if it in any measure abides in us, shall we receive content, till by humble deprecation we have regained some glimpse of God's favour, some hope of being reinstated in our possession of him. Farther yet,

1 Sam. 8. 7. 10. 9. Psal. 6. 35. 38. 51. 102. 130. 143. Psal. 38. 3. 143. 4. 102. 4. Psal. 6. 4. 38. 21. 51. 11. 102. 2. 143. 7.

5. Another property of this love is, to bear the highest good will toward God, so as to wish heartily and effectually (according to our power) to procure all good to him, and to delight in it; so as to endeavour to prevent and to remove all evil (if I may so speak) that may befall him, and to be heartily displeased therewith. Although no such benefit or advantage can accrue to God which may increase his essential and indefectible happiness; no harm or damage can arrive that may impair it (for he can be neither really more or less rich, or glorious, or joyful than he is; neither have our desire or our fear, our delight or our grief, our designs or our endeavours any object, any ground in those respects) yet hath he declared, that there be certain interests and concernments, which, out of his abundant goodness and condescension, he doth tender and prosecute as his own; as if he did really receive advantage by the good, and prejudice by the bad success, respectively belonging to them; that he earnestly desires, and is greatly delighted with some things, very much dislikes, and is grievously displeased with other things: For instance, that he bears a fatherly affection towards his creatures, and earnestly desires their welfare, and delights to see them enjoy the good he designed them, as also dislikes the contrary events; doth commiserate and condole their misery; that he is consequently well pleased, when piety and justice, peace and order (the chief means conducing to our welfare) do flourish; and displeased, when impiety and iniquity, dissension and disorder (those certain sources of mischief to us) do prevail; that he is well satisfied with our rendring to him that obedience, honour and respect which are due to him; and highly offended with our injurious and disrespectful behaviour towards him, in the commission of sin and violation of his most just and holy commandments: So that there wants not sufficient matter of our exercising good will both in affection and action toward God; we are capable both of wishing, and (in a manner, as he will interpret and accept it) of doing good to him, by our concurrence with him, in promoting those things which he approves and delights in, and in removing the contrary. And so surely shall we do, if we truly love God: For love, as it would have the object to be its own, as it intends to enjoy it; so it would have it in its best state, and would put it thereinto, and would conserve it therein; and would thence contribute all it is able to the welfare, to the ornament, to the pleasure and content thereof. *What is it* (saith *Cicero*) *to love, but to will or desire, that the person loved should receive the greatest good that can be?* Love also doth reconcile, conform and unite the inclinations and affections of him who loves, to the inclinations and affections of him who is beloved; *Eadem velle & eadem nolle, to consent in liking and disliking of things*; if it be not the cause, if it be not the formal reason or essence (as some have made it) 'tis at least a certain effect of love. If then we truly love God, we shall desire that all his designs prosper, that his pleasure be fulfilled, that all duty be performed, all glory rendred to him: We shall be grieved at the wrong, the dishonour, the disappointment he receives: Especially we shall endeavour in our own practice, with holy *David, to perform* πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ, *all that God* [illegible] desires, or delights in, to eschew whatever offends him. Our desire, our delight, our endeavour will conspire with and be subordinate to his; for it would be a strange

Quid est amare, nisi velle bonis aliquem affici quam maximis? Cic. *de Fin.* 2.

Acts 13. 22.

kind

kind of love that were conſiſtent with the voluntary doing of that which is hurtful, injurious or offenſive to that we love; ſuch actions being the proper effects, the natural ſigns of hatred and enmity: *If any man ſay, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar*, ſaith St. *John*; and, *If any man ſeeth his brother need, and ſhutteth his bowels towards him, how doth the love of God abide in him?* He that in his affections is ſo unlike, ſo contrary unto God; he that is unwilling to comply with God's will in ſo reaſonable a performance; he that in a matter wherein God hath declared himſelf ſo much concerned, and ſo affected therewith, doth not care to croſs him, to diſpleaſe and diſappoint him; how can he with any ſhew of truth, or with any modeſty pretend to love God? Hence it is, that keeping of God's commandments is commonly repreſented to us as the moſt proper expreſſion, as the ſureſt argument of our love to God:——*ſhewing mercy to thouſands of them that love me, and keep my commandments*; they are joined together as terms equivalent, or as inſeparable companions in effect: *He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: Ye are my friends*, (that is, not only objects of my affection, but actively friends, bearing affection unto me) *if ye do whatſoever I command you*, ſaith our Saviour: And, *Whoſo keepeth his word, in him is the love of God truly perfected*: (He hath the truth and ſincerity, he hath the integrity and conſummation of love: Without it love is wholly falſe and counterfeit, or very lame and imperfect; ſo the loving and beloved diſciple teaches us.) For by doing thus, as we ſignifie our eſteem of God's wiſdom which directeth us, our dread of his power and juſtice that can puniſh us, our hope in his goodneſs and fidelity to reward us, our regard to his majeſty and authority over us; ſo eſpecially thereby (if our obedience at leaſt be free and cheerful) we expreſs our good will towards him, ſhewing thereby, that we are diſpoſed to do him all the good and gratifie him all we can; that his intereſts, his honour, his content are dear and precious to us. And were indeed our *hearts knit unto God*, with this bond of perfection, we could not in our wills, and conſequently in our practice be ſo ſevered from him; we ſhould alſo love heartily all virtue and goodneſs, the neareſt reſemblances of him, and which he chiefly loves; we ſhould do what *David* ſo oft profeſſes himſelf to do, *love his law, and greatly delight in his commandments*. With our Saviour we ſhould *delight to perform his will*; it would (as it was to him) *be our meat and our drink to do* it; *his yoke would be eaſie* indeed, *and his burthen light* unto us; his yoke ſo eaſie, that we ſhould wear it rather as a jewel about our necks than as a yoke; his burthen ſo light, that we ſhould not feel it as a burthen, but eſteem it our privilege. We ſhould not be ſo dull in apprehending, or ſo ſlack in performing duty; for this ſharp-ſighted affection would preſently diſcern, would readily ſuggeſt it to us; by the leaſt intimation it would perceive what pleaſeth God, and would ſnatch opportunity of doing it: We ſhould not need any arguments to perſuade us, nor any force to compel us; love would inſpire us with ſufficient vigour and alacrity; it would urge and ſtimulate us foward not only *to walk in*, but even (as the Pſalmiſt expreſſeth it) to *run the ways of God's commandments*.

1 Joh. 4. 20. 3. 17. Exod. 20. 6. Joh. 14. 21. 23. 15. 14. 1 Joh. 4. 12. Pſal. 86. 11. Col. 3. 14. Pſal. 11. 7. Pſ. 119. 163, 165, 113, 16. 35, 70, 47, 24, 77. Pſ. 1. 2. 112. 1. 40. 8. Heb. 10. 7. Joh. 4. 34. 5. 30. Prov. 3. 22. Pſal. 119. 32.

But let thus much ſerve for explication of the nature of this duty; in order (as was before ſaid) to the direction of our practice, and examination thereof: The particular duties mentioned being comprehended in, or appertaining to the love of God; if we perceive that we practiſe them, we may, to our ſatisfaction and comfort, infer, that proportionably we are endued with this grace; if not, we have reaſon (ſuch as ſhould beget remorſe and pious ſorrow in us) to ſuſpect we abide in a ſtate of diſaffection or of indifferency towards him. If we find the former good diſpoſition, we ſhould ſtrive to cheriſh and improve it; if the ſecond bad one, we ſhould (as we tender our own welfare and happineſs, as we would avoid utter ruin and miſery) endeavour to remove it.

II. To the effecting of which purpoſes, I ſhall next propound ſome means conducible; ſome in way of removing obſtacles, others by immediately promoting the duty.

Of the firſt kind are theſe enſuing:

1. The deſtroying of all loves oppoſite to the love of God, extinguiſhing all affection to things odious and offenſive to God; Mortifying all corrupt and perverſe all unrighteous and unholy deſires*. It agrees with ſouls no leſs than with bodies, that they cannot at once move or tend contrary ways; upward and downward,

* Pſal. 97. 10. *Ye that love the Lord, hate evil.*

ward, backward and forward at one time; it is not poſſible we ſhould together truly eſteem, earneſtly deſire, bear ſincere good will to things in nature and inclination quite repugnant each to other. No man ever took him for his real friend, who maintains correſpondence, ſecret or open; who joins in acts of hoſtility with his profeſſed enemies; at leaſt we cannot, as we ought, love God with our whole heart, if with any part thereof we affect his enemies; thoſe which are mortally and irreconcileably ſo, as are all iniquity and impurity, all inordinate luſts both of fleſh and ſpirit: *The carnal mind* (the minding or affecting of the fleſh) *is*, St. *Paul* tells us, *enmity toward God; for 'tis not ſubject to the law of God, nor can be*; 'tis an enemy, even the worſt of enemies, an incorrigibly obſtinate rebel againſt God, and can we then retaining any love to God, or peace with him, comply and conſpire therewith? And, *The friendſhip of the world* (that is, I ſuppoſe, of thoſe corrupt principles, and thoſe vicious cuſtoms which uſually prevail in the world) *is alſo*, St. *James* tells us, *enmity with God*; ſo that (he adds) *if any man be a friend to the world, he is thereby conſtituted* (he immediately *ipſo facto* becomes) *an enemy to God*. St. *John* affirms the ſame; *If any man love the world, the love of Father is not in him*; explaining himſelf, that by the world he means thoſe things, which are moſt generally embraced and practiſed therein; *the luſt*, or deſire, *of the fleſh*, (that is, ſenſuality and intemperance) *the luſt of the eyes*, (that is, envy, covetouſneſs, vain curioſity, and the like) *the oſtentation*, or boaſting, *of life* (that is, pride, ambition, vain-glory, arrogance) qualities as irreconcileably oppoſite to the holy nature and will of God, ſo altogether inconſiſtent with the love of him; begetting in us an averſation and antipathy towards him; rendring his holineſs diſtaſtful to our affections, and his juſtice dreadful to our conſciences; and himſelf conſequently, his will, his law, his preſence hateful to us: While we take him to be our enemy and to hate us, we ſhall certainly in like manner ſtand affected towards him: This indeed is the main obſtacle, the removal of which will much facilitate the introduction of divine love; it being a great ſtep to reconciliation and friendſhip, to be diſengaged from the adverſe party: We ſhould then eaſily diſcern the beauty of divine goodneſs and ſanctity, when the miſts of ignorance, of error, of corrupt prejudice, ariſing from thoſe groſs carnal affections, were diſſipated; we ſhould better reliſh the ſweet and ſavoury graces of God, when the palates of our minds were purged from vicious tinctures; we ſhould be more ready to hope for peace and favour in his eyes, when our conſciences were freed from the ſenſe of ſuch provocations and defilements. But

τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός. Rom. 8. 7.

Jam. 4. 4.

κατέστη. 1 Joh. 2. 15.

ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός. ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου.

2. If we would obtain this excellent grace, we muſt reſtrain our affections towards all other things, however in their nature innocent and indifferent. The young gentleman in the goſpel had, it ſeems, arrived to the former pitch; having through the courſe of his life abſtained from groſſer iniquities and impurities; ſo far, that our Saviour, in regard to that attainment of his, conceived an affection for him (he loved him, 'tis ſaid) yet was not he ſufficiently diſpoſed to love God; being *in one thing deficient*, that he retained an immoderate affection to his wealth and worldly conveniencies; with which ſort of affections the love of God cannot conſiſt: For we much undervalue God, and cannot therefore duly love him, if we deem any thing comparable to him, or conſiderable in worth or uſefulneſs when he comes in competition: If we deem, that the poſſeſſion of any other thing beſides him, can confer to our happineſs, or the want thereof can prejudice it, and make us miſerable: No other love ſhould bear any proportion to the love of him; no other object ſhould appear (as indeed none really is) ſimply good, deſirable or amiable to us. What value St. *Paul* had of his legal qualifications and privileges, the ſame ſhould we have concerning all other things in appearance pleaſant or convenient to us; they ought, in regard to God, to *ſeem damage and dung*; not only mean and deſpicable, but even ſordid and loathſome to us; not only unworthy of our regard and deſire, but deſerving our hatred and abhorrence; we ſhould, I ſay, even hate the beſt of them, ſo our Saviour expreſſeth it, *If any man doth not hate his father and his mother, his wife and his children, his brothers and ſiſters, and even his own ſoul* (or his own life) *he cannot be my diſciple*; that is, if any man retain in his heart any affection not infinitely (as it were) leſs than that which he bears to God; if any thing be in compariſon dear and precious to him, he is not diſpoſed to entertain the main points of Chriſt's diſcipline, the ſincere and entire love of God. To *love him*, as he requires, *with all our heart*, implies, that he

ἄρχων. Matt. 19. 20. Mark 10. 21. ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν. Luke 18. 22.

Phil. 3. 8.

ζημία, σκύβαλα.

Luke 14. 26.

heart be filled with his love, ſo that no room be left for any other paſſion to enter or dwell there. And indeed ſuch, if we obſerve it, is the nature of our ſoul, we can hardly together harbour earneſt or ſerious affections toward different objects; one of them will prevail and predominate; and ſo doing will not ſuffer the other to remain, but will extrude or extinguiſh it: No heart of man can correſpond with two rivals, but, (as Saviour teacheth us) *it will hate and deſpiſe one, will love and ſtick to the other*; whence he infers, that *we cannot ſerve* (that is, affectionately adhere to) *both God and Mammon.* If we have (according to the Pſalmiſt's phraſe) *ſet our hearts upon wealth*, and *will be rich* (are reſolved to be, as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it) if we eagerly aſpire to power and honour, with the phariſees, *preferring the applauſe of men before the favour of God:* If any worldly or bodily pleaſure, or any curioſity how plauſible ſoever, hath ſeiſed upon our ſpirits and captivated our affections; if any inferior object whatever with its apparent ſplendor, ſweetneſs, goodlineſs, convenience hath ſo inveagled our fancy, that we have an exceeding eſteem thereof, and a greedy appetite thereto; that we enjoy it with huge content, and cannot part from it without much regret; that thing doth at preſent take up God's place within us; ſo that our heart is uncapable, at leaſt in due meaſure, of divine love; but if we be indifferently affected towards all ſuch things, and are unconcerned in the preſence or abſence of them; eſteeming them as they are, mean and vain; loving them as they deſerve, as inferior and trivial; if (according to St. *Paul*'s direction) *we uſe them as if we uſed them not*; 'tis another good ſtep toward the love of God: The divine light will ſhine more brightly into ſo calm and ſerene a *medium:* A ſoul void of other affections, will not be only more capable to receive, but apt to ſuck in that heavenly one; being inſenſible, in any conſiderable degree, of all other comforts and complacences, we ſhall be apt to ſearch after, and reach out at that, which alone can ſatisfie our underſtanding, and ſatiate our deſires; eſpecially if we add hereto,

Matt. 6. 24.

Pſal. 62. 10. 1 Tim. 6. 9, 17. Joh. 12. 43.

2 Tim. 4. 10.

1 Cor. 7. 31.

3. The freeing of our hearts alſo from immoderate affection to our ſelves (I mean not from a ſober deſire or an earneſt regard to our own true good; for this as nature enforces to, ſo all reaſon allows, and even God's command obligeth us to; nor can it be exceſſive; but a high conceit of our ſelves as worthy or able, a high confidence in any thing we have within us or about us) for this is a very ſtrong bar againſt the entrance, as of all other charity, ſo eſpecially of this; for as the love of an external object doth thruſt, as it were, our ſoul outwards towards it; ſo the love of our ſelves detains it within, or draws it inwards; and conſequently theſe inclinations croſſing each other cannot both have effect, but one will ſubdue and deſtroy the other. If our mind be——*Ipſa ſuis contenta bonis*——*ſatisfied with her own* (taking them for her own) endowments, abilities, or fancied perfections; if we imagine our ſelves wiſe enough to perceive, good enough to chuſe, reſolute enough to undertake, ſtrong enough to atchieve, conſtant enough to purſue whatever is conducible to our real happineſs and beſt content, we ſhall not care to go farther; we will not be at the trouble to ſearch abroad for that, which, in our opinion, we can ſo readily find, ſo eaſily enjoy at home. If we ſo admire and dote upon our ſelves, we thereby put our ſelves into God's ſtead, and uſurp the throne due to him in our hearts; comparing our ſelves to God, and in effect preferring our ſelves before him; thereby conſequently ſhutting out that unparall'el'd eſteem, that predominant affection we owe to him; while we are buſie in dreſſing and decking, in courting and worſhipping this idol of our fancy, we ſhall be eſtranged from the true object of our devotion; both we ſhall willingly neglect him, and he in juſt indignation will deſert us. But if as all other things, ſo even our ſelves do appear exceedingly vile and contemptible, foul and ugly in compariſon to God; If we *take our ſelves* to be (as truly we are) mere *nothings*, or ſomethings worſe; not only deſtitute of all conſiderable perfections, but full of great defects; blind and fond in our conceits, crooked and perverſe in our wills, infirm and unſtable in all our powers, unable to diſcern, unwilling to embrace, backward to ſet upon, inconſtant in proſecuting thoſe things which are truly good and advantageous to us; if we have, I ſay, this right opinion and judgment of our ſelves, ſeeing within us nothing lovely or deſirable, no proper object there of our eſteem or affection, no bottom to reſt our mind upon, no ground of ſolid comfort at home, we ſhall then be apt to look abroad, to direct our eyes, and ſettle our affections upon ſomewhat more excellent in it ſelf, or more beneficial to us, that ſeems better to deſerve

Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆ τις ἔχει βέλτιστος καὶ μάτατος παρ' ἄλλα λαμβάνων. Epict. 1. 9.

Gal. 6. 3.

deſerve our regard, and more able to ſupply our defects: And if all other things about us appear alike deformed and deficient (unworthy our affection and unable to ſatisfie our deſires) then may we be diſpoſed to ſeek, to find, to faſten and repoſe our ſoul upon the only proper object of our love; in whom we ſhall obtain all that we need, infallible wiſdom to guide us, omnipotent ſtrength to help us, infinite goodneſs for us to admire and enjoy.

Theſe are the chief obſtacles, the removing of which conduce to the begetting and increaſing the love of God in us. A ſoul ſo cleanſed from love to bad and filthy things, ſo emptied of affection to vain and unprofitable things, ſo opened and dilated by excluding all conceit of, all confidence in it ſelf, is a veſſel proper for the divine love to be infuſed into; into ſo large and pure a vacuity (as finer ſubſtances are apt to flow of themſelves into ſpaces, void of groſſer matter) that free and moveable ſpirit of divine grace will be ready to ſucceed, and therein to diſperſe it ſelf. As all other things in nature, the clogs being removed which hinder them, do preſently tend with all their force to the place of their reſt and well being; ſo would, it ſeems, our ſouls being looſed from baſer affections obſtructing them, willingly incline toward God, the natural centre (as it were) and boſom of their affection; would reſume (as *Origen* ſpeaks) that *natural philtre* (that intrinſick ſpring, or incentive of love) *which all creatures have toward their creator*; eſpecially, if to theſe we add thoſe poſitive inſtruments, which are more immediately and directly ſubſervient to the production of this love; they are theſe:

Φίλτρα φυσικὰ λαμβάνει φυσικὸν πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα. Orig. *in* Celſ. *p.* 135.

1. Attentive conſideration of the divine perfections, with endeavour to obtain a right and clear apprehenſion of them.

2. The conſideration of God's works and actions; his works and actions of nature, of providence, of grace.

3. Serious regard and reflection upon the peculiar benefits by the divine goodneſs vouchafed to our ſelves.

4. An earneſt reſolution and endeavour to perform God's commandments, although upon inferior conſiderations of reaſon; upon hope, fear, deſire to attain the benefits of obedience, to ſhun the miſchiefs from ſin.

5. Aſſiduous prayer to almighty God, that he in mercy would be pleaſed to beſtow his love upon us, and by his grace to work it in us.

But I muſt forbear the proſecution of theſe things, rather than farther treſpaſs upon your patience. Let us conclude all with a good *collect*, ſometimes uſed by our church.

O Lord, who haſt taught us, that all our doings without charity are nothing worth, ſend thy holy Ghoſt, and pour into our hearts that moſt excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whoſoever liveth is counted dead before thee; grant this for thine only ſon Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXIV.

Of the Love of God.

MATTH. XXII. 37.

Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

WHICH *is the great commandment?* was the question, in answer whereto our Saviour returns this text; and that with highest reason (discernible by every man) for that of necessity the love of God is the principal duty we owe unto him; the great duty indeed, as being largest in extent, and comprehending in a manner all other duties of piety; as that which exceeds in proper worth and dignity (employing the noblest faculties of our souls in their best operations upon the most excellent object) as that which communicates virtue unto, and hath a special influence upon all other duties; in fine, as that, which is the sum, the soul, the spring of all other duties: In discoursing whereupon, I did formerly propound this method; first, to declare the nature thereof; then, to shew some means apt to beget and improve that excellent virtue in us; lastly, to propose some inducements to the practice thereof.

The first part I endeavoured to perform, by describing it according to its essential properties (common to love in general, and more particularly to this) of duly esteeming God, of desiring (according as we are capable) to possess and enjoy him, of receiving delight and satisfaction in the enjoyment of him, of feeling displeasure in being deprived hereof, of bearing good will unto him, expressed by endeavours to please him, by delighting in the advancement of his glory, by grieving when he is disserved or dishonoured.

The next part I also entred upon, and offered to consideration those means, which serve chiefly to remove the impediments of our love to God; which were,

1. The suppressing all affections opposite to this; all perverse and corrupt, all unrighteous and unholy desires.

2. The restraining or keeping within bounds of moderation our affections towards other things, even in their nature innocent or indifferent.

3. The freeing our hearts from immoderate affection towards our selves; from all conceit of, and confidence in any qualities or abilities of our own; the diligent use of which means I did suppose would much conduce to the production and increase of divine love within us.

To them I shall now proceed to subjoin other instruments more immediately and directly subservient to the same purpose; whereof the first is,

1. Attentive consideration upon the divine perfections, with endeavour to obtain a right and clear apprehension of them: As counterfeit worth and beauty receive advantage by distance and darkness; so real excellency——*si propius stes Te capiet magis*——the greater light you view it in, the nearer you approach it, the more strictly you examine it, the more you will approve and like it; so the more we think of God, the better we know him, the fuller and clearer conceptions we have of him, the more we shall be apt to esteem and desire him, the more excellent in himself, the more beneficial to us he will appear. Hence is the knowledge of God represented in holy writ not only as a main instrument of religion, but as essential character thereof: As equivalent to the being well affected toward God:

Καθόλου δὲ ἡ τῶν παθῶν κακία ἀφ' ἧς περὶ θεὸν ἀγνωσία, ἡ ἀδόκιμος γνῶσις ἐγγίνεται. Basil. de Jud. Dei, Tom. 2. p. 261.

2 Pet. 2. 20.

O con-

Pſal. 36. 10. 9. 10. Iſa. 5. 13. 11. 9. Hoſ. 2. 10. Joh. 17. 3. Jer. 22. 16. 24. 7. 31. 34. 2 Cor. 10. 5. Iſa. 1. 3. Jer. 19. 3, 6. 10. 25. 1 Theſſ. 4. 5. 1 Sam. 2. 12. 1 Joh. 4. 8.

O continue (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *thy loving kindneſs unto them that know thee*; that is, to all religious people. And *This* (ſaith our Saviour) *is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent*; knowledge of them implying all good affections toward them: As on the other ſide, ignorance of God denotes diſaffection or want of affection toward God: *Now the ſons of Eli* ('tis ſaid) *were ſons of Belial, they knew not the Lord:* And, *He that loveth not* (ſaith St. *John*) *doth not know God*; the want of love to God is an evident ſign, a natural effect of ignorance concerning him: indeed conſidering the nature of our mind, and its ordinary method of operation, it ſeems impoſſible, that ſuch perfection diſcerned ſhould not beget anſwerable reverence and affection thereto: If beautiful ſpectacles, harmonious ſounds, fragrant odours, delicate ſavours do neceſſarily and certainly pleaſe the reſpective ſenſes; why ſhould not with the like ſure efficacy the proper objects of our mind affect it, if duly repreſented and conveyed thereto? If the wit of the moſt ingenious artiſts, the cunning of the deepeſt politicians, the wiſdom of the ſageſt philoſophers are but mere blindneſs and ſtupidity in compariſon to the wiſdom of God, the loweſt inſtance or expreſſion of whoſe wiſdom (his

1 Cor. 1. 25. τὸ μωρὸν, *his folly*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *is wiſer than men*, doth excel the reſults of man's higheſt wiſdom; yet them we admire and commend in men, why then do we not much more adore the divine wiſdom? If the abilities of them who dexterouſly manage great buſineſs, or atchieve properouſly great exploits are indeed mere impotency in regard to God's power; *whoſe weakneſs* (that is, the ſmalleſt effects of whoſe power) is (as St. *Paul* again tells us) *ſtronger than men*, ſurpaſſes the utmoſt reſults of humane endeavour; yet thoſe things in men we extol and celebrate, how can we then forbear to reverence the divine power? If the diſpenſers of freeſt and largeſt bounty among men, the nobleſt patriots, the moſt munificent benefactors, the moſt tenderly affectionate friends be in reſpect of God unworthy to be

Matt. 7. 11. Luke 11. 13. Matt. 19. 17. counted or called good (as our Saviour tells us; *If ye being bad know to give good things*; and, *There is none good, but God*;) yet ſuch perſons are much beloved and applauded; how then can we abſtain from paying the like meaſure of affection and reſpect to the divine goodneſs? If good qualities ſo inferior and defective obtain ſo much from us, whence comes it that the infinitely ſuperior and moſt perfect excellencies of God do not beget in their proportion a ſuitable regard and veneration in us towards him? Whence, if not either from our not firmly believing them, or not rightly apprehending them, or not attentively conſidering them? Our belief of them in groſs and at large we may ſuppoſe, as connected with the belief of God's exiſtence, and included in the very notion of God; the defect therefore muſt proceed from the remaining cauſes, want of a right apprehenſion, or neglect of attentive conſideration about them: As to the firſt of theſe, it is common for men to have confuſed, imperfect and wrong conceptions about the divine attributes, eſpecially in the receſſes of their mind: Which although they ſpare to utter with their mouths, yet they vent in their practice: If we, for inſtance, imagine, that we can

Iſa. 55. 8. 1 Sam. 16. 7. Deut. 29. 19. Pſal. 81. 12. 107. 11. Iſa. 65. 2. 53. 6. Jer. 18. 12. Hoſ. 10. 12. 8. 12. Pſal. 73. 11. 10. 11. 94. 7. comprehend the extent of God's deſigns, or fathom the depth of his counſels; if we meaſure and model his reaſons of proceeding according to our fancy (as *if his thoughts were as our thoughts, and his ways as our ways*; or, as if he did *ſee as man ſees*) if we can *bleſs our ſelves in following our own imaginations*, counſels and devices although repugnant to the reſolutions of divine wiſdom; taking theſe not to befit, or not to concern us, as we find many in Scripture reproved for doing; we greatly miſtake and undervalue that glorious attribute of God (his wiſdom) and no wonder then, if we do not upon account thereof duly reverence and love God: likewiſe if we concerning the divine power conceit, that notwithſtanding it, we ſhall be able to accompliſh our unlawful deſigns; that *we* may (as it is in * *Job*) *harden our hearts againſt him and proſper*; that we can any wiſe either withſtand, or evade his power (as alſo many are intimated to do, in Scripture; even generally all thoſe who dare preſumptuouſly to offend God) we alſo miſconceive of that excellent attribute; and the contempt of God, rather than love of him will thence ariſe. If concerning the divine goodneſs and holineſs, we imagine, that God is diſaffected towards his creatures (antecedently to all demerits, or bad qualifications in them) yea indifferent in affection toward them; inclinable to do them harm, or not propenſe to do them good; we deem him apt to be harſh and rigorous in his proceedings, to exact perform

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* Job 9. 4. Iſa. 45. 9. 10. 15. 54. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 22. Deut. 33. 8. Dan. 5. 23. Amos 9. 2. Iſa. 2. 19. Jer. 16. 16. Deut. 28. 29. Num. 14. 41. 2 Chr. 13. 12. Τὸ γε δεῖν ἃ χρεὼν ἔχειν ἀθεῷ πίθῳ, ἄγει τι αὐτὸς μισεῖ. Plat. *de Leg.* 10.

unſuitable to the ſtrength he hath given us, to impoſe burdens intolerable upon us; will not ſuch thoughts be apt to breed in us toward God (as they would toward any other perſon ſo diſpoſed) rather a ſervile dread (little different from downright hatred) or an hoſtile averſation, than a genuine reverence or a kindly affection towards him? If we fanſie him, like to pettiſh man, apt to be diſpleaſed without cauſe, or beyond meaſure, for our doing ſomewhat innocent (neither bad in it ſelf, nor prejudicial to publick or private good) or for our omitting that, which no law, no good reaſon plainly requires of us; what will ſuch thoughts but ſour our ſpirits toward him, make us fearful and ſuſpicious of him; which ſort of diſpoſitions are inconſiſtent with true love? If, on the other ſide, we judge him fond and partial in his affections; or ſlack and eaſie (as it were) in his proceedings; apt to favour us although we neglect him; to indulge us in our ſins, or connive at our miſcarriages; will not ſuch thoughts rather incline us in our hearts to ſlight him, and in our actions inſolently to dally with him, than heartily and humbly to love him? If we conceit his favour procured, or his anger appeaſed by petty obſervances, perhaps without any good rule or reaſon affected by our ſelves, when we neglect duties of greater worth and conſequence (*the more weighty matters of the law*;) what is this but inſtead of God to reverence an idol of our own fancy; to yield unto him (who is only pleaſed with holy diſpoſitions of mind, with real effects of goodneſs) not duties of humble love, but acts of preſumption and flattery? But if contrariwiſe, we truly conceive of God's wiſdom, that his counſels are always throughly good, and that we are concerned both in duty and intereſt to follow them, although exceeding the reach of our underſtanding, or contrary to the ſuggeſtions of our fancy; concerning his power, that it will certainly interpoſe it ſelf to the hindrance of our bad projects, that it will be in vain to conteſt therewith, that we muſt ſubmit unto, or ſhall be cruſhed by his hand; concerning his goodneſs, that as he is infinitely good and benign, ſo he is alſo perfectly holy and pure; as he wiſheth us all good, and is ready to promote it, ſo he deteſteth our ſins, nor will ſuffer us to do himſelf, our ſelves and our neighbour any wrong; as moſt bountiful in diſpenſing his favours, ſo not prodigal of them, or apt to caſt them away on ſuch as little value them, and do not endeavour to anſwer them; as a faithful rewarder of all true virtue and piety, ſo a ſevere chaſtiſer of all iniquity and profaneneſs; as full of mercy and pity toward them, who are ſenſible of their unworthineſs, and penitent for their faults, ſo an implacable avenger of obſtinate and incorrigible wickedneſs; in fine, as a true friend to us, if we be not wilful enemies to him; and deſirous of our welfare, if we do not perverſely render our ſelves incapable thereof, ſo withal jealous of his own honour, reſolute to maintain and vindicate his juſt authority, careful to uphold the intereſts of right and truth, and to ſhew the diſtinction he makes between good and evil; if we have, I ſay, ſuch conceptions of God (agreeable to what his word and his doings repreſent him to us) how can we otherwiſe than bear a moſt high reſpect, a moſt great affection unto him? A prince ſurely endued with ſuch qualities; wiſe and powerful, good and juſt together; tendering the good of his people, yet preſerving the force of his laws; deſigning always what is beſt, and conſtantly purſuing his good intentions; tempering bounty and clemency with needful juſtice and ſeverity; we ſhould recommend and extol as worthy of moſt affectionate veneration; how much more then ſhall we be ſo affected towards him, in whom we apprehend all thoſe excellencies to concur without any imperfection or allay? Eſpecially if by attention we impreſs thoſe conceptions upon our hearts; for how true and proper ſoever, if they be only ſlight and tranſient, they may not ſuffice to this intent; if they paſs away as a flaſh, they will not be able to kindle in us any ſtrong affection. But if ſuch abſtracted conſideration of the divine perfections will not alone wholly avail, let us add hereto as a farther help toward the production and encreaſe of this divine grace in us,

Iſa. 5. 4. Hab. 1. 13. Pſal. 5. 4. 11. 5, &c.

2. The conſideration of God's works and actions; his works of nature, his acts of providence, his works and acts of grace; the careful meditating upon theſe will be apt to breed, to nouriſh, to improve and augment this affection. Even the contemplation of the lower works of nature, of this viſible frame of things (upon which indeed many perſpicuous characters of divine perfection, of immenſe power, of admirable wiſdom, of abundant goodneſs are engraven) hath in many minds excited a very high degree of reverence and good affection toward God: the

Pſal. 8. 18. 145. 109. 147. devouteſt perſons (the holy Pſalmiſt particularly) we may obſerve frequent in this practice, inflaming their hearts with love, and elevating them in reverence toward God, by ſurveying the common works of God, by viewing and conſidering the magnificent vaſtneſs and variety, the goodly order and beauty, the conſtant duration and ſtability of thoſe things we ſee; in remarking the general bounty and munificence with which this great *paterfamilias* hath provided for the neceſſary ſuſtenance, for the convenience, for the defence, for the relief, for the delight and ſatisfaction of his creatures: even in the contemplation of theſe things being raviſhed with admiration and affection, how often do they thus exclaim? *O Lord, how manifold are thy works? In wiſdom haſt thou made them all. The earth is full of the goodneſs of the Lord: the earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy! Great is our Lord, and of great power; his underſtanding is infinite. All thy works ſhall praiſe thee, O Lord:* With ſuch reflections, I ſay, upon thoſe common, yet admirable, and excellent works of God (which we perhaps with a regardleſs eye unprofitably paſs over) did thoſe good men kindle and foment pious affections toward God. The ſame effect may alſo the conſidering the very common proceedings of divine providence beget in us; ſuch as are diſcernible to every attentive mind, both from hiſtory and daily experience; conſidering God's admirable condeſcenſion in regarding and ordering humane affairs both for common benefit and for relief of particular neceſſities, his ſupplying the general needs of men, relieving the poor, ſuccouring the weak and helpleſs, protecting and vindicating the oppreſſed, his ſeaſonable encouraging and rewarding the good, reſtraining and chaſtiſing the bad: Even ſuch obſervations are productive of love to God in thoſe, who, according to that duty intimated by the Prophet, *do regard the works of the Lord, and conſider the operations of his hands: They who are wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, they* (as the Pſalmiſt tells) *ſhall underſtand the loving-kindneſs of the Lord*; underſtand it practically, ſo as to be duly affected thereby; and ſo accordingly we find the conſideration of theſe things applied by the great guides and patterns of our devotion. But eſpecially the ſtudy and contemplation of thoſe more high and rare proceedings of God, in managing his gracious deſign of our redemption from ſin and miſery, wherein a wiſdom ſo unſearchable and a goodneſs ſo aſtoniſhing declare themſelves, as are moſt proper and effectual means of begetting divine love: if the conſideration of God's eternal care for our welfare, of his deſcending to the loweſt condition for our ſake, of his willingly undertaking and patiently undergoing all kinds of inconvenience, of diſgrace, of bitter pain and ſorrow for us; of his freely offering us mercy, and earneſtly wooing us to receive it, even when offenders, when enemies, when rebels againſt him; of his bearing with exceeding patience all our neglects of him, all our injuries towards him; of his preparing a treaſure of perfect and endleſs bliſs, and uſing all means poſſible to bring us unto the poſſeſſion thereof: if, I ſay, conſidering thoſe wonderful ſtreins of goodneſs will not affect us, what can do it? How miſerably cold and damp muſt our affections be, if all thoſe powerful rays (ſo full of heavenly light and heat) ſhining through our minds cannot inflame them; how deſperately hard and tough muſt our hearts be, if ſuch incentives cannot ſoften and melt them? Is it not an apathy more than ſtoical, more than ſtony, which can ſtand immoveable before ſo mighty inducements to paſſion? Is it not a horridly prodigious inſenſibility to think upon ſuch expreſſions of kindneſs without feeling affection reciprocal? But if the conſideration of God's general and publick beneficence will not touch us ſufficiently; let us farther hereto adjoin,

Pſal. 33. 5. 119. 64. 145. 10. 147. 4, &c.

Iſa. 5. 12. Pſal. 28. 5. 107. 43. 64. 9. 111. 2. 77. 11. 143. 5.

3. Serious reflections upon the peculiar (perſonal or private) benefits by the divine goodneſs vouchſafed unto our ſelves. There is, I ſuppoſe, ſcarce any man, who may not, if he be not very ſtupid and regardleſs, have obſerved (beſide the common effects of God's univerſal care and bounty wherein he partakes) even ſome particular expreſſions and teſtimonies of divine favour diſpenſed unto him by God's hand (apt to convince him of God's eſpecial providence, care and good-will to him particularly, and thereby to draw him unto God) both in relation to his temporal and to his ſpiritual ſtate; in preventing and preſerving him from miſchiefs imminent, in opportune relief, when he was preſſed with want, or ſurprized by danger; in directing him to good and diverting him from evil. Every man's experience (I ſay and ſuppoſe) will inform him, that he hath received many ſuch benefits from a hand, inviſible indeed to ſenſe, yet eaſily diſcernible, if he [illegible]

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tend to the circumſtances wherein, to the ſeaſons when they come; it is natural to every man being in diſtreſs (from which he cannot by any preſent or viſible means extricate himſelf) to ſtretch forth his hand and lift up his voice towards heaven, making his recourſe to divine help; and it is as natural for God to regard the needs, to hearken to the cries, to ſatisfie the deſires of ſuch perſons (for, *The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him; he openeth his hand, and ſatisfieth the deſire of every living thing: He will be a refuge to the oppreſſed, a refuge in times of trouble: He ſatisfieth the longing ſoul, and filleth the hungry ſoul with goodneſs: They that ſeek the Lord, ſhall not want any good thing: Look at the generations of old and ſee: did ever any truſt in the Lord and was forſaken? Or whom did he ever deſpiſe that called upon him?* This poor man (this, and that, any poor man) *cryed, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his troubles*) ſince then, no man in all likelihood hath not ſome occaſion of God's eſpecial favour and aſſiſtance, and God is always ſo ready to afford them, we may reaſonably preſume, that every man doth ſometime receive them, and is thereby obliged to return a grateful affection to him, not only as to a common benefactor, but as to his particular friend and patron. However there is none of us, who may not perceive himſelf ſingularly indebted to God's patience in forbearing to puniſh him, to his mercy in pardoning and paſſing over innumerable offences committed againſt him; the renowned penitent in the goſpel did *love much, becauſe much was forgiven her:* And who is there of us, that hath not the ſame reaſon to love much? Who is there that at leaſt according to God's inclination and intention, hath not had much forgiven him? Whom have not *the riches of divine goodneſs and long-ſuffering attended* upon *in order to his repentance?* Who hath not been in ſo great degree ungrateful, unfruitful and unprofitable, that he hath not abundant reaſon to acknowledge God's eſpecial grace in bearing with him, and to confeſs with *Jacob*, that he is *leſs than the leaſt of all God's mercies*? If any ſuch there were, he ſhould have no leſs cauſe to be affected with the abundance of that grace, which ſo preſerv'd him from ſins and provocations. For if we ſtand, it is he that *upholdeth us*; if we fall, it is he that *raiſeth us*; it is his eſpecial favour that either we avoid ſin, or ſinning eſcape puniſhment. Now then God having by many real evidences declared ſuch particular affection toward us, can we conſidering thereon do otherwiſe than ſay to our ſelves, after St. *John*, *Nos ergò diligamus Deum, quoniam prior dilexit nos*; *Let us therefore love God, becauſe God firſt loved us*; ſurely in all ingenuity, according to all equity, we are bound to do ſo; the reaſon and nature of things doth require it of us: all other loves (even thoſe of the baſer ſort) are able to propagate themſelves; (to continue and enlarge their kind) are commonly fruitful and effectual in producing their like; how ſtrangely then unnatural and monſtrous is it, that this love only (this ſo vigorous and perfect love) ſhould be barren and impotent as it were? *If you love thoſe that love you* (ſaith our Saviour) *what reward have you*? (What reward can you pretend to for ſo common, ſo neceſſary a performance) *do not even the publicans do the ſame*? (The publicans, men not uſually of the beſt natures, or tendereſt hearts, yet they do thus.) And again (ſaith he) *If you love thoſe who love you, what thank is it; for even ſinners love thoſe that love them?* (Sinners, men not led by conſcience of duty, or regard to reaſon, but hurried with a kind of blind and violent force, by inſtinct of nature, do ſo much, go ſo far.) If thus men, both by nature and cuſtom moſt untractable, the leaſt guided by rules of right, of reaſon, of ingenuity; yea not only the moſt barbarous men, but even the moſt ſavage beaſts are ſenſible of courteſies, return a kind of affection unto them who make much of them and do them good, what temper are we of, if all that bounty we experience cannot move us; if God's daily *loading us with his benefits*, if his *crowning us with loving-kindneſs and tender mercies*, if all thoſe *ſhowers of bleſſings*, which he continually poureth down upon our heads do not produce ſome good degree of correſpondent affection in us? It cannot ſurely proceed altogether from a wretched baſeneſs of diſpoſition, that we are ſo cold and indifferent in our affection toward God, or are ſometimes ſo averſe from loving him; it muſt rather in great part come from our not obſerving carefully, not frequently calling to mind, not earneſtly conſidering what God hath done for us, how exceedingly we ſtand obliged to his goodneſs; from our following that untoward generation of men, who were

Pſal. 145. 16, 18. 107. 8. 34. 6, 10. 9. 9. Eccluſ. 2. 10.

Luke 7. 47.

Rom. 2. 4.

Luke 17. 10. Pſal. 130. 3. Gen. 32. 10.

Pſal. 37. 23. 146. 8.

1 John 4. 19.

Εἰ χάεις γὰρ τὰ χάεντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν φιλεῖ. Soph.

Matt. 5. 46.

Luke 6. 32.

Pſal. 68. 19. 103. 14. Ezek. 34. 26.

Neh. 9. 17. Pſal. 78. 10, 42 Deut. 5. 29. 4. Pſal. 26. 3. Pſal. 103.

not ('tis ſaid) *mindful of the wonders which God did among them*; *who remembred not his hand, nor the day that he delivered them*; rather following, I ſay, ſuch careleſs and *heartleſs people* (ſo they are termed) than imitating that excellent perſon's diſcretion, who conſtantly did *ſet God's loving-kindneſs before his eyes*, who frequently did thus raiſe his mind and rouſe up his affections; *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me bleſs his holy name*; *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits, who forgiveth all thine iniquities and healeth all thy diſeaſes*, &c. It is not for want of the like experience, or the like obligation, but for want of the ſame wiſdom, of the ſame care, of the ſame honeſt conſideration and diligence, that we do not the like.

To theſe means I add, that,

4. A ſpecial help to breed in us this holy diſpoſition of ſoul will be the ſetting our ſelves in good earneſt, with a ſtrong and conſtant reſolution, to endeavour the performance of all our duty toward God, and keeping his commandments although upon inferior conſiderations of reaſon, ſuch as we are capable of applying to this purpoſe; regards of fear, of hope, of deſire to avoid the miſchiefs ariſing from ſin, or attaining the benefits enſuing upon virtue. If we cannot immediately raiſe our hearts to that higher pitch of acting from that nobler principle of love, let us however apply that we can reach unto practice, ſtriving as we are able to perform what God requires of us; exerciſing our ſelves as to material acts, in keeping a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward man; the doing which as it may in time diſcover the excellency of goodneſs to our mind, ſo it will by degrees reconcile our affections thereto; then by God's bleſſing (who graciouſly regards the meaneſt endeavours toward good; who *deſpiſeth not the day of ſmall things*; who will *not quench the ſmoaking flax nor break the bruiſed reed*) from doing good out of a ſober regard to our own welfare, we ſhall come to like it in it ſelf, and conſequently to love him, unto whoſe nature and to whoſe will it renders us conformable: for as doing ill breeds a diſlike to goodneſs, and an averſation from him, who himſelf is full thereof, and who rigorouſly exacts it of us; as a bad conſcience removes expectation of good from God, and begets a ſuſpicion of evil from him, conſequently ſtifling all kindneſs towards him; ſo doing well, we ſhall become acquainted with it, and friends thereto; a hearty approbation, eſteem and good liking thereof will enſue; finding by experience, that indeed the ways of wiſdom, virtue and piety are pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace; that the fruits of conſcientious practice are health to our body, and to our ſoul, ſecurity to our eſtate, and to our reputation, reſt in our mind, and comfort in our conſcience; goodneſs will become precious in our eyes, and he who commends it to us, being himſelf eſſential goodneſs, will appear moſt venerable and moſt amiable, we ſhall then become diſpoſed to render him, what we perceive he beſts deſerves, entire reverence and affection.

Iſa. 42. 1. Zech. 4. 10.

5. But I commend further, as a moſt neceſſary mean of attaining this diſpoſition, aſſiduous earneſt prayer unto God, that he would in mercy beſtow it on us, and and by his grace beſtow it on us: which practice is indeed doubly conducible to this purpoſe; both in way of impetration, and by real efficacy; it will not fail to obtain it as a gift from God; it will help to produce it as an inſtrument of God's grace.

Upon the firſt account it is abſolutely neceſſary; for it is from God's free repreſentation of himſelf as lovely to our minds, and drawing our hearts unto him (although ordinarily in the uſe of the means already mentioned, or ſome like to them) that this affection is kindled; our bare conſideration is too cold, our rational diſcourſe too faint; we cannot ſufficiently recollect our wandring thoughts, we cannot ſtrongly enough impreſs thoſe proper incentives of love upon our hearts (our hearts ſo dampt with ſenſual deſires, ſo clogg'd and peſter'd with earthly inclinations) ſo as to kindle in our ſouls this holy flame; it can only be effected by a light ſhining from God, by a fire coming from heaven: As all others, ſo more eſpecially this queen of graces muſt proceed from the Father of lights, and giver of all good gifts: he alone, who is love, can be the parent of ſo goodly an off-ſpring, can beget this lively image of himſelf within us: it is the principal *fruit of God's holy ſpirit*, nor can it grow from any other root than from it; it is called the *love of the ſpirit*, as its moſt ſignal and peculiar effect; in fine, *the love of God* (as Saint *Paul* expreſſly teacheth us) *is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy ſpirit given unt*

Galat. 5. 22. Rom. 15. 30.

unto us; given, but that not without asking, without ſeeking; a grace ſo excellent, God, we may be aſſured will not diſpenſe, a gift ſo precious he will not beſtow on them, who do not care to look after it, who will not vouchſafe to beg it: if we are not willing to acknowledge our want thereof; if we refuſe to expreſs our deſire of it, if we will not ſhew that we regard and value it; if, when God freely offers it, and invites us to receive it (he doth ſo by offering his holy Spirit, the fountain thereof, unto us) we will not decently apply our ſelves to him for it, how can we expect to obtain it? God hath propounded this condition (and 'tis ſurely no hard, no grievous condition) *if we ask we ſhall receive*; he hath expreſſly promiſed that *he will give his ſpirit* (his ſpirit of love) *to them who ask it*; we may be therefore ſure, performing the condition duly, to obtain it; and as ſure, neglecting that, we deſerve to go without it. Luke 11. 9, 13. Matt. 21. 22. 7. 7. 1 Chro. 28. 9. 2 Chro. 15. 2.

Prayer then is upon this account a needful means; and it is a very profitable one upon the ſcore of its own immediate energy or virtue: for as by familiar converſe (together with the delights and advantages attending thereon) other friendſhips are begot and nouriſhed, ſo even by that acquaintance, as it were, with God, which devotion begets, by experience therein how ſweet and good he is, this affection is produced and ſtrengthned. As want of intercourſe weakens and diſſolves friendſhip; ſo if we ſeldom come at God, or little converſe with him, it is not only a ſign, but will be a cauſe of eſtrangement and diſaffection towards him: according to the nature of the thing, prayer hath peculiar advantages above other acts of piety, to this effect: therein not only as in contemplation the eye of our mind (our intellectual part) is directed toward God; but our affections alſo (the hand of our ſoul by which we embrace good, the feet thereof by which we purſue it) are drawn out and fixed upon him; we not only therein behold his excellencies, but in a manner feel them and enjoy them; our hearts alſo being thereby ſoftned and warmed by deſire become more ſuſceptive of love. We do in the performance of this duty approach nearer to God, and conſequently God draws nearer to us (as St. *James* aſſures; *Draw near*, ſaith he, *unto God, and he will draw near to you*) and thereby we partake more fully and ſtrongly of his gracious influences; therein indeed he moſt freely communicates his grace, therein he makes us moſt ſenſible of his love to us, and thereby diſpoſeth us to love him again. I add, that true (fervent and hearty) prayer doth include, and ſuppoſe ſome acts of love, or ſome near tendencies thereto; whence, as every habit is corroborated by acts of its kind, ſo by this practice divine love will be confirmed and encreaſed. Theſe are the means, which my meditation did ſuggeſt as conducing to the production and growth of this moſt excellent grace in our ſouls. πολλὰς γὰρ φιλίας ἀνηγορ γόρεν διέλυσε. James 4. 8.

III. I ſhould laſtly propound ſome inducements apt to ſtir us up to the endeavour of procuring it, and to the exerciſe thereof, by repreſenting to your conſideration the bleſſed fruits and benefits (both by way of natural cauſality and of reward) accruing from it; as alſo the woful conſequences and miſchiefs ſpringing from the want thereof. How being endued with it perfects and advances our nature, rendring it in a manner and degree divine, by reſemblance to God (who is full thereof, ſo full that he is called Love) by approximation, adherence and union (in a ſort) unto him: how it ennobles us with the moſt glorious alliance poſſible, rendring us the friends and favourites of the ſovereign King and Lord of all, brethren of the firſt-born, whoſe names are written in heaven; enriches us with a right and title to the moſt ineſtimable treaſures (thoſe which *eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor have entred into the heart of man to conceive, which God hath prepared for them that love him*) a ſure poſſeſſion of the ſupreme good, of all that God is able to beſtow, all whoſe wiſdom and power, whoſe counſel and care it eternally engageth for our benefit; how all ſecurity and welfare, all reſt and peace, all joy and happineſs attend upon it; for that *The Lord preſerveth all them that love him* (preſerveth them in the enjoyment of all good, in ſafety from all danger and miſchief) and that *to thoſe who love God all things co-operate for their good*: how incomparable a ſweetneſs and delight accompany the practice thereof, far ſurpaſſing all other pleaſures; perfectly able to content our minds, to ſuſtain and comfort us even in the want of all other ſatisfactions, yea under the preſſure of whatever moſt grievous afflictions can befal us. How contrariwiſe the want thereof will depreſs us into a ſtate of greateſt imperfection and baſeneſs, ſetting us at the greateſt diſtance from God in all reſpects, both in ſimilitude of nature, and as to 1 Cor. 2. 9. Pſal. 145. 20. Rom. 8. 28.

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all favourable regard, or beneficial communication from him: caſting us into a wretched and diſgraceful conſortſhip with the moſt degenerate creatures, the accurſed fiends, who, for diſaffection and enmity toward God, are baniſhed from all happineſs; how it extremely impoveriſheth and beggereth us, deveſting us of all right to any good thing, rendring us incapable of any portion, but that of utter darkneſs; how it excludeth us from any ſafety, any reſt, any true comfort or joy, and expoſeth us to all miſchief and miſery imaginable; all that being deprived of the divine protection, preſence and favour, being made objects of the divine anger, hatred and ſevere juſtice, being abandoned to the malice of hell, being driven into utter darkneſs and eternal fire doth import or can produce. I ſhould alſo have commended this love to you by comparing it with other loves, and ſhewing how far in its nature, in its cauſes, in its properties, in its effects it excelleth them: even ſo far as the object thereof in excellency doth tranſcend all other objects of our affection: how this is grounded upon the higheſt and ſureſt reaſon; others upon accounts very low and mean, commonly upon fond humour and miſtake; this produceth real, certain, immutable goods; others at beſt terminate only in goods apparent, unſtable and tranſitory; this is moſt worthy of us, employing all our faculties in their nobleſt manner of operation upon the beſt object; others misbeſeem us, ſo that in purſuing them we diſgrace our underſtanding, miſapply our deſires, diſtemper our affections, miſpend our endeavours. I ſhould have enlarged upon theſe conſiderations; and ſhould have adjoined ſome particular advantages of this grace; as for inſtance, that the procuring thereof is the moſt ſure, the moſt eaſie, the moſt compendious way of attaining all others; of ſweetning and ingratiating all obedience to us; of making the hardeſt yoke eaſie, and the heavieſt burden light unto us. In fine, I ſhould have wiſhed you to conſider, that its practice is not only a mean and way to happineſs, but our very formal happineſs it ſelf; the real enjoyment of the beſt good we are capable of; that in which alone heaven it ſelf (the felicity of ſaints and angels) doth conſiſt; which more than comprehends in it ſelf all the benefits of higheſt dignity, richeſt plenty and ſweeteſt pleaſure. But I ſhall forbear entring upon ſo ample and fruitful ſubjects of meditation, and conclude with that good collect of our church:

O Lord, who haſt prepared for them that love thee ſuch good things as paſs man's underſtanding; pour into our hearts ſuch love toward thee, that we, loving thee above all things, may obtain thy promiſes, which exceed all that we can deſire: through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

SERMON XXV.

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

MATTH. XXII. 39.

And the ſecond is like unto it, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.

THE eſſential goodneſs of God, and his ſpecial benignity toward mankind are to a conſidering mind divers ways very apparent; the frame of the world, and the natural courſe of things do with a thouſand voices loudly and clearly proclaim them to us; every ſenſe doth yield us *affidavit* to that ſpeech of the holy Pſalmiſt, *The earth is full of the goodneſs of the Lord:* we ſee it in the glorious brightneſs of the skies, and in the

Pſal. 33. 5. 119. 64.

the pleaſant verdure of the fields; we taſte it in the various delicacies of food, ſupplied by land and ſea; we ſmell it in the fragrancies of herbs and flowers; we hear it in the natural muſick of the woods; we feel it in the comfortable warmth of heaven, and in the chearing freſhneſs of the air; we continually do poſſeſs and enjoy it in the numberleſs accommodations of life, preſented to us by the bountiful hand of nature.

Of the ſame goodneſs we may be well aſſured by that common providence which continually doth uphold us in our being, doth opportunely relieve our needs, doth protect us in dangers, and reſcue us from imminent miſchiefs, doth comport with our infirmities and miſdemeanors; the which (in the divine pſalmiſt's ſtyle) *doth hold our ſoul in life, and ſuffereth not our feet to be moved*; doth *redeem our life from deſtruction*; doth *crown us with loving-kindneſs, and tender mercies.* Pſal. 66. 9. 56. 13. 103. 4. 145. 16.

The diſpenſations of grace, in the revelation of heavenly truth, in the overtures of mercy, in the ſuccours of our weakneſs, in the propoſal of glorious rewards, in all the methods and means conducing to our ſalvation, do afford moſt admirable proofs and pledges of the ſame immenſe benignity.

But in nothing is the divine goodneſs towards us more illuſtriouſly conſpicuous, than in the nature and tendency of thoſe laws which God hath been pleaſed, for the regulation of our lives, to preſcribe unto us, all which do palpably evidence his ſerious deſire and provident care of our welfare; ſo that in impoſing them he plainly doth not ſo much exerciſe his ſovereignty over us, as expreſs his kindneſs towards us; neither do they more clearly declare his will, than demonſtrate his good will to us.

And among all divine precepts this eſpecially contained in my text, doth argue the wonderful goodneſs of our heavenly law-giver, appearing both in the manner of the propoſal, and in the ſubſtance of it.

The ſecond, ſaith our Lord, *is like to it*; that is, to the precept of *loving the Lord our God with all our heart*: And is not this a mighty argument of immenſe goodneſs in God, that he doth in ſuch a manner commend this duty to us, coupling it with our main duty towards him, and requiring us with like earneſtneſs to love our neighbour as to love himſelf? Luke 10. 27.

He is tranſcendently amiable for the excellency of his nature; he by innumerable and ineſtimable benefits graciouſly conferred on us hath deſerved our utmoſt affection; ſo that naturally there can be no obligation bearing any proportion or conſiderable ſemblance to that of loving him; yet hath he in goodneſs been pleaſed to create one, and to endue it with that privilege; making the love of a man (whom we cannot value but for *his* gifts, to whom we can owe nothing but what properly we owe to *him*) no leſs obligatory, to declare it near as acceptable as the love of himſelf, to whom we owe all. To him, as the ſole author and free donor of all our good, by juſt correſpondence all our mind and heart, all our ſtrength and endeavour are due: And reaſonably might he engroſs them to himſelf, excluding all other beings from any ſhare in them; ſo that we might be obliged only to fix our thoughts and ſet our affections on him, only to act directly for his honour and intereſt, ſaying with the holy pſalmiſt, *Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none on earth that I deſire beſide thee*: Yet doth he freely pleaſe to impart a ſhare of theſe performances on mankind; yet doth he charge us to place our affection on one another; to place it there indeed in a meaſure ſo large that we can hardly imagine a greater; according to a rule, than which none can be deviſed more compleat or certain. Pſal. 73. 25.

O marvellous condeſcenſion, O goodneſs truly divine; which ſurpaſſeth the nature of things, which diſpenſeth with the higheſt right, and forgoeth the greateſt intereſt that can be! Doth not God in a ſort debaſe himſelf, that he might advance us? Doth he not appear to wave his own due, and neglect his own honour for our advantage? How otherwiſe could the love of man be capable of any reſemblance to the love of God, and not ſtand at an infinite diſtance, or in an extreme diſparity from it? How otherwiſe could we be obliged to affect or regard any thing beſide the ſovereign, the only goodneſs? How otherwiſe could there be any *ſecond* or like to *that firſt, that great*, that peerleſs command, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart?* Matt. 19. 17. Matt. 22. 38.

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This indeed is the higheſt commendation whereof any law is capable; for as to be like God is the higheſt praiſe that can be given to a perſon; ſo to reſemble the divineſt law of love to God is the faireſt character that can be aſſigned of a law: Jam. 2. 8. The which indeed repreſenteth it to be νόμος Βασιλικός, as St. *James* calleth it, that is, a *royal* and ſovereign law; exalted above all others, and bearing a ſway on them. St. *Paul* telleth us, that *the end of the commandment* (or, the main ſcope of 1 Tim. 1. 6. the evangelical doctrine) is *charity out of a pure heart and a good conſcience, and* Rom. 13. 8, 9. *faith unfeigned*; that charity *is the ſum* and ſubſtance of all other duties, and that Gal. 5. 14. *he that loveth another hath fulfilled the* whole *law*; that charity is the chief of 1 Cor. 13. 13. the theological virtues, and *the prime fruit of the divine ſpirit*; and *the bond of* Col. 3. 14. *perfection*, which combineth and conſummateth all other graces, and the general 1 Cor. 16. 14. principle of all our doings. St. *Peter* enjoyneth us that to all other virtues we 2 Pet. 1. 7. *add charity*, as the top and crown of them, and *above all things* (ſaith he) *have* 1 Pet. 4. 8. *fervent charity among your ſelves*. St. *John* calleth this law, in way of excellence, 1 Joh. 3. 23. *the commandment of God*; and our Lord himſelf claimeth it as his peculiar precept, 11. 4. 21. *this* (ſaith he) *is my commandment that ye love another as I have loved you: A* Joh. 15. 12. *new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another*; and maketh the ob- Joh. 13. 34. ſervance of it the ſpecial cognizance of his followers, *by this ſhall all men know* Joh. 13. 35. *that ye are my diſciples, if ye love one another.*

Theſe indeed are lofty commendations thereof, yet all of them may worthily veil to this: All of them ſeem verified in virtue of this, becauſe God hath vouchſafed to place this command in ſo near adjacency to the firſt great law, conjoyning the two tables; making charity contiguous, and as it were commenſurate to piety.

It is true, that in many reſpects charity doth reſemble piety: For it is the moſt genuine daughter of piety, thence in complexion, in features, in humour much favouring its ſweet mother; it doth conſiſt in like diſpoſitions and motions of ſoul; it doth grow from the ſame roots and principles of benignity, ingenuity, equity, gratitude, planted in our original conſtitution by the breath of God, and improved in 1 Joh. 4. 7, our hearts by the divine *ſpirit of love*; it produceth the like fruits of beneficence 11. towards others and of comfort in our ſelves; it in like manner doth aſſimilate us Matt. 5. 45. to God, rendring us conformable to his nature, followers of his practice and parta- Eph. 5. 1, 2. kers of his felicity; it is of like uſe and conſequence towards the regulation of our practice, and due management of our whole life: In ſuch reſpects, I ſay, this law is like to the other; but it is however chiefly ſo for that God hath pleaſed to lay ſo great ſtreſs thereon, as to make it the other half of our religion and duty; or becauſe, as St. *John* ſaith, *This commandment have we from him, that he who loveth* Matt. 22. 40. *God, love his brother alſo*; which is to his praiſe a moſt pregnant demonſtration 1 Joh. 4. 21. of his immenſe goodneſs toward us.

But no leſs in the very ſubſtance of this duty will the benignity of him that preſcribeth it ſhine forth, diſplaying it ſelf in the rare beauty and ſweetneſs of it; together with the vaſt benefit and utility, which it, being obſerved, will yield to mankind; which will appear by what we may diſcourſe for preſſing its obſervance; but firſt let us explain it, as it lieth before us expreſſed in the words of the text, wherein we ſhall conſider two particulars obſervable: Firſt, the object of the duty: Secondly, the qualification annexed to it: The object of it, *our neighbour:* The qualification, *as our ſelves.*

I. The object of charity is *our neighbour*; that is, (it being underſtood, as the precept now concerneth us, according to our Lord's expoſition, or according to his intent, and the tenour of his doctrine) every man, with whom we have to do, or who is capable of our love, eſpecially every Chriſtian.

The law as it was given to God's ancient people did openly regard only thoſe among them, who were linked together in a holy neighbourhood or ſociety, from which all other men being excluded were deemed ſtrangers and foreigners; (*aliens*, as Eph. 2. 12. St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, *from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the cove-* Levit. 19. 18. *nants of promiſe.*) For thus the law runneth in *Leviticus*, *Thou ſhalt not bear any grudge againſt the children of thy people, but thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf*; where plainly *Jews* and *neighbours* are terms equivalent; other men being ſuppoſed to ſtand at diſtance without the fold or politick enclоſure, which God by ſeveral Levit. 20. 26, ordinances had fenced, to keep that nation unmixt and ſeparate: Nor can it be ex- 24. Exod. 33. 16. cepted againſt this notion, that in the ſame chapter it is enjoined, *But the ſtranger*

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that dwelleth with you ſhall be unto you as one born among you, and thou ſhalt love him as thy ſelf; for by that ſtranger (as the *Jewiſh* maſters will interpret it) is meant *a proſelyte of righteouſneſs*; or one who although a ſtranger by birth, was yet a brother in religion, having voluntarily ſubmitted to their law, being engaged in the ſame covenant, and thence admitted to the ſame privileges, as an adopted child of that holy family. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2. Levit. 19. 34.

But now, ſuch diſtinctions of men being avoided, and that *wall of partition* demoliſhed, all the world is become one people, ſubject to the laws of one common Lord, and capable of the mercies purchaſed by one Redeemer. God's love to mankind did move him to ſend our Lord into the world, to aſſume humane nature, and therein to become a Mediator between God and men. Our Lord's kindneſs to all his brethren diſpoſed him to undertake their ſalvation, and expiate their ſins, and *to taſte death for every man*; the effect whereof is an univerſal reconciliation of God to the world, and an union of men together. Eph. 2. 14. Gal. 3. 28. Acts 10. 36. Tit. 3. 4. Joh. 3. 16. 1 Tim. 2. 5. 1 Joh. 2. 2. Heb. 2. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Col. 1. 20. Eph. 1. 10. 2. 13.

Now the blood of Chriſt hath cemented mankind; the favour of God embracing all hath approximated and combined all together, ſo that now every man is our brother, not only by nature, as derived from the ſame ſtock, but by grace, as partaker of the common redemption: Now God *deſiring the ſalvation of all men*, and inviting all men to mercy, our duty muſt be co-extended with God's grace, and our charity muſt follow that of our Saviour. 1 Tim. 2. 4. Tit. 2. 11. Col. 1. 23.

We are therefore now to all men, that which one *Jew* was to another; yea more than ſuch, our Chriſtianity having induced much higher obligations, ſtricter alliances and ſtronger endearments, than were thoſe, whereby *Judaiſm* did engage its followers to mutual amity. The duties of common humanity, (to which our natural frame and ſenſe do incline us, which philoſophy recommendeth and natural religion doth preſcribe, being grounded upon our community of nature and cognation of blood, upon apparent equity, upon general convenience and utility) our religion doth not only enforce and confirm, but enhance and improve; ſuperadding higher inſtances and faſter ties of ſpiritual relation, reaching in a ſort to all men (as being in duty, in deſign, in remote capacity our ſpiritual brethren) but in eſpecial manner to all Chriſtians, who actually are fellow-members of the ſame holy fraternity, contracted by ſpiritual regeneration from one heavenly ſeed, ſupported by a common faith and hope, ſtrengthened by communion in acts of devotion and charity. 1 Pet. 1. 23. 2. 17.

Hereon therefore are grounded thoſe evangelical commands, explicatory of this law as it now ſtandeth in force; that *as we have opportunity we ſhould do good unto all men, eſpecially unto them who are of the houſhold of faith*; that *we ſhould abound in love one towards another, and towards all men*, that we *ſhould glorifie God in our profeſſed ſubjection unto the Goſpel of Chriſt, by liberally diſtributing to the ſaints, and to all men*; that we ſhould *follow peace with all men*, ſhould *be patient towards all men*, and *gentle towards all men*, and *ſhew all meekneſs towards all men*, and *ever follow that which is good both among our ſelves, and to all men*; that we ſhould *make ſupplications, interceſſions and thankſgivings for all men*, eſpecially for *all ſaints*, or all our fellow Chriſtians, and * *expreſs moderation*, or ingenuity, *to all men*. Gal. 6. 10. 1 Theſſ. 3. 12. 2 Cor. 9. 12, 13. Heb. 12. 24. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Tit. 3. 2. 1 Theſſ. 5. 15. ἥπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας. 2 Tim. 2. 24. 1 Tim. 2. 1. Eph. 6. 18. * Phil. 4. 5.

Such is the object of our charity, and thus did our Lord himſelf expound it, when by a *Jewiſh* lawyer being put to reſolve this queſtion, *And who is my neighbour*? He did propound a caſe, or hiſtory, whereby he did extort from that *Rabbi* this confeſſion, that even a *Samaritan*, diſcharging a notable office of humanity and mercy to a *Jew*, did thereby moſt truly approve himſelf a good neighbour to him; and conſequently that reciprocal performances of ſuch offices were due from a *Jew* to a *Samaritan*; whence it might appear, that this relation of neighbourhood is univerſal and unlimited. So much for the object. Luke 10. 29. πλησίον ᾧ ἄνθρωπον δεῖν ἄλλον εἶναι ἢ τὸν ὁμοιοπαθείς τε καὶ ὁμογλώττους ζῶον, &c. Juſt. M. c. Tryph. (p. 320.)

II. As for the qualification annexed and couched in thoſe words, *as thy ſelf*, that, as I conceive, may import both a rule declaring the nature, and a meaſure determining the quantity of that love which is due from us to our neighbour; the comparative term *as* implying both conformity or ſimilitude, and commenſuration or equality. Ἡ φιλοφιλία καὶ φιλία τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁμοίωσιν. Ariſt. Eth. 9. 4.

1. Loving our neighbour *as ourſelves*, doth import a rule directing what kind of love we ſhould bear and exerciſe towards him; or informing us, that our charity doth conſiſt in having the ſame affections of ſoul, and in performing the ſame acts

of beneficence towards him, as we are ready by inclination, as we are wont in practice to have or to perform towards our ſelves, with full approbation of our judgment and conſcience, apprehending it juſt and reaſonable ſo to do.

We cannot indeed better underſtand the nature of this duty, than by reflecting on the motions of our own heart, and obſerving the courſe of our demeanor towards our ſelves; for thence infallibly we may be aſſured how we ſhould ſtand affected, and how we ſhould behave our ſelves towards others.

Οὐχρεία πολλῶν λόγων, οὐδὲ μακρῶν τρόπων, οὐδὲ διδασκαλίας ποικίλης· τὸ θέλημά σου γινέσθω νόμος— σὺ γὰρ δικαστὴς, σὺ γὰρ νομοθέτης τῆς σαυτοῦ ζωῆς. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιγ'. 1 Theſſ. 4. 9. Matt. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31. Ὃ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς· Tob. 4. 15. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 1. 1.

This is a peculiar advantage of this rule (inferring the excellent wiſdom and goodneſs of him who framed it) that by it very eaſily and certainly we may diſcern all the ſpecialties of our duty, without looking abroad, or having recourſe to external inſtruction; ſo that by it we may be perfect law-givers, and skilful judges, and faithful monitors to our ſelves of what in any caſe we ſhould do: For every one by internal experience knoweth what it is to love himſelf, every one is conſcious how he uſeth to treat himſelf; each one conſequently can preſcribe and decide for himſelf, what he ought to do towards his neighbour; ſo that we are not only θεοδίδακτοι *taught of God*, as the apoſtle ſaith, *to love one another*, but αὐτοδίδακτοι, taught of our ſelves how to exerciſe that duty; whence our Lord, otherwhere doth propoſe the law of charity in theſe terms, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them, for this is the law and the prophets*; that is, unto this rule all the ſpecial precepts of charity propoſed in holy ſcripture, may be reduced.

Wherefore for information concerning our duty in each caſe and circumſtance, we need only thus to conſult and interrogate our ſelves, hence forming reſolutions concerning our practice.

Ὁ τὸ πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπῶν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βούλεται ἀγαθὰ, ἀγαθὰ καὶκείνῳ βούλεσθαι, &c. Juſt. M. c. Tryph. (p. 321.)

Do we not much eſteem and ſet by our ſelves, do we not ſtrive to maintain in our minds a good opinion of our ſelves? Can any miſchances befalling, any defects obſervable in us, any faults committed by us induce us to ſlight or deſpiſe our ſelves? This may teach us what regard and value we ſhould ever preſerve for our neighbour.

Do we not ſincerely and earneſtly deſire our own welfare and advantage in every kind? Do we not heartily wiſh good ſucceſs to our own deſigns and undertakings? Are we unconcerned or coldly affected in any caſe touching our own ſafety, our eſtate, our credit, our ſatisfaction or pleaſure? Do we not eſpecially, if we rightly underſtand our ſelves, deſire the health and happineſs of our ſouls? This doth inform us, what we ſhould wiſh and covet for our neighbour.

Have we not a ſenſible delight and complacency in our own proſperity? Do we ever repine at any advantages accruing to our perſon or condition? Are we not extremely glad to find our ſelves thriving and flouriſhing in wealth, in reputation, in any accommodation or ornament of our ſtate? Eſpecially if we be ſober and wiſe, doth not our ſpiritual proficiency and improvement in virtue yield joyous ſatisfaction to us? Are we not much comforted in apprehending our ſelves to proceed in a hopeful way towards everlaſting felicity? This may inſtruct us what content we ſhould feel in our neighbour's proſperity, both temporal and ſpiritual.

Do we not ſeriouſly grieve at our own diſaſters and diſappointments? Are we not in ſad dumps, whenever we incur any damage or diſgrace? Do not our diſeaſes and pains ſorely afflict us? Do we not pity and bemoan our ſelves in any want, calamity or diſtreſs? Can we eſpecially, if we are our ſelves, without grievous diſpleaſure apprehend our ſelves enſlaved to ſin and Satan, deſtitute of God's favour, expoſed to endleſs miſery? Hence may we learn how we ſhould condole and commiſerate the misfortunes of our neighbour.

Do we not eagerly proſecute our own concerns? Do we not with huge vigour and induſtry ſtrive to acquire all conveniences and comforts to our ſelves, to rid our ſelves of all wants and moleſtations? Is our ſolicitous care, or painful endeavour, ever wanting toward the ſupport and ſuccour of our ſelves in any of our needs? Are we ſatisfied in merely wiſhing our ſelves well? Are we not alſo buſie and active in procuring what we affect? Eſpecially, if we are well adviſed, do we not effectually provide for the weal of our ſoul, and ſupply of our ſpiritual neceſſities; labouring to reſcue our ſelves from ignorance and error, from the tyranny of ſin, from the torture of a bad conſcience, from the danger of hell? This ſheweth how ready we ſhould be really to further our neighbour's good, miniſtring to him all kinds of aſſiſtance and relief ſuitable to his needs, both corporal and ſpiritual.

Are

Are we ſo proud or nice, that we diſdain to yield attendance or ſervice needful for our own ſuſtenance or convenience? Do we not indeed gladly perform the meaneſt and moſt ſordid offices for our ſelves? This declareth how condeſcenſive we ſhould be in helping our neighbour, how ready even *to waſh his feet*, when occaſion doth require.

Do we love to vex our ſelves, or croſs our own humour? Do we not rather ſeek by all means to pleaſe and gratifie our ſelves? This may warn us, how innocent and inoffenſive, how compliant and complacent we ſhould be in our behaviour towards others; endeavouring *to pleaſe them in all things*, eſpecially *for their good to edification*. Rom. 15. 2.

Are we eaſily angry with our ſelves, do we retain implacable grudges againſt our ſelves, or do we execute upon our ſelves miſchievous revenge? Are we not rather very meek and patient towards our ſelves, mildly comporting with our own great weakneſſes, our troubleſome humours, our impertinencies and follies; readily forgiving our ſelves the moſt hainous offences, neglects, affronts, injuries and outrages committed by us againſt our own intereſt, honour and welfare? Hence may we derive leſſons of meekneſs and patience, to be exerciſed towards our neighbour, in bearing his infirmities and miſcarriages, in remitting any wrongs or diſcourteſies received from him.

Are we apt to be rude in our deportment, harſh in our language, or rigorous in our dealing towards our ſelves? Do we not rather in word and deed treat our ſelves very ſoftly, very indulgently? Do we uſe to pry for faults, or to pick quarrels with our ſelves, to carp at any thing ſaid or done by us, raſhly or upon ſlight grounds to charge blame on our ſelves, to lay heavy cenſures on our actions, to make foul conſtructions of our words, to blazon our defects, or aggravate our failings? Do we not rather connive at and conceal our blemiſhes? Do we not excuſe and extenuate our own crimes?

Can we find in our hearts to frame virulent invectives, or to dart bitter taunts and ſcoffs againſt our ſelves; to murder our own credit by ſlander, to blaſt it by detraction, to maim it by reproach, to proſtitute it to be deflowered by jeering and ſcurrilous abuſe? Are we not rather very jealous of our reputation, and ſtudious to preſerve it, as a precious ornament, a main fence, an uſeful inſtrument of our welfare?

Do we delight to report, or like to hear ill ſtories of our ſelves? Do we not rather endeavour all we can to ſtifle them; to tie the tongues and ſtop the ears of men againſt them? Hence may we be acquainted how civil and courteous in our behaviour, how fair and ingenuous in our dealing, how candid and mild in our judgment or cenſure we ſhould be towards our neighbour; how very tender and careful we ſhould be of any-wiſe wronging or hurting his fame.

Thus reflecting on our ſelves, and making our practice towards our ſelves the pattern of our dealing with others, we ſhall not fail to diſcharge what is preſcribed to us in this law: And ſo we have here a rule of charity. But farther,

2. Loving our neighbour as our ſelves doth alſo import the meaſure of our love towards him; that it ſhould be commenſurate and equal in degree to that love which we bear and exerciſe towards our ſelves. St. *Peter* once and again doth exhort us *to love one another* ἐκτενῶς, *with an out-ſtretched affection*; and how far that affection ſhould be ſtretched we are here informed; even that it ſhould reach the fartheſt that can be, or to a parity with that intenſe love, which we do bear in heart, and expreſs in performance towards our ſelves: So that we do either bring down our ſelf-love to ſuch a moderation, or raiſe up our charity to ſuch a fervency, that both come to be adjuſted in the ſame even level; this is that pitch at which we ſhould aim and aſpire; this is that perfection of charity, which our Lord recommendeth to us in that injunction, *Be perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect*. 1 Pet. 1. 22. 4. 8. Matt. 5. 48.

That this ſenſe of the words is included, yea chiefly intended, divers reaſons will evince: For,

1. The moſt natural ſignification and common uſe of the phraſe doth import thus much; and any one at firſt hearing would ſo underſtand the words.

2. It appeareth by comparing this precept with that to which it is annexed, *of loving God with all our heart and all our ſoul*, which manifeſtly deſigneth the quantity and degree of that love; conſequently the like determination is intended

in this precept, which is expreſſed to reſemble that, or deſigned in like manner to qualifie and bound our duty towards our neighbour.

3. If the law doth not ſignifie thus much, it doth hardly ſignifie any thing; not at leaſt any thing of direction or uſe to us; for no man is ignorant that he is obliged to love his neighbour, but how far that love muſt extend, is the point wherein moſt of us do need to be reſolved, and without ſatisfaction in which we ſhall hardly do any thing; for as he that oweth money will not pay except he can tell how much it is; ſo to know the duty will not avail towards effectual obſervance of it, if its meaſure be not fixed.

4. Indeed, the law otherwiſe underſtood will rather be apt to miſguide than to direct us; inducing us to apprehend, that we ſhall ſatisfie its intent and ſufficiently diſcharge our duty, by practiſing charity in any low degree or mean inſtance. Alſo,

5. The former ſenſe, which is unqueſtionable, doth infer and eſtabliſh this; becauſe ſimilitude of love, morally ſpeaking, cannot conſiſt with inequality thereof; for if in conſiderable degrees we love our ſelves more than others, aſſuredly we ſhall fail both in exerting ſuch internal acts of affection, and in performing ſuch external offices of kindneſs toward them, as we do exert and perform in regard to our ſelves; whence this law, taken merely as a rule, demanding a confuſed and imperfect ſimilitude of practice, will have no clear obligation or certain efficacy.

6. But farther to aſſure this expoſition, I ſhall declare that the duty thus interpreted is agreeable to reaſon, and may juſtly be required of us, upon conſiderations, which together will ſerve to preſs the obſervance of it, according to ſuch meaſure.

1. It is reaſonable that we ſhould thus love our neighbour as our ſelves, becauſe he is as our ſelves, or really in all conſiderable reſpects the ſame with us: We concur with him in all that is neceſſary, ſubſtantial and ſtable; we differ from him only in things contingent, circumſtantial and variable; in the which, of courſe or by chance we are liable in a ſmall time as much to differ from our ſelves: In ſuch reſpects we are not the ſame to day that we were yeſterday, and ſhall be to morrow, for we ſhift our circumſtances as we do our cloaths; our bodies are in continual flux, and our ſouls do much conform to their alteration; our temper and complexion do vary with our air, our diet, our converſation, our fortunes, our age; our parts grow and decay, our principles and judgments, our affections and deſires are never fixed, and ſeldom reſt long in the ſame place; all our outward ſtate doth eaſily change face; ſo that if we conſider the ſame perſon in youth and in age, in health and in ſickneſs, in proſperity and in diſtreſs, may we not ſay *quantùm mutatus ab illo*, how quite another man is he grown? Yet ſhall a man for ſuch alterations ſurceaſe or abate his love to himſelf? why then in regard to the like differences ſhall we leſs affect our neighbour, who is endued with that common nature, which alone through all thoſe viciſſitudes ſticketh faſt in us; who is the moſt expreſs image of us, (or rather a copy, drawn by the ſame hand, of the ſame original) another ſelf, attired in a divers garb of circumſtances? Do we not ſo far as we deſpiſe or diſaffect him, by conſequence ſlight or hate our ſelves; ſeeing (except bare perſonality, or I know not what metaphyſical identity) there is nothing in him different from what is, or what may be in us?

2. It is juſt that we ſhould love our neighbour equally with our ſelves, becauſe he really no leſs deſerveth love, or becauſe upon a fair judgment he will appear equally amiable: Juſtice is impartial, and regardeth things as they are in themſelves, abſtracting from their relation to this or that perſon; whence if our neighbour ſeem worthy of affection no leſs than we, it demandeth that accordingly we ſhould love him no leſs.

And what ground can there be of loving our ſelves, which may not as well be found in others? Is it endowments of nature, is it accompliſhments of knowledge? Is it ornaments of virtue? Is it accouſtrements of fortune? But is not our neighbour poſſeſſed of the ſame? Is he not at leaſt capable of them, the collation and acquiſt of them depending on the ſame arbitrary bounty of God, or upon faculties and means commonly diſpenſed to all? May not any man at leaſt be as wiſe and as good as we? Why then ſhould we not eſteem, why not affect him as much? Doth relation to us alter the caſe? Is ſelf as ſelf-lovely or valuable, doth that reſpect lend any worth or price to things?

1 Cor. 4. 6, 7.

Likewiſe, what more can juſtice find in our neighbour to obſtruct or depreſs our love than it may obſerve in our ſelves? Hath he greater infirmities or defects, is he more liable to errors and miſcarriages, is he guilty of worſe faults than we? If without arrogance and vanity we cannot affirm this, then are we as unworthy of love as he can be; and refuſing any degree thereof to him, we may as reaſonably withdraw the ſame from our ſelves.

3. It is fit that we ſhould be obliged to love our neighbour equally with our ſelves, becauſe all charity beneath ſelf-love is defective, and all ſelf-love above charity is exceſſive.

It is an imperfect charity which doth not reſpect our neighbour according to his utmoſt merit and worth, which doth not heartily deſire his good, which doth not earneſtly promote his advantage in every kind, according to our ability and opportunity: And what beyond this can we do for our ſelves?

If in kind or degree we tranſcend this, it is not virtuous love or true friendſhip to our ſelves; but a vain fondneſs or perverſe dotage; proceeding from inordinate diſpoſitions of ſoul, grounded on fooliſh conceits, begetting foul qualities and practices; envy, ſtrife, ambition, avarice, and the like.

4. Equity requireth that we ſhould love our neighbour to this degree, becauſe we are apt to claim the ſame meaſure of love from others: no mean reſpect or ſlight affection will ſatisfie us; we cannot brook the leaſt diſregard or coldneſs; to love us a little is all one to us as not to love us at all: it is therefore equitable, that we ſhould be engaged to the ſame height of charity towards others; otherwiſe we ſhould be allowed in our dealings to uſe double weights and meaſures, which is plain iniquity: what indeed can be more ridiculouſly abſurd, than that we ſhould pre- Prov. 20. 10.
tend to receive that from others, which we are not diſpoſed to yield to them upon the ſame ground and title?

5. It is needful that ſo great a charity ſhould be preſcribed, becauſe none inferior thereto will reach divers weighty ends deſigned in this law; namely, the general convenience and comfort of our lives in mutual ſociety and intercourſe: for if in conſiderable degree we do affect our ſelves beyond others, we ſhall be continually bickering and claſhing with them about points of intereſt and credit; ſcrambling with them for what may be had, and clambering to get over them in power and dignity; whence all the paſſions annoying our ſouls, and all the miſchiefs diſturbing our lives muſt needs enſue.

6. That entire love which we owe to God our Creator, and to Chriſt our Redeemer, doth exact from us no leſs a meaſure of charity than this; for ſeeing they have ſo clearly demonſtrated themſelves to bear an immenſe love to men, and have charged us therein to imitate them; it becometh us, in conformity, in duty, in gratitude to them, to bear the higheſt we can, that is, the ſame as we bear to our ſelves? For how can we love God enough, or with all our ſoul, if we do not accord with him in loving his friends and relations, his ſervants, his children with moſt entire affection?

If in God's judgment they are equal to us, if in his affection and care they have an equal ſhare, if he in all his dealings is indifferent and impartial towards all, how can our judgment, our affection, our behaviour be right, if they do not conſpire with him in the ſame meaſures?

7. Indeed the whole tenour and *genius* of our religion do imply obligation to this pitch of charity, upon various accounts.

It repreſenteth all worldly goods and matters of private intereſt as very inconſiderable and unworthy of our affection, thereby ſubtracting the fuel of immoderate ſelf-love.

It enjoyneth us for all our particular concerns entirely to rely upon providence, ſo barring ſolicitude for our ſelves, and diſpoſing an equal care for others.

It declareth every man ſo weak, ſo vile, ſo wretched, ſo guilty of ſin and ſubject to miſery (ſo for all good wholly indebted to the pure grace and mercy of God) that no man can have reaſon to dote on himſelf, or to prefer himſelf before others: We need not cark, or prog, or ſcrape for our ſelves, being aſſured that God ſufficiently careth for us.

In its account the fruits and recompences of love to others in advantage to our ſelves do far ſurpaſs all preſent intereſts and enjoyments; whence in effect the more or leſs we love others, anſwerably the more or leſs we love our ſelves, ſo that

that charity and ſelf-love become co-incident, and both run together evenly in one channel.

Matt. 5. 45. It recommendeth to us the imitation of God's love and bounty, which are abſolutely pure, without any regard, any capacity of benefit redounding to himſelf.

It commandeth us heartily to love even our bittereſt enemies and moſt cruel perſecutors; which cannot be performed without a proportionable abatement of ſelf-love.

1 John 3. 16. It chargeth us not only freely to impart our ſubſtance, but willingly to expoſe our lives for the good of our brethren; in which caſe charity doth plainly match ſelf-love; for what hath a man more dear or precious than his life to lay out for himſelf?

It repreſenteth all men (conſidering their divine extraction, and being formed after God's image; their deſignation for eternal glory and happineſs, their partaking of the common redemption by the undertakings and ſufferings of Chriſt, their being objects of God's tender affection and care) ſo very conſiderable, that no regard beneath the higheſt will befit them.

It alſo declareth us ſo nearly allied to them, and ſo greatly concerned in their good, (we being *all one in Chriſt*, and *members one of another*) that we ought to have a perfect complacency in their welfare, and a ſympathy in their adverſity, as our own.

Gal. 3. 28. John 17. 21. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 26.

John 13. 35. 1 Tim. 3. 2. 2 Pet. 2. 10. Rom. 15. 1. Phil. 2. 4. 1 Cor. 10. 24. 13. 5.

It condemneth ſelf-love, ſelf-pleaſing, ſelf-ſeeking as great faults, which yet (even in the higheſt exceſs) do not ſeem abſolutely bad; or otherwiſe culpable, than as including partiality, or detracting from that equal meaſure of charity, which we owe to others; for ſurely we cannot love our ſelves too much, if we love others equally with our ſelves; we cannot ſeek our own good exceſſively, if with the ſame earneſtneſs we ſeek the good of others.

It exhibiteth ſupernatural aids of grace, and conferreth that holy Spirit of love, which can ſerve to no meaner purpoſes, than to quel that ſorry principle of niggardly ſelfiſhneſs, to which corrupt nature doth incline; and to enlarge our hearts to this divine extent of goodneſs.

8. Laſtly, Many conſpicuous examples, propoſed for our direction in this kind of practice, do imply this degree of charity to be required of us.

It may be objected to our diſcourſe, that the duty thus underſtood, is unpracticable, nature violently ſwaying to thoſe degrees of ſelf-love, which charity can no wiſe reach. This exception (would time permit) I ſhould aſſoil, by ſhewing how far, and by what means we may attain to ſuch a practice; (how at leaſt by aiming at this top of perfection we may aſcend nearer and nearer thereto) in the mean time experience doth ſufficiently evince poſſibility, and aſſuredly that may be done, which we ſee done before us: And ſo it is, pure charity hath been the root of ſuch affections and ſuch performances (recorded by indubitable teſtimony) toward others, which hardly any man can exceed in regard to himſelf: nor indeed hath there ſcarce ever appeared any heroical virtue, or memorable piety, whereof charity overbearing ſelfiſhneſs, and ſacrificing private intereſt to publick benefit, hath not been a main ingredient. For inſtance then;

Did not *Abraham* even prefer the good of others before his own, when he gladly did quit his countrey, patrimony, friends and kindred, to paſs his days in a wandring pilgrimage, upon no other encouragement than an overture of bleſſing on his poſterity?

Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 25. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7. Heb. 11. 24. Exod. 33. 32. Βούλομαι μὲν ἐκείνων ἀπολαῦσαι· ἂν δὲ μὴ χωρῇς ἐκεῖνον σώζεσθαι, σβέσθείη κἀμοὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου, ἵνα μὴ ἀφῇς ἐκείνους ἁμαρτεῖν· οὕτως μεγάλη, οὕτως ἔρως μέγας —— Chryſ. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7.

Did not the charity of *Moſes* ſtretch thus far, when for the ſake of his brethren he voluntarily did exchange the ſplendors and delights of a court for a condition of vagrancy and ſervility; *chuſing rather*, as the apoſtle ſpeaketh, *to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin?* did not it overſtretch, when (although having been grievouſly affronted by them) he wiſhed that rather his name ſhould be *expunged from God's book*, than that their ſin ſhould abide unpardoned?

Did not *Samuel* exerciſe ſuch a charity, when being ingratefully and injuriouſly diſmounted from his authority, he did yet retain toward that people a zealous deſire of their welfare, *not ceaſing earneſtly to pray for them?*

1 Sam. 12. 23.

Did

Did not *Jonathan* love *David* equally with himſelf, when for his ſake he choſe to incur the diſpleaſure of his father and his king; when for his advantage he was content to forfeit the privilege of his birth, and the inheritance of a crown; when he could without envy or grudge look on the growing proſperity of his ſupplanter, could heartily wiſh his ſafety, could effectually protect it, could purchaſe it to him with his own great danger and trouble? When he, that in gallantry of courage and virtue did yield to none, was yet willing to become inferior to one born his ſubject, one raiſed from the duſt, one *taken from a ſheep-coat*; ſo that unrepiningly and without diſdain he could ſay, *Thou ſhalt be a king over Iſrael, and I ſhall be next unto thee:* are not theſe pregnant evidences, that it was truly ſaid in the ſtory, *The ſoul of Jonathan was knit to the ſoul of David, and he loved him as his own ſoul?* 1 Sam. 20. 30. Pſal. 78. 70. 1 Sam. 23. 17 1 Sam. 18. 1. 20. 17.

Did not the Pſalmiſt competently practice this duty, when in the ſickneſs of his ingrateful adverſaries *he cloathed himſelf with ſackcloath, he humbled his ſoul with faſting; he bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother?* Pſal. 35. 12.

Were not *Elias*, *Jeremy*, and other prophets as much concerned for the good of their countrey-men as for their own, when they took ſuch pains, when they ran ſuch hazards, when they endured ſuch hardſhips not only for them, but from them; being requited with hatred and miſuſage for endeavouring to reclaim them from ſin, and ſtop them from ruin?

May not the holy apoſtles ſeem to have loved mankind beyond themſelves, when for its inſtruction and reformation, for reconciling it to God and procuring its ſalvation, they gladly did undertake and undergo ſo many rough difficulties, ſo many formidable dangers, ſuch irkſome pains and troubles, ſuch extreme wants and loſſes, ſuch grievous ignominies and diſgraces; ſlighting all concerns of their own, and relinquiſhing whatever was moſt dear to them (their ſafety, their liberty, their eaſe, their eſtate, their reputation, their pleaſure, their very blood and breath) for the welfare of others; even of thoſe who did ſpitefully malign and cruelly abuſe them?

Survey but the Life of one among them; mark the weariſome travels he underwent over all the earth, the ſolicitous cares which did poſſeſs his mind *for all the churches:* the continual toils and drudgeries ſuſtained by him in preaching by word and writing; in viſiting, in admoniſhing, in all paſtoral employments; the impriſonments, the ſtripes, the reproaches, the oppoſitions and perſecutions of every kind, and from all ſorts of people, which he ſuffered; the pinching wants, the deſperate hazards, the lamentable diſtreſſes with the which he did ever conflict; peruſe thoſe black catalogues of his afflictions regiſtred by himſelf; then tell me how much his charity was inferior to his ſelf-love? Did not at leaſt the one vie with the other, when he, for the benefit of his diſciples, was content *to be abſent from the Lord*, or ſuſpended from a certain fruition of glorious beatitude; reſting in this uncomfortable ſtate, in *this fleſhly tabernacle* wherein *he groaned, being burthened*, and longing for enlargement? Did he not ſomewhat beyond himſelf love thoſe men, for whoſe ſalvation he wiſhed himſelf *accurſed from Chriſt*, or debarred from the aſſured enjoyment of eternal felicity; thoſe very men, by whom he had been ſtoned, had been ſcourged, had been often beaten to extremity, from whom he had received manifold indignities and outrages? 2 Cor. 11. 23. 4. 8. 1 Cor. 4. 11. Phil. 1. 24. 2 Cor. 5. 1, &c. Rom. 9. 3. 2 Cor. 11. 24, 25. 1 Theſſ. 2. 15.

Did not they love their neighbours as themſelves, who ſold their poſſeſſions, and diſtributed the prices of them for relief of their indigent brethren? Did not moſt of the ancient ſaints and fathers mount near the top of this duty, of whom it is by unqueſtionable records teſtified, that they did freely beſtow all their private eſtate and ſubſtance on the poor, devoting themſelves to the ſervice of God and edification of his people? Finally, Acts 4. 34.

Did not our Lord himſelf in our nature exemplifie this duty, yea by his practice far out-do his precept? For, he who from the brighteſt glories, from the immenſe riches, from the ineffable joys and felicities of his celeſtial kingdom, did willingly ſtoop down to aſſume the garb of a ſervant, to be cloathed with the infirmities of fleſh, to become *a man of ſorrow, and acquainted with grief:* He who for our ſake vouchſafed to live in extreme penury and diſgrace, to feel hard want, ſore travel, bitter perſecution, moſt grievous ſhame and anguiſh; he who not only did contentedly bear, but purpoſely did chuſe to be accuſed, to be ſlandered, to be reviled, to be mocked, to be tortured, to pour forth his heart-blood upon a croſs, for the ſake of an unprofitable, an unworthy, an impious, an ingrateful generation;

Rom. 5. 6, 8, 10. 1 Pet. 3. 18. Eph. 2. 1. Col. 2. 13. Chryſ. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32. Heb. 12. 2.

tion; for the ſalvation of his open enemies, of baſe apoſtates, of perverſe rebels, of villainous traitors; he who, in the height of his mortal agonies, did ſue for the pardon of his cruel murtherers; who did ſend his apoſtles to them, did cauſe ſo many wonders to be done before them, did furniſh all means requiſite to convert and ſave them; he that acted and ſuffered all this, and more than can be expreſſed, with perfect frankneſs and good-will; did he not ſignally love his neighbour as himſelf, to the utmoſt meaſure: did not in him virtue conquer nature, and charity triumph over ſelf-love? This he did to ſeal and impreſs his doctrine; to ſhew us what we ſhould do, and what we can do by his grace; to oblige us and to encourage us unto a conformity with him in this reſpect; for, *Walk in love*, ſaith the apoſtle, *as Chriſt hath alſo loved us, and hath given himſelf for us:* And, *This* (ſaith he himſelf) *is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you:* And how can I better conclude, than in the recommendation of ſuch an example?

Eph. 5. 1. 1 John 3. 16. John 15. 12. 13. 34.

2 Theſſ. 2. 16. *Now, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and God even our father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlaſting conſolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and ſtabliſh you in every good word and work.*

SERMON XXVI.

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

MATTH. XXII. 39.

Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.

HAVE formerly diſcourſed on theſe words, and then ſhewed how they do import two obſervable particulars; firſt a rule of our charity, or that it ſhould be like in nature; then a meaſure of it, or that it ſhould be equal in degree to the love which we do bear to our ſelves. Of this latter interpretation I did aſſign divers reaſons, urging the obſervance of the precept according to that notion: but one material point ſcantneſs of time would not allow me to conſider; which is the removal of an exception, to which that interpretation is very liable, and which is apt to diſcourage from a ſerious application to the practice of this duty ſo expounded.

If, it may be ſaid, the precept be thus underſtood, as to oblige us to love our neighbours equally with our ſelves, it will prove unpracticable, ſuch a charity being merely romantick and imaginary; for who doth, who can love his neighbour in this degree? Nature powerfully doth reſiſt, common ſenſe plainly doth forbid that we ſhould do ſo: A natural inſtinct doth prompt us to love our ſelves, and we are forcibly driven thereto by an unavoidable ſenſe of pleaſure and pain, reſulting from the conſtitution of our body and ſoul, ſo that our own leaſt good or evil are very ſenſible to us; whereas we have no ſuch potent inclination to love others; we have no ſenſe, or a very faint one, of what another doth enjoy or endure: doth not therefore nature plainly ſuggeſt, that our neighbours good cannot be ſo conſiderable to us as our own? Eſpecially when charity doth claſh with ſelf-love, or when there is a competition between our neighbour's intereſt and our own, is it poſſible that we ſhould not be partial to our own ſide? Is not therefore this precept ſuch as

if

if we ſhould be commanded to fly, or to do that which natural propenſion will certainly hinder?

In anſwer to this exception, I ſay, firſt,

1. Be it ſo, that we can never attain to love our neighbour altogether ſo much as our ſelves, yet may it be reaſonable that we ſhould be enjoyned to do ſo; for

Laws muſt not be depreſſed to our imperfection, nor rules bent to our obliquity; but we muſt aſcend toward the perfection of them, and ſtrive to conform our practice to their exactneſs: if what is preſcribed be according to the reaſon of things juſt and fit, it is enough although our practice will not reach it; for what remaineth may be ſupplied by repentance and humility in him that ſhould obey, by mercy and pardon in him that doth command.

In the preſcription of duty it is juſt, that what may be required (even in rigour) ſhould be preciſely determined, tho' in execution of juſtice or diſpenſation of recompence conſideration may be had of our weakneſs; whereby both the authority of our governour may be maintained, and his clemency glorified.

It is of great uſe, that by comparing the law with our practice, and in the perfection of the one, diſcerning the defect of the other, we may be humbled, may be ſenſible of our impotency, may thence be forced to ſeek the helps of grace and the benefit of mercy.

Were the rule never ſo low, our practice would come beneath it; it is therefore expedient that it ſhould be high, that at leaſt we may riſe higher in performance than otherwiſe we ſhould do; for the higher we aim, the nearer we ſhall go to the due pitch; as he that aimeth at heaven, although he cannot reach it, will yet ſhoot higher than he that aimeth only at the houſe top.

The height of duty doth prevent ſloth and decay in virtue, keeping us in wholſome exerciſe and in continual improvement, while we be always climbing toward the top, and ſtraining unto farther attainment: the ſincere proſecution of which courſe, as it will be more profitable unto us, ſo it will be no leſs acceptable to God, than if we could thoroughly fulfil the law: for in judgment God will only reckon upon the ſincerity and earneſtneſs of our endeavour: ſo that if we have done our beſt, it will be taken as if we had done all. *Our labour will not be loſt in the Lord*; for the degrees of performance will be conſidered, and he that hath done his duty in part ſhall be proportionably recompenſed; according to that of S. *Paul*; *Every man ſhall receive his own reward according to his own work.* Hence ſometimes we are enjoined to *be perfect as our heavenly father is perfect*; and to be *holy as God is holy*; otherwhile to *go on to perfection*, and to *preſs toward the mark*; which precepts in effect do import the ſame thing; but the latter implieth the former, although in attainment impoſſible, yet in attempt very profitable; and ſurely he is likely to write beſt, who propoſeth to himſelf the faireſt copy for his imitation.

Phil. 3. 12.

1 Cor. 15. 58. 1 Theſſ. 1. 13. Heb. 6. 10.

1 Cor. 3. 8. Matt. 5. 48. 19. 21. 1 Pet. 1. 16. Col. 4. 12. Heb. 6. 1. Phil. 3.

In fine, if we do act what is poſſible, or as we can, do conform to the rule of duty, we may be ſure that no impoſſibility of this, or of any other ſublime law can prejudice us.

I ſay of any other Law; for it is not only this Law, to which this exception may be made, but many others, perhaps every one evangelical law, are alike repugnant to corrupt nature, and ſeem to ſurmount our ability.

But neither is the performance of this task ſo impoſſible, or ſo deſperately hard (if we take the right courſe, and uſe proper means toward it) as is ſuppoſed; as may ſomewhat appear, if we will weigh the following conſiderations.

1. Be it conſidered, that we may be miſtaken in our account, when we do look on the impoſſibility or difficulty of ſuch a practice, as it appeareth at preſent, before we have ſeriouſly attempted, and in a good method, by due means, earneſtly laboured to atchieve it: for many things cannot be done at firſt, or with a ſmall practice, which by degrees and a continued endeavour may be effected; divers things are placed at a diſtance, ſo that without paſſing through the interjacent way we cannot arrive at them: divers things ſeem hard before tryal, which afterward prove very eaſie: it is impoſſible to fly up to the top of a ſteeple, but we may aſcend thither by ſteps: we cannot get to *Rome* without croſſing the ſeas, and travelling through *France* or *Germany*; it is hard to comprehend a ſubtle *Theoreme* in *Geometry* if we pitch on it firſt, but if we begin at the ſimple principles, and go forward through the intermediate propoſitions, we may eaſily attain a demonſtra-

tion of it: it is hard to ſwim, to dance, to play on an inſtrument, but a little trial, or a competent exerciſe will render thoſe things eaſie to us: So may the practice of this duty ſeem impoſſible, or inſuperably difficult, before we have employed divers means, and voided divers impediments; before we have enured our minds and affections to it, before we have tried our forces in ſome inſtances thereof, previous to others of a higher ſtrain, and nearer the perfection of it.

If we would ſet our ſelves to exerciſe charity in thoſe inſtances whereof we are at firſt capable without much reluctancy, and thence proceed toward others of a higher nature, we may find ſuch improvement, and taſte ſuch content therein, that we may ſoon ariſe to incredible degrees thereof, and at length perhaps we may attain to ſuch a pitch, that it will ſeem to us baſe and vain to conſider our own good before that of others, in any ſenſible meaſure; and that nature which now ſo mightily doth conteſt in favour of our ſelves, may in time give way to a better nature, born of cuſtom, affecting the good of others. Let not therefore a preſent ſenſe or experience raiſe in our minds a prejudice againſt the poſſibility or practicableneſs of this duty.

2. Let us conſider, that in ſome reſpects, and in divers inſtances, it is very feaſible to love our neighbour no leſs than our ſelves.

1 Tim. 1. 6. We may love our neighbour truly and ſincerely, *out of a pure heart and a good conſcience, and faith unfeigned*, as St. *Paul* doth preſcribe; or according to St. 1 Pet. 1. 22. (Rom. 12. 9.) *Peter*'s injunction, *from a pure heart love one another fervently*; and in this reſpect we can do no more toward our ſelves; for truth admitteth no degrees, ſincerity is a pure and complete thing, excluſive of all mixture or alloy.

And as to external acts at leaſt it is plain that charity toward others may reach ſelf-love; for we may be as ſerious, as vigorous, as induſtrious in acting for our neighbour's good, as we can be in purſuing our own deſigns and intereſts; for reaſon eaſily can manage and govern external practice, and common experience ſheweth the matter to this extent practicable, ſeeing that often men do employ as much diligence on the concerns of others, as they can do on their own (being able to do no more than their beſt in either caſe) wherefore in this reſpect charity may vie with ſelfiſhneſs; and practiſing thus far may be a ſtep to mount higher.

Alſo rational conſideration will enable us to perform ſome interior acts of charity in the higheſt degree; for if we do but, (as without much difficulty we may do) apply our mind to weigh the qualities and the actions of our neighbour, we may thence obtain a true opinion and juſt eſteem of him; and (ſecluding groſs folly or flattery of our ſelves) how can we in that reſpect or inſtance be more kind or benign to our ſelves?

Is it not alſo within the compaſs of our ability to repreſs thoſe paſſions of ſoul, the eruption whereof tendeth to the wrong, damage and offence of our neighbour; Rom. 13 10. in regard to which practice St. *Paul* affirmeth that the law may be fulfilled, *Love*, ſaith he, *worketh no evil to his neighbour*; *therefore love is the fulfilling of the law?* And what more in this reſpect can we perform for our ſelves?

3. We may conſider, that commonly we ſee men inclined by other principles to act as much or more for the ſake of others, as they would for themſelves.

Moral honeſty hath inclined ſome, ambition and popularity have excited others, to encounter the greateſt dangers, to attack the greateſt difficulties, to expoſe their ſafety, to ſacrifice their lives for the welfare of their country.

Ἀληθὲς ἡ τὸ φίλοι τῶ ἀγαθῶι καὶ τὸ τῶ φίλωι ἕνεκα πολλὰ πράττειν, καὶ τὸ παθεῖν καὶ δίκην ὑπομεμενηκέναι——— Ariſt. *Eth.* 9. 6.

Inſana amicitia. Sen. *Ep.* 9. Common friendſhip hath often done as much, and brutiſh love (that *mad friendſhip*, as *Seneca* calleth it) commonly doth far more: for what will not a fond lover undertake and atchieve for his minion, although ſhe really be the worſt enemy he can have? Yet for ſuch a ſnake will he not laviſh his eſtate, proſtitute his ho- Chryſ. *in* Eph. *p.* 797. nour, abandon his eaſe, hazard his ſafety, ſhipwreck his conſcience, forfeit his ſalvation? What may not a *Delilah* obtain of her *Sampſon*, a *Cleopatra* of her *Anthony*, how prejudicial ſoever it be to his own intereſt and welfare?

Why then may not a principle of charity (grounded on ſo much better reaſon, and backed by ſo much ſtronger motives) be conceived able to engage men to the like practice? Why may not a man be diſpoſed to do that out of hearty good-will, which he can do out of vain conceit, or vicious appetite? Why ſhall other forces overbear nature, and the power of charity be unable to match it?

4. Let

4. Let us conſider, that thoſe diſpoſitions of ſoul which uſually with ſo much violence do thwart the obſervance of this precept, are not ingredients of true ſelf-love, by the which we are directed to regulate our charity, but a ſpurious brood of our folly and pravity, which imply not a ſober love of our ſelves, but a corrupt fondneſs toward an idol of our fancy miſtaken for our ſelves.

A high conceit of our worth or ability, of our fortune or worldly ſtate, of our works and atchievements; a great complacence or confidence in ſome endowment or advantage belonging to us, a ſtiff adherence to our own will or humour, a greedy appetite to ſome particular intereſt or baſe pleaſure; theſe are thoſe, not attendants of natural ſelf-love, but iſſues of unnatural depravedneſs in judgment and affections, which render our practice ſo exorbitant in this regard, making us ſeem to love our ſelves ſo immoderately, ſo infinitely; ſo contracting our ſouls and drawing them inwards, that we appear indiſpoſed to love our neighbour in any conſiderable degree: If theſe (as by ſerious conſideration they may be) were voided, or much abated, it would not be found ſo grievous a matter to love our neighbour as our ſelves; for that ſober love remaining behind, to which nature inclineth, and which reaſon approveth, would rather help to promote than yield any obſtacle to our charity; if ſuch perverſe ſelfiſhneſs were checked and depreſſed, and natural kindneſs cheriſhed and advanced, then true ſelf-love and charity would compoſe themſelves into near a juſt poiſe.

5. Indeed (which we may farther conſider) our nature is not ſo abſolutely averſe or indiſpoſed to the practice of ſuch charity, as to thoſe may ſeem, who view it ſlightly, either in ſome particular inſtances, or in ordinary practice; nature hath furniſhed us with ſtrong inſtincts for the defence and ſuſtenance of our life; and common practice is depraved by ill education and cuſtom; theſe ſome men poring on do imagine no room left for charity in the conſtitution of men; but they conſider not, that one of theſe may be ſo moderated, and the other ſo corrected, that charity may have a fair ſcope in mens hearts and practice; and they ſlip over divers pregnant marks of our natural inclination thereto.

Man having received his ſoul from the breath of God, and being framed after the image of his moſt benign parent, there do yet abide in him ſome features reſembling God, and relicks of the divine original; there are in us ſeeds of ingenuity, of equity, of pity, of benignity, which being cultivated by ſober conſideration and good uſe (under the conduct and aid of heavenly grace) will produce noble fruits of charity.

The frame of our nature ſo far diſpoſeth us thereto, that our bowels are touched with ſenſible pain upon the view of any calamitous object; our fancy is diſturbed at the report of any diſaſter befalling any perſon; we can hardly ſee or read a tragedy without motions of compaſſion.

The practice of benignity, of courteſie, of clemency at firſt ſight, without any diſcurſive reflection, doth obtain approbation and applauſe from us; being no leſs grateful and amiable to the mind than beauty to our eyes, harmony to our ears, fragrancy to our ſmell, and ſweetneſs to our palate; and to the ſame mental ſenſe malignity, cruelty, harſhneſs, all kinds of uncharitable dealing, are very diſguſtful and loathſome.

There wanteth not any commendation to procure a reſpect for charity; nor any invective to breed abhorrence of uncharitableneſs, nature ſufficiently prompting to favour the one and to deteſt the other.

Ὅθεν τὰς φιλανθρώπους ἐπαινοῦμεν— Ariſt. *Eth.* 8. 1.

The practice of the former in common language hath ever been ſtyled humanity, and the diſpoſition from whence it floweth is called good-nature; the practice of the latter is likewiſe termed inhumanity, and its ſource ill-nature; as thwarting the common notions and inclinations of mankind, diveſting us of our manhood, and rendring us a ſort of monſters among men.

No quality hath a clearer repute, or is commonly more admired than generoſity, which is a kind of natural charity, or hath a great ſpice thereof; no diſpoſition is more deſpiſed among men than niggardly ſelfiſhneſs; whence commonly men are aſhamed to avow ſelf-intereſt as a principle of their actions, (rather fathering them on ſome other cauſe) as being conſcious to themſelves that it is the baſeſt of all principles.

Τοῖς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ἀγαπῶσι, καὶ ὡς οὐ μάλιστα φιλαύτους καλοῦσι. Ariſt. 9. 8.

Ὅσῳ δὲ βέλτιον ᾖ, μᾶλλον δεῖ τὸ καλὸν καὶ φίλα ἔσεσθαι, τὸ ᾧ αὐτὸς παρέχει. *Ibid.*

Whatever the cenſurers and detractors of humane nature do pretend, yet even themſelves do admire pure beneficence, and contemn ſelfiſhneſs; for (if we look to the bottom of their intent) it is hence they are bent to ſlander mankind as void of good nature, becauſe out of malignity, they would not allow it a quality ſo excellent and divine.

Wherefore according to the general judgment and conſcience of men, (to omit other conſiderations) our nature is not ſo averſe from charity, or deſtitute of propenſions thereto; and therefore cheriſhing the natural ſeeds of it, we may improve it to higher degrees.

6. But ſuppoſing the inclinations of nature, as it now ſtandeth in its depraved and crazy ſtate, do ſo mightily obſtruct the practice of this duty in the degree ſpecified, ſo that however we cannot by any force of reaſon or philoſophy attain to deſire ſo much, or reliſh ſo well the good of others as our own, yet we muſt remember, that a ſubſidiary power is by the divine mercy diſpenſed, able to controul and ſubdue nature to a compliance, to raiſe our practice above our natural forces. We have a like averſeneſs to other ſpiritual duties (to the loving God with all our hearts, to the mortifying our fleſh and carnal deſires, to the contempt of worldly things, and placing our happineſs in ſpiritual goods) yet we are able to perform them by the ſuccour of grace, and in virtue of that omnipotency which St. *Paul* aſſumed to himſelf when he ſaid, *I can do all things by Chriſt enabling me.*

Phil. 4. 10. ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι — 2 Tim. 1. 7.

If we can get *the ſpirit of Love*, (and aſſuredly we may get it, if we carefully will ſeek it, with conſtant fervency imploring it from him, who hath promiſed to beſtow it on thoſe that ask it) it will infuſe into our minds that light, whereby we ſhall diſcern the excellency of this duty, together with the folly and baſeneſs of that ſelfiſhneſs which croſſeth it; it will kindle in our hearts charitable affections, diſpoſing us to wiſh all good to our neighbour, and to feel pleaſure therein; it will render us *partakers of that divine nature*, which ſo will guide and urge us in due meaſure to affect the benefit of others, as now corrupt nature doth move us unmeaſurably to covet our own; being ſupported and elevated by its virtue, we may (ſurmounting the clogs of fleſhly ſenſe and conceit) ſoar up to the due pitch of charity; being θεοδίδακτοι; *taught of God to love one another*; and endowed with *the fruits of the Spirit*, which are *love*, *gentleneſs*, *goodneſs*, *meekneſs*, and *created according to God in Chriſt Jeſus* to the practice of anſwerable *good works*.

1 Theſſ. 4. 9. Gal. 5. 22. Eph. 5. 9. Col. 3. 12. Eph. 4. 24. 2. 10.

7. There are divers means conducible to the abatement of difficulty in this practice, which I ſhall propoſe, referring the matter to iſſue upon due trial of them.

1. Let us carefully weigh the value of thoſe things which immoderate ſelf-love doth affect in prejudice to charity, together with the worth of thoſe which charity doth ſet in balance to them.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς ὄνειδος ἄγοντες αὐτὸ, φιλαύτους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἀποιμοῦντας τὸ πλέον εἰς χρήματα, καὶ τιμὰς, καὶ ἡδονὰς ταῖς σωματικαῖς· τούτων γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐρῶσι, καὶ ἐσπουδάκασι περὶ αὐτὰ ὡς ἄριστα ὄντα, διὸ καὶ περιμάχητὰ ἐστι· οἱ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα πλεονεκτοῦντες τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ ὅλως τοῖς πάθεσι, καὶ τῷ ἀλόγῳ τῆς ψυχῆς —— δίκαιος δὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ φιλαύτοις ὀνειδίζεται. —— Arist. *Eth.* 9. 8. *Vid. tot.*

Ariſtotle himſelf doth obſerve, that the ground of culpable ſelf-love, ſcraping, ſcrambling, ſcuffling for particular intereſt, is mens high eſteem and paſſion for, and greedy appetite of wealth, of honours, of corporeal pleaſures; whereas vertuous perſons not admiring thoſe things will conſtantly act for honeſty ſake, and out of love to their friends or country; wherein although they moſt really benefit and truly gratifie themſelves, yet are they not blamed for ſelfiſhneſs.

And ſo indeed it is; if we rightly did apprehend the infinite vanity of all worldly goods, the meanneſs of private concerns, the true deſpicableneſs of all thoſe honours, thoſe profits, thoſe delights on which commonly men do ſo dote, we ſhould not be ſo fond or jealous of them, as to ſcrape or ſcuffle for them, envying or grutching them to others; if we did conceive the tranſcendent worth of future rewards allotted to this and other virtues, the great conſiderableneſs of publick good at which charity aimeth, the many advantages which may accrue to us from our neighbours welfare, (entertained with complacence, and wiſely accommodated to our uſe) we ſhould not be ſo averſe from tendring his good as our own.

2. Let us conſider our real ſtate in the world, in dependence upon the pleaſure and providence of Almighty God.

If we look upon our ſelves as ſubſiſting only by our own care and endeavour, without any other patronage or help, it may thence prove hard to regard the intereſts

reſts of others as comparable to our own, ſeeing then in order to our living with any convenience, it is neceſſary that we ſhould be ſolicitous for our own preſervation and ſuſtenance, that will engage us to contend with others as competitors for the things we need, and uncapable otherwiſe to attain: But if (as we ought to do, and the true ſtate of things requireth) we conſider our ſelves as ſubſiſting under the protection, and by the providence of God, who no leſs careth for us than for others, and no leſs for others than for us (for as the wiſeman ſaith, he *careth for all alike*) who recommendeth to us a being mutually concerned each for other, and is engaged to keep us from ſuffering thereby; who commandeth us to disburthen our cares upon himſelf; who aſſuredly will the better provide for us, as we do more further the good of others: If we do conſider thus, it will deliver us from ſolicitude concerning our ſubſiſtence and perſonal accommodations, whence we may be free to regard the concerns of others, with no leſs application than we do regard our own.

Ὁμοίως δὲ περὶ τοῦ θεὸς πάντων. Sap. 6. 7.

As living under the ſame government and laws (being members of one commonwealth, one corporation, one family) diſpoſeth men not only willingly but earneſtly to ſerve the publick intereſt, beyond any hopes of receiving thence any particular advantage anſwerable to their pain and care; ſo conſidering themſelves as members of the world, and of the church, under the governance and patronage of God, may diſengage us from immoderate reſpect of private good, and incline us to promote the common welfare.

3. There is one plain way of rendring this duty poſſible, or of perfectly reconciling charity to ſelf-love; which is, a making the welfare of our neighbour to be our own, which if we can do, then eaſily may we deſire it more ſeriouſly, then may we promote it with the greateſt zeal and vigour; for then it will be an inſtance of ſelf-love to exerciſe charity, then both theſe inclinations conſpiring will march evenly together, one will not extrude nor depreſs the other.

It may be hard, while our concerns appear divided, not to prefer our own, but when they are co-incident, [or conſpire together, the ground of that partiality is removed.

Nor is this an imaginary courſe, but grounded in reaſon, and thereby reducible to practice: for conſidering the manifold bands of relation (natural, civil, or ſpiritual) between men, as naturally of the ſame kind and blood, as civilly members of the ſame ſociety, as ſpiritually linked in one brotherhood; conſidering the mutual advantages derivable from the wealth and welfare of each other, (in way of needful ſuccour, advice and comfort, of profitable commerce, of pleaſant converſation;) conſidering the miſchiefs, which from our neighbours indigency and affliction we may incur, they rendring him as a wild beaſt, unſociable, troubleſome and formidable to us; conſidering that we cannot be happy without good nature and good humour, and that good nature cannot behold any ſad object without pity and dolorous reſentment, good humour cannot ſubſiſt in proſpect of ſuch objects; conſidering that charity is an inſtrument, whereby we may apply all our neighbour's good to our ſelves, it being ours, if we can find complacence therein; it may appear reaſonable to reckon all our neighbour's concerns to our account.

That this is practicable, experience may confirm; for we may obſerve, that men commonly do thus appropriate the concerns of others, reſenting the diſaſters of a friend or of a relation with as ſenſible diſpleaſure as they could their own; and anſwerably finding as high a ſatisfaction in their good fortune. Yea, many perſons do feel more pain by compaſſion for others, than they could do in ſuſtaining the ſame evils; divers can with a ſtout heart undergo their own afflictions, who are melted with thoſe of a friend or brother. Seeing then in true judgment humanity doth match any other relation, and chriſtianity far doth exceed all other alliances, why may we not on them ground the like affections and practices, if reaſon hath any force, or conſideration can any wiſe ſway in our practice?

4. It will greatly conduce to the perfect obſervance of this rule, to the depreſſion of ſelf-love, and advancement of charity to the higheſt pitch, if we do ſtudiouſly contemplate our ſelves, ſtrictly examining our conſcience, and ſeriouſly reflecting on our unworthineſs and vileneſs; the infirmities and defects of nature, the corruptions and defilements of our ſoul, the ſins and miſcarriages of our lives; which doing, we ſhall certainly be far from admiring or doting on our ſelves; but rather, as *Job* did, we ſhall *condemn* and *abhor our ſelves*; when we ſee our ſelves ſo deformed and ugly

Job 9. 20. 42. 6.

ugly, how can we be amiable in our own eyes? How we can more eſteem or affect our ſelves than others, of whoſe unworthineſs we can hardly be ſo conſcious or ſure? What place can there be for that vanity and folly, for that pride and arrogance, for that partiality and injuſtice, which are the ſources of immoderate ſelf-love?

5. And laſtly, we may from many conſpicuous experiments and examples be aſſur'd that ſuch a practice of this duty is not impoſſible; but theſe I have already produced and urged in the precedent diſcourſe, and ſhall not repeat them again.

SERMON XXVII.

The Nature, Properties and Acts of Charity.

EPHESIANS V. 2.

And walk in love.

1 Tim. 1. 5. SAint *Paul* telleth us, that *the end of the commandment* (or the main ſcope of the evangelical doctrine) *is charity, out of a pure heart and a good conſcience, and faith unfeigned*; that charity is a general principle of all good practice, (*let all your things be done in charity*;) that it is the ſum and abridgment of all other duties, ſo that *he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the whole law*; that it is *the chief* of the theological virtues; *the prime fruit of the divine Spirit*, and *the band of perfection*, which combineth and conſummateth all other graces.

1 Cor. 16. 14. Gal. 5. 14. Rom. 13. 8, 9. 1 Cor. 13. 13. Gal. 5. 22. Col. 3. 14.

2 Pet. 1. 7. St. *Peter* enjoyneth us, that to all other virtues we ſhould add charity, as the top and crown of them; and, *above all things*, ſaith he, *have fervent charity among your ſelves.*

1 Pet. 4. 8.

Jam. 2. 8. St. *James* ſtyleth the law of charity νόμον βασιλικὸν, *the royal*, or ſovereign law.

1 Joh. 3. 23, 11. 4. 21. St. *John* calleth it, in way of excellence, *the commandment of God*, (*This is his commandment, that we ſhould love one another.*)

Joh. 15. 12. 13. 34. Our Lord claimeth it for his peculiar law, *This is my commandment*; *and a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love another.* And he maketh the obſervance of it the ſpecial badge and cognizance of his followers; *by this ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye love one another.*

Joh. 13. 35.

It being therefore a duty of ſo grand importance, it is moſt requiſite that we ſhould well underſtand it, and faithfully obſerve it; to which purpoſes I ſhall by God's aſſiſtance endeavour to confer ſomewhat; firſt, by explaining its nature, then by preſſing the obſervance of it by ſeveral inducements.

The nature of it will, as I conceive, be beſt underſtood by repreſenting the ſeveral chief acts, which it compriſeth or implieth as neceſſary pre-requiſites, or eſſential ingredients, or inſeparable adherents to it; ſome internally reſident in the ſoul, others diſcharged in external performance; together with ſome ſpecial properties of it. And ſuch are thoſe which follow.

I. *Loving our neighbour* doth imply, that we ſhould value and eſteem him: This is neceſſary, for affection doth follow opinion; ſo that we cannot like any thing which we do not eſteem, or wherein we do not apprehend ſome conſiderable good, attractive of affection; that is not amiable which is wholly contemptible; or ſo far as it is ſuch.

Prov. 14. 11. 11. 12. But in right judgment no man is ſuch; for the wiſe man telleth us, that *He that deſpiſeth his neighbour, ſinneth*; and, *He is void of underſtanding that deſpiſeth his*

his neighbour; but no man is guilty of ſin or folly for deſpiſing that which is wholly deſpicable.

It is indeed true, that every man is ſubject to defects, and to miſchances, apt to breed contempt, eſpecially in the minds of vulgar and weak people; but no man is really deſpicable. For

Every man living hath ſtamped on him the venerable image of his glorious maker, which nothing incident to him can utterly deface.

Every man is of a divine extraction, and allied to heaven by nature and by grace; as the ſon of God, and the brother of God incarnate. *If I did deſpiſe the cauſe of my man-ſervant or of my maid-ſervant, when they contended with me; What then ſhall I do when God riſeth up, and when he viſiteth what ſhall I anſwer him? Did not he that made me in the womb, make him? And did not one faſhion us in the womb?* Job 31. 13, 14, 15.

Every man is endewed with that celeſtial faculty of reaſon, *inſpired by the Almighty*, (for, *There is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth them underſtanding*) and hath an immortal ſpirit reſiding in him; or rather is himſelf an angelical ſpirit dwelling in a viſible tabernacle. Job 32. 8.

Every man was originally deſigned and framed for a fruition of eternal happineſs.

Every man hath an intereſt in the common redemption, purchaſed by the blood of the Son of God, who *taſted death for every one.*

Every man is capable of ſovereign bliſs, and hath a crown of endleſs glory offered to him.

In fine, every man, and all men alike, antecedently to their own will and choice, are the objects of his love, of his care, of his mercy; who is *loving unto every man, and whoſe mercy is over all his works*; who *hath made the ſmall and the great, and careth for all alike*; who *is rich*, in bounty and mercy, *toward all that call upon him.* Pſal. 145. 9; Job 34. 19. Sap. 6. 8. Rom. 10. 12. 3. 22.

How then can any man be deemed contemptible, having ſo noble relations, capacities, and privileges? How a man ſtandeth in eſteem with God *Elihu* telleth us, *God* (ſaith he) *is mighty and deſpiſeth not any*; although he be ſo mighty, ſo excellent in perfection, ſo infinitely in ſtate exalted above all, yet doth not he ſlight any; and how can we contemn thoſe, whom the certain voucher and infallible judge of worth deigneth to value? Indeed God ſo valued every man as to take great care, to be at great coſt and trouble, to ſtoop down from heaven, to aſſume mortal fleſh, to endure pinching wants and ſore diſtreſſes, to *taſte death for every one.* Job 36. 5. Pſal. 69. 33.

We may ask with St. *Paul*, *Why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother?* Rom. 14. 10.

Is it for the lowneſs of his condition, or for any misfortune that hath befallen him? But are not the beſt men, are not all men, art not thou thy ſelf obnoxious to the like? Hath not God declared that he hath a ſpecial regard to ſuch? And are not ſuch things commonly diſpoſed by his hand with a gracious intent? Jam. 2. 5. Pſal. 38. 36. 146. 9.

Is it for meanneſs of parts, or abilities, or endowments? But are not theſe the gifts of God, abſolutely at his diſpoſal, and arbitrarily diſtributed or preſerved; ſo that thou who art ſo wiſe in thy own conceit to day, mayſt by a diſeaſe, or from a judgment (deſerved by thy pride) become an idiot to morrow? Have not many good and therefore many happier men wanted thoſe things? 1 Cor. 1. 26.

Is it for moral imperfections or blemiſhes; for vicious habits, or actual miſdemeanors? Theſe indeed are the only debaſements and diſparagements of a man; yet do they not expunge the characters of divinity impreſſed on his nature; and he may by God's mercy recover from them: And are not we our ſelves, if grace do not uphold us, liable to the ſame? Yea may we not, if without partiality or flattery we examine our ſelves, diſcern the ſame within us, or other defects equivalent? And however, is not pity rather due to them than contempt? Whoſe character was it, that *they truſted they were righteous, and deſpiſed others*? That the moſt palpable offender ſhould not be quite deſpiſed God had a ſpecial care in his law, for that end moderating puniſhment, and reſtraining the number of ſtripes; *If* (ſaith the law) *the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, the judge ſhall cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number; forty ſtripes he may give him and not exceed; leſt if he ſhould exceed,* Luke 18. 9. 16. 15. Deut. 25. 2.

ceed, and beat him above theſe with many ſtripes, then thy brother ſhould ſeem vile unto thee.

We may conſider, that the common things (both good and bad) wherein men agree, are far more conſiderable than the peculiar things wherein they differ; to be a man is much beyond being a lord, or a wit, or a philoſopher; to be a chriſtian doth infinitely ſurpaſs being an emperor, or a learned clerk; to be a ſinner is much worſe than to be a beggar or an idiot: The agreement of men is in the ſubſtance and body of things; the difference is in a circumſtance, a fringe, or a ſhadow about them; ſo that we cannot deſpiſe another man, without reflecting contempt on our ſelves, who are ſo very like him, and not conſiderably better than he, or hardly can without arrogance pretend to be ſo.

We may therefore, and reaſon doth require that we ſhould value our neighbour;
1 Pet. 2. 17. and it is no impoſſible or unreaſonable precept which St. *Peter* giveth us, to *honour all men*; and with it a charitable mind will eaſily comply; it ever will deſcry ſomething valuable, ſomething honourable, ſomething amiable in our neighbour; it will find ſomewhat of dignity in the meaneſt, ſomewhat of worth in the baſeſt,
1 Cor. 13. 7. ſomewhat hopeful in the moſt degenerate of men; it therefore will not abſolutely ſlight or ſcorn any man whatever, looking on him as an abject or forlorn wretch, unworthy of conſideration.

It is indeed a point of charity to ſee more things eſtimable in others than in our ſelves; or to be apprehenſive of more defects meriting diſeſteem in our ſelves than in others; and conſequently in our opinion to prefer others before us, ac-
Rom. 12. 10. cording to thoſe apoſtolical precepts, *Be kindly affected one toward another with*
Phil. 2. 3. *brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. In lowlineſs of mind let each*
1 Pet. 5. 5. *eſteem other better than themſelves. Be ſubject one to another.*

II. Loving our neighbour doth imply a ſincere and earneſt deſire of his welfare, and good of all kinds, in due proportion: For it is a property of love, that it would have its object moſt worthy of it ſelf, and conſequently that it ſhould attain the beſt ſtate whereof it is capable, and perſiſt firm therein; to be fair and plump, to flouriſh and thrive without diminution or decay; this is plain to experience in reſpect to any other thing (a horſe, a flower, a building, or any ſuch thing) which we pretend to love; wherefore charity ſhould diſpoſe us to be thus affected to our neighbour; ſo that we do not look upon his condition or affairs with an indifferent eye, or cold heart, but are much concerned for him, and put forth hearty wiſhes for his intereſts: We ſhould wiſh him adorned with all virtue, and accompliſhed with all worthy endowments of ſoul; we ſhould wiſh him proſperous ſucceſs in all his deſigns, and a comfortable ſatisfaction of his deſires; we ſhould wiſh him with alacrity of mind to reap the fruits of his induſtry, and to enjoy the beſt accommodations of his life. Not formally and in complement, as the mode is, but really and with a cordial ſenſe, upon his undertaking any enterprize, we ſhould wiſh him good ſpeed; upon any proſperous ſucceſs of his endeavours, we ſhould bid him joy; wherever he is going, whatever he is doing, we ſhould wiſh him peace and the preſence of God with him: We ſhould tender his health, his ſafety, his quiet, his reputation, his wealth, his proſperity in all reſpects; but eſpecially with peculiar ardency we ſhould deſire his final welfare, and the happineſs of his ſoul, that being incomparably his chief concern.

Hence readily ſhould we pour forth our prayers, which are the trueſt expreſſions of good deſire, for the welfare of our neighbour, to him who is able to work and beſtow it.

Rom. 10. 1. Such was the charity of St. *Paul* for his countrey-men, ſignified in thoſe words,
ἐυδοκία μὲν ἐμῆς.
Phil. 1. 8— *Brethren, my heart's deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is, that they may be*
2 Cor. 13. 9. *ſaved*; ſuch was his love to the *Philippians*, *God is my record, how greatly I long after you all, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt; and this I pray, that your love may abound more and more in knowledge, and in all judgment*——

Such was St. *John*'s charity to his friend *Gaius*, to whom he ſaid, *Beloved, I*
3 Joh. 2. *wiſh above all things, that thou mayſt proſper and be in health even as thy ſoul proſpereth.*

1 Tim. 2. 3. Such is the charity, which we are enjoyned to expreſs toward all men, by *praying for all men*, in conformity to the charity of God, who *will have all men to be ſaved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

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Such is the charity we are commanded to uſe toward our enemies, *bleſſing thoſe that curſe us, and praying for thoſe who deſpitefully uſe us, and perſecute us*; the which was exemplified by our Lord, by St. *Stephen*, by all the holy apoſtles. Matt. 5. 44. Luke 23. 34. Acts 7. 60. 1 Cor. 4. 12.

III. Charity doth imply a complacence or delightful ſatisfaction in the good of our neighbour; this is conſequent on the former property, for that joy naturally doth reſult from events agreeable to our deſire: Charity hath a good eye, which is not offended or dazled with the luſtre of its neighbour's virtue, or with the ſplendor of his fortune, but vieweth either of them ſteadily with pleaſure, as a very delightful ſpectacle: It beholdeth him to proſper and flouriſh, to grow in wealth and repute, not only without envious repining, but with gladſome content: Its property is *to rejoice with them that rejoice*; to partake of their enjoyments, to feaſt in their pleaſures, to triumph in their ſucceſs. Rom. 12. 15.

As one member doth feel the health and the delight which another immediately doth enjoy; ſo hath a charitable man a ſenſible complacence in the welfare and joy of his neighbour. 1 Cor. 12. 26.

His proſperity of any kind, in proportion to its importance, doth pleaſe him; but eſpecially his ſpiritual proficiency and improvement in virtue doth yield matter of content; and his good deeds he beholdeth with abundant ſatisfaction.

This is that inſtance of charity which St. *Paul* ſo frequently doth expreſs in his epiſtles, declaring the extreme joy he did feel in the faith, in the virtue, in the orderly converſation of thoſe brethren to whom he writeth. 2 Cor. 13. 9. Phil. 2. 2. 4. 1. 1 Theſſ. 3. 9. 2. 19.

This charity poſſeſſed St. *John*, when he ſaid, *I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth.* 3 Joh. 4.

This is the charity of heaven, which doth even chear the angels, and doth enhance the bliſs of the bleſſed ſpirits there; of whom it is ſaid, *There is joy in heaven over every ſinner that repenteth.* Hence, This is the diſpoſition of charitable perſons ſincerely to congratulate any good occurrence to their neighbour; they are ready to conſpire in rendring thanks and praiſe to the author of their welfare; taking the good conferred on their neighbour as a bleſſing and obligation on themſelves; ſo that they upon ſuch occaſions are apt to ſay with St. *Paul*, *What thanks can we render to God for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your ſakes before God?* and, *We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, becauſe that your faith groweth exceedingly, and that the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth:* And, *I thank my God always on your behalf for the grace of God, which is given you by Jeſus Chriſt, that in every thing ye are enriched by him.* Luke 15. 7, 10. 1 Theſſ. 3. 9. 2 Theſſ. 1. 3. 1 Cor. 1. 4, 5. (Phil. 1. 3. Rom. 1. 8. Eph. 1. 16. Col. 1. 3. 1 Theſſ. 1. 2.)

It is a precept of St. *Paul*, *Give thanks always* ὑπὲρ πάντων, which is tranſlated *for all things*, but it might as well be rendred *for all perſons*, according to that injunction, *I exhort that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men*; not only prayers are to be made, but thankſgivings are to be offered for all men, out of general charity. Eph. 5. 20. 1 Tim. 2. 1.

IV. Correſpondently, love of our neighbour doth imply condolency and commiſeration of the evils befalling him: For what we love, we cannot without diſpleaſure behold lying in a bad condition, ſinking into decay, or in danger to periſh; ſo to a charitable mind the bad ſtate of any man is a moſt unpleaſant and painful ſight.

It is the property of charity *to mourn with thoſe that mourn*; not coldly, but paſſionately, (for 'tis *to weep with thoſe that weep*) reſenting every man's caſe with an affection ſuitable thereto, and as he doth himſelf reſent it. κλαίειν. Rom. 12. 15.

Is any man fallen into diſgrace? Charity doth hold down its head, is abaſhed and out of countenance, partaking of his ſhame: Is any man diſappointed of his hopes or endeavours? Charity crieth out *alas*, as if it were it ſelf defeated: Is any man afflicted with pain or ſickneſs? Charity looketh ſadly, it ſigheth and groaneth, it fainteth and languiſheth with him: Is any man pinched with hard want? Charity if it cannot ſuccour, it will condole: Doth ill news arrive? Charity doth hear it with an unwilling ear, and a ſad heart, although not particularly concerned in it: The ſight of a wreck at ſea, of a field ſpread with carcaſes, of a countrey deſolated, of houſes burnt, and cities ruined, and of the like calamities, incident to mankind, would touch the bowels of any man; but the very report of them would

affect the heart of charity: It doth not ſuffer a man with comfort or eaſe to enjoy the accommodations of his own ſtate, while others before him are in diſtreſs: It cannot be merry while any man in preſence is ſorrowful; it cannot ſeem happy while its neighbour doth appear miſerable: It hath a ſhare in all the afflictions which it doth behold or hear of; according to that inſtance in St. *Paul* of the *Philippians*, *Ye have done well, that ye did communicate with* (or partake in) *my afflictions*; and according to that precept, *Remember thoſe which are in bonds, as bound with them.*

Συγκοινωνήσαντες. Heb. 13. 3.

Such was the charity of Job; *Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? Was not my ſoul grieved for the poor?* Job 30. 25.

Such was the charity of the pſalmiſt, even toward his ingrateful enemies, *They* (ſaith he) *rewarded me evil for good to the ſpoiling of my ſoul*; but as for me, when they were ſick, *my cloathing was ſackcloth, I humbled my ſoul with faſting.——I behaved my ſelf as though it had been my friend or my brother, I bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother.* Pſal. 35. 12, 13, 14.

Such was the charity of St. *Paul*; *Who is weak*, ſaid he, *and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not* with fervent compaſſion? 2 Cor. 11. 29.

Such was the charity of our Saviour, which ſo reigned in his heart, that no paſſion is ſo often attributed to him as this of pity; it being expreſſed to be the motive of his great works. *Jeſus* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *went forth, and ſaw a great multitude*, καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *and was moved* (in his bowels) *with compaſſion toward them, and he healed their ſick*; and, *I have compaſſion on the multitude, becauſe they have nothing to eat, and I will not ſend them away faſting, leſt they faint in the way*; and, *Jeſus had compaſſion on them, and touched their eyes*; and, *Jeſus moved with compaſſion put forth his hand and touched him* (the leper) *and ſaith unto him, I will, be thou clean*; and, *When the Lord ſaw her* (the widow of *Naim*, whoſe ſon was carried out) *he had compaſſion on her*; and, *He beheld the city and wept over it*, conſidering the miſeries impendent on it, as a juſt puniſhment of their outragious injuries againſt himſelf; and when the two good ſiſters did bewail their brother *Lazarus*, *He groaned in ſpirit and was troubled*; and *wept* with them; whence the *Jews* did collect, *Behold how he loved him.*

Σπλαγχνίζομαι. Matt. 15. 32. Matt. 20. 34. Mark 1. 41. Luke 7. 13. Luke 19. 41. Joh. 11. 33, 35.

Thus any calamity or misfortune befalling his neighbour doth raiſe diſtaſteful regret and commiſeration in a charitable ſoul; but eſpecially moral evils (which indeed are the great evils, in compariſon whereto nothing elſe is evil) do work that effect: To ſee men diſhonour and wrong their maker, to provoke his anger, and incur his diſfavour; to ſee men abuſe their reaſon, and diſgrace their nature; to ſee men endamage their ſpiritual eſtate, to endanger the loſs of their ſouls, to diſcoſt from their happineſs, and run into eternal ruin, by diſtemper of mind, and an inordinate converſation! This is moſt afflictive to a man endewed with any good degree of charity. Could one ſee a man ſprawling on the ground, weltring in his blood, with gaping wounds, gaſping for breath, without compaſſion? And ſeeing the condition of him that lieth groveling in ſin, weltring in guilt, wounded with bitter remorſe and pangs of conſcience, nearly obnoxious to eternal death, is far worſe and more deplorable, how can it but touch the heart of a charitable man, and ſtir his bowels with compaſſionate anguiſh?

Such was the excellent charity of the holy pſalmiſt, ſignified in thoſe ejaculations, *I beheld the tranſgreſſors and was grieved, becauſe they kept not thy word*; and, *Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, becauſe men keep not thy law.* Pſ. 119. 158. Pſ. 119. 136.

Such was the charity of St. *Paul* toward his incredulous and obdurate countreymen (notwithſtanding their hatred and ill treatment of himſelf) the which he ſo earneſtly did aver in thoſe words, *I ſay the truth, I lie not, my conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt, that I have great heavineſs and continual ſorrow in my heart* for them. Rom. 9. 1, 2.

Such was the charity of our Lord, which diſpoſed him as to a continual ſenſe of mens evils, ſo upon particular occaſions, to grieve at their ſins and ſpiritual wants; as when the *Phariſees* maligned him for his doing good, he (it is ſaid) did συλλυπεῖσθαι, *grieve* (or condole) *for the hardneſs of their heart*; and, when *he ſaw the multitudes, he was moved with compaſſion on them, becauſe they fainted* Mark 3. 5. Matt. 9. 36.

and

and were ſcattered abroad as ſheep having no ſhepherd; and, when *he wept over Jeruſalem*, becauſe it did not *know in its day the things which belonged to its peace* (either temporal, or eternal.) Luke 19. 41.

This is that charity which God himſelf in a wonderful and incomprehenſible manner doth exemplifie to us; for he is *the father of pities*; πολύσπλαγχνος, *full of bowels*; his *bowels are troubled*, and *do ſound*, when he is (for upholding juſtice, or reclaiming ſinners) conſtrained to inflict puniſhment; of him 'tis ſaid, that *his ſoul was grieved for the miſery of Iſrael*; and, that he was *afflicted in all the afflictions* of his people: So incredible miracles doth infinite charity work in God, that the impaſſible God in a manner ſhould ſuffer with us, that happineſs it ſelf ſhould partake in our miſery; that grief ſhould ſpring up in the fountain of joy: How this can be, we thoroughly cannot well apprehend, but ſurely thoſe expreſſes are uſed in condeſcenſion to ſignifie the greatly charitable benignity of God, and to ſhew us our duty, that *we ſhould be merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful*, ſympathizing with the miſeries and ſorrows of our brethren. Jam. 5. 11. Luke 1. 78. Jer. 31. 20. Iſa. 63. 15. Jud. 10. 16. (ὠλιγώθη. LXX.) Iſa. 63. 9. (Hoſ. 11. 8.) Luke 6. 36. Eph. 5. 1. (Luke 16. 20.)

This is that duty which is ſo frequently inculcated: When we are charged to *put on bowels of pity*, to be (εὔσπλαγχνοι) *tender-hearted*, to be (συμπαθεῖς) *compaſſionate* one toward another. Col. 2. 13. Phil. 2. 1. Eph. 4. 32. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

Hence it is, that good men in this world cannot live in any briskneſs of mirth or height of jollity, their own enjoyments being tempered by the diſcontents of others; the continual obvious ſpectacles of ſorrow and of ſin damping their pleaſures, and quaſhing exceſſive tranſports of joy: For who could much enjoy himſelf in an hoſpital, in a priſon, in a charnel?

V. It is generally a property of love to appropriate its object; in apprehenſion and affection embracing it, poſſeſſing it, enjoying it as its own: So charity doth make our neighbour to be ours, engaging us to tender his caſe, and his concerns as our own; ſo that we ſhall exerciſe about them the ſame affections of ſoul (the ſame deſires, the ſame hopes and fears, the ſame joys and ſorrows) as about our own neareſt and moſt peculiar intereſt; ſo that his danger will affright us, and in his ſecurity we ſhall find repoſe; his profit is gain, and his loſſes are damages to us; we do riſe by his preferment, and ſink down by his fall; his good ſpeed is a ſatisfaction, and his diſappointment a croſs to us; his enjoyments afford pleaſure, and his ſufferings bring pain to us.

So charity doth enlarge our minds beyond private conſiderations, conferring on them an univerſal intereſt, and reducing all the world within the verge of their affectionate care; ſo that a man's ſelf is a very ſmall and inconſiderable portion of his regard; whence charity is ſaid not to *ſeek its own things*, and we are commanded not to *look on our own things*; for that the regard which charity beareth to its own intereſt, in compariſon to that which it beareth toward the concerns of others, hath the ſame proportion as one man hath to all men, being therefore exceedingly ſmall, and as it were none at all. 1 Cor. 11. 5. 10. 24. Phil. 2. 4.

This (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *is the canon of moſt perfect Chriſtianiſm, this is an exact boundary, this is the higheſt top of it, to ſeek things profitable to the publick:* And *according to this rule* charity *doth walk*, it preſcribeth that compaſs to it ſelf, it aſpireth to that pitch; it diſpoſeth to act as St. *Paul* did, *I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved.* 1 Cor. 10. 33.

Τοῦτο κανὼν χριστιανισμοῦ τοῦ τελειοτάτου, τοῦτο ὅρος ἀκριβὴς, αὕτη ἡ κορυφὴ ἡ ἀνωτάτω, τὸ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ζητεῖν. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Orat.* 25. Phil. 4. 16.

VI. It is a property of love to affect union, or the greateſt approximation that can be to its object: As hatred doth ſet things at diſtance, making them to ſhun or chaſe away one another; ſo love doth attract things, doth combine them, doth hold them faſt together; every one would be embracing and enjoying what he loveth in the manner whereof it is capable: So doth charity diſpoſe a man to conjunction with others; it ſoon will breed acquaintance, kind converſation, and amicable correſpondence with our neighbour.

It would be a ſtranger to no man to whom by its entercourſe it may yield any benefit or comfort.

Its arms are always open, and its boſom free to receive all, who do not reject or decline its amity.

It is moſt frankly acceſſible, moſt affable, moſt tractable, moſt ſociable, moſt apt to interchange good offices; moſt ready to oblige others, and willing to be obliged by them.

It avoideth that unreaſonable ſuſpiciouſneſs and diffidence, that timorous ſhineſs, that crafty reſervedneſs, that ſupercilious moroſity, that faſtidious ſullenneſs, and the like untoward diſpoſitions, which keep men in eſtrangement, ſtifling good inclinations to familiarity and friendſhip.

Spes mutuæ charitatis. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

VII. It is a property of love to deſire a reciprocal affection; for that is the ſureſt poſſeſſion and firmeſt union, which is grounded upon voluntarily conſpiring in affection; and if we do value any perſon, we cannot but prize his good-will and eſteem.

Charity is the mother of friendſhip, not only as inclining us to love others, but as attracting others to love us; diſpoſing us to affect their amity, and by obliging means to procure it.

Heb. 12. 14. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Rom. 12. 18.

Hence is that evangelical precept ſo often enjoyned to us, of *purſuing peace with all men*, importing that we ſhould deſire and ſeek by all fair means the good-will of men, without which peace from them cannot ſubſiſt; for if they do not love us, they will be infeſting us with unkind words or deeds.

VIII. Hence alſo charity diſpoſeth to pleaſe our neighbour, not only by inoffenſive but by obliging demeanor; by a ready complaiſance and compliance with his faſhion, with his humour, with his deſire in matters lawful, or in a way conſiſtent with duty and diſcretion.

Rom. 15. 2. 1 Cor. 10. 33. 9. 19.

Such charity St. *Paul* did preſcribe, *Let every one pleaſe his neighbour for his good to edification:* Such he practiſed himſelf, *Even as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit*; and, *I have made my ſelf a ſervant to all, that I might gain the more.*

Rom. 15. 3. Joh. 2. 2. Matt. 11. 19. Luke 7. 34.

Such was the charity of our Lord, for *even Chriſt pleaſed not himſelf:* He indeed did ſtoop to converſe with ſorry men in their way, he came when he was invited, he accepted their entertainment, he from the frankneſs of his converſation with all ſorts of perſons did undergo the reproach of being *a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and ſinners.*

It is the *genius* and complexion of charity to affect nothing uncouth or ſingular in matters of indifferent nature; to be candid, not rigid in opinion; to be pliable, not ſtiff in humour; to be ſmooth and gentle, not rugged and peeviſh in behaviour.

It doth indeed not flatter, not ſooth, not humour any man in bad things, or in things very abſurd and fooliſh; it would rather chuſe to diſpleaſe and croſs him, than to abuſe, to delude, to wrong or hurt him; but excepting ſuch caſes, it gladly pleaſeth all men, denying its own will and conceit to ſatisfie the pleaſure and fancy of others; practiſing that which St. *Peter* injoyned in that precept, *be of one mind, be compaſſionate, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous*; or as St. *Paul* might intend, when he bid us, *χαρίζεσθε ἀλλήλοις, to gratifie, to indulge one another.*

Ὁμόφρονες συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι, φιλόφρονες. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

Eph. 4. 32. Col. 3. 13.

IX. Love of our neighbour doth imply readineſs upon all occaſions to do him good, to promote and advance his benefit in all kinds.

It doth not reſt in good opinions of mind, and good affections of hearts, but from thoſe roots doth put forth abundant fruits of real beneficence; it will not be ſatisfied with faint deſires, or ſluggiſh wiſhes, but will be up and doing what it can for its neighbour.

Love is ſtrong as death. Cant. 8. 6.

Love is a buſie and active, a vigorous and ſprightful, a couragious and induſtrious diſpoſition of ſoul; which will prompt a man, and puſh him forward to undertake or undergo any thing, to endure pains, to encounter dangers, to ſurmount difficulties for the good of its object.

1 Joh. 3. 8. Jam. 2. 16.

Such is true charity; it will diſpoſe us *to love*, as St. *John* preſcribeth, ἔργῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, *in work and in truth*; not only in mental deſire, but in effectual performance; not only in verbal pretence, but in real effect.

Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε τῶν ἀσθενούντων. Acts 20. 35. Ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Παραμυθεῖσθε τὰς ὀλιγοψύχους

Hence charity will render a man a general benefactor, in all matters, upon all occaſions; affording to his neighbour all kinds of aſſiſtance and relief, according to his neighbour's need, and his own ability: It will make him a bountiful diſpenſer of his goods to the poor, a comforter of the afflicted, a viſiter of the ſick, an inſtructer of the ignorant, an adviſer of the doubtful, a protector of the oppreſſed, an hoſpitable entertainer of ſtrangers, a reconciler of differences, an interceſſor for offenders,

offenders, an advocate of thoſe who need defence, a ſuccourer of all that want help. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14.

The practice of *Job* deſcribeth its nature; *I* (ſaith he) *delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him: The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me, and I cauſed the widows heart to ſing for joy. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor, and the cauſe which I knew not I ſearched out; and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the ſpoil out of his teeth. If I have held the poor from their deſire, or have cauſed the eyes of the widow to fail; or have eaten my morſel my ſelf alone, and the fatherleſs hath not eaten thereof; if I have ſeen any periſh for want of cloathing, or any poor without covering. The ſtranger did not lodge in the ſtreet; but I opened my doors to the traveller.* Job 29. 17. Job 31. 32. Job 29. 12.— Job 32. 16.— Job. 32. 32.

Such is a charitable man; the ſun is not more liberal of his light and warmth, than he is of beneficial influence.

He doth not ſpare his ſubſtance, being *rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing to communicate:* And where his eſtate faileth, yet the contribution of his endeavour will not be wanting; he will be ready to draw and preſs others to beneficence; ſo doing good not only according to his power, but in a manner beyond it, making the ability of others to ſupply his own weakneſs, and being liberal with their wealth. The deſcription of *Cimon* is a good character of a charitable man, *Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit.* Corn. Nep. *in* Cimone.

Thus may the pooreſt men be great benefactors; ſo the poor Apoſtles who *had nothing, yet did enrich many*; not only in ſpiritual treaſure, but taking care for ſupply of the poor, by their precepts and moving exhortations; and he that *had not where to lay his head*, was the moſt bountiful perſon that ever was; *for our ſake he became poor, that we by his poverty might be made rich.* (1 Cor. 4. 11.) 2 Cor. 6. 10. ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες. 2 Cor. 8. 9.

In all kinds charity diſpoſeth to further our neighbour's good, but eſpecially in the concerns of his ſoul; the which as incomparably they do ſurpaſs all others, ſo it is the trueſt and nobleſt charity to promote them.

It will incline us *to draw forth our ſoul to the hungry, and to ſatisfie the afflicted ſoul; to bring the poor that are caſt out to our houſe; to cover the naked, to looſe the bands of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burthens, to let the oppreſſed go free, to break every yoke*; to ſupply any corporal indigency, to relieve any temporal diſtreſs; but eſpecially it will induce to make proviſion for the ſoul, to relieve the ſpiritual needs of our neighbour; by affording him good inſtruction, and taking care that he be informed in his duty, or conducted in his way to happineſs; by admonition and exhortation quickning, encouraging, *provoking*, ſpurring him *to good works*; by reſolving him in his doubts, and comforting him in his troubles of conſcience; (*lifting up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees*) by ſeaſonable and prudent reproof; by all ways *ſerving to convert him from the error of his way*; and ſo *ſaving a ſoul from death, and hiding a multitude of ſins*; which is the proper work of charity; for *charity* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *covereth a multitude of ſins.* Iſa. 58. 7,— 10. Ezek. 18. 16. Εἰς παροξυσμὸν χαλῶν ἐργων Heb. 10. 24. Heb. 12. 12. ἀνορθώσατε. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Jam. 5. 20. 1 Pet. 4. 8. Prov. 10. 12.

This was the charity of our Saviour, *He went about doing good*, healing the bodily infirmities, (*every ſickneſs and every diſeaſe among the people*) ſatisfying their bodily neceſſities, comforting them in their worldly diſtreſſes, ſo far as to perform great miracles for thoſe purpoſes (curing inveterate maladies, reſtoring limbs and ſenſes, raiſing the dead, multiplying loaves and fiſhes) but his charity was chiefly exerciſed in ſpiritual beneficence; in pourveying ſuſtenance and comfort for their ſouls, in feeding their minds by wholſome inſtruction, in curing their ſpiritual diſtempers, in correcting their ignorances and errors, in exciting them to duty by powerful advices and exhortations, in ſupporting them by heavenly conſolations againſt temptations and troubles. Acts 10. 38. Matt. 4. 23. 9. 35. Joh. 14. 1. 15. 11.— 16. 33. Matt. 5. 10.—

Thus alſo did the charity of the holy apoſtles principally exert it ſelf: They did not neglect affording relief to the outward needs of men; they did take care by earneſt interceſſion and exhortation for ſupport of the poor; but eſpecially they did labour to promote the ſpiritual benefit of men; for this they did undertake ſo many cares, and toils, and travels; for this they did undergo ſo many hardſhips, ſo many hazards, ſo many difficulties and troubles; *Therefore* (ſaid St. Acts 3. 6. 5. 15, 16. 8. 7. 28. 8, 9. Acts 20. 35.—Rom. 15. 26. 1 Cor. 16. 1. Gal. 2. 10. 2 Cor. 8. 7.—2 Cor. 9. 1.— 1 Tim. 6. 18. Heb. 13. 16. 2 Tim. 2. 10.

St. *Paul*) *I endure all things for the elects ſake, that they may alſo obtain the ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus, with eternal glory.*

X. This indeed is a property of charity to make a man deny himſelf, to neglect his own intereſt, yea, to deſpiſe all ſelfiſh regards for the benefit of his neighbour; to him that is inſpired with charity his own good is not good, when it ſtandeth in competition with the more conſiderable good of another; nothing is ſo dear to him, which he gladly will not part with upon ſuch conſiderations.

Liberty is a precious thing, which every man gladly would enjoy, yet how little did St. *Paul*'s charity regard it? How abſolutely did he abandon it for his neighbour's good? *Though* (ſaid he) *I am free from all men, yet I have made my ſelf ſervant* (or have enſlaved my ſelf) *unto all, that I might gain the more:* And he did expreſs much ſatisfaction in the bonds which he bare for the good of his brethren. *I Paul* (ſaith he) *the priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt for you Gentiles;— I ſuffer trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds;—— endure all things for the elects ſake.*

Πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα. 1 Cor. 9. 19. Phil. 1. 12. Eph. 3. 1, 13. 2 Tim. 2. 9, 10.

Every man loveth his own humour, and would pleaſe himſelf; but the charity of St. *Paul* did rather chuſe *to pleaſe all men; making him all things to all men, that by all means he might ſave ſome*; and the Rule he commended to others, and impoſed on himſelf, was this, *We that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves.*

1 Cor. 9. 33. 1 Cor. 10. 22. Rom. 15. 1.

Profit is the common mark of mens deſigns and endeavours; but charity often doth not aim thereat, but waveth it for its neighbour's advantage; for μὴ σκοπεῖτε, *Aim not every man at his own things, but every man alſo at the things of others,* is St. *Paul*'s Rule; and, *not to ſeek his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be ſaved,* was his practice.

Phil. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 10. 24.

To ſuffer is grievous to human nature, and every man would ſhun it; but charity not only doth ſupport it, but joyeth in it, when it conduceth to its neighbour's advantage; *I rejoyce,* ſaid that charitable Apoſtle, *in my ſufferings for you.*

Col. 1. 24. 2 Cor. 1. 4, 6. 7. 4.

Eaſe is a thing generally deſirable and acceptable; but charity doth part with it, embracing labour, watchings, travels and troubles for its neighbour's good: upon this account did the holy Apoſtles undertake *abundant labours* (as St. *Paul* telleth us) and *to this end* (ſaith he) *do I labour, ſtriving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily*; to what end? *That we may preſent every man perfect in Chriſt Jeſus*: This is that κόπος ἀγάπης, that *labour of love,* which they did commend in others, and ſo notably themſelves exerciſe.

1 Theſſ. 2. 9. 2 Theſſ. 3. 8. 2 Cor. 11. 23. 6. 5. Εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος. Col. 1. 29. Acts 21. 31, 35. Heb. 6. 7. 1 Theſſ. 1. 3.

Life of all things, is held moſt precious and dear; yet *this* charity upon urgent occaſions, will expoſe, will ſacrifice for its neighbour's good: *This* (our Lord telleth us) *is the greateſt love any man can expreſs to his friend*; and the higheſt inſtance that ever was of charity, was herein ſhewed; the imitation whereof St. *John* doth not doubt to recommend to us; *In this* (ſaith he) *have we known the love of God, becauſe he hath laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our life for the brethren*; and St. *Paul, Walk in love, even as Chriſt loved us, and gave himſelf for us an offering and ſacrifice to God*; the which Precept he backed with his own example, *I* (ſaith he) *very gladly will ſpend and be ſpent for your ſouls*; and, *If I be offered upon the ſacrifice and ſervice of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all*; and, *being affectionately deſirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you not the Goſpel of God only, but alſo our own ſouls, becauſe ye were dear unto us.*

Joh. 15. 13. 1 Joh. 3. 16. Joh. 15. 12. Eph. 5. 2. 2 Cor. 12. 15. Phil. 2. 17. 1 Theſſ. 2. 8.

Reputation to ſome, is more dear than life, and 'tis worſe than death, to be held a malefactor, to be loaded with odious reproaches, to have an infamous character; yet charity will engage men hereto, willingly to ſuſtain the moſt grievous obloquy and diſgrace; for this the ſame heroical Apoſtles did paſs through *honour and diſhonour, through evil report and good report, as deceivers; and yet true;—* for this they *were made a ſpectacle to the world, as fools, as weak, as deſpicable;*— were *reviled, defamed, made as the filth of the world, and off-ſcouring of all things.* For this St. *Paul* was content to *ſuffer as a malefactor.* So there was nothing which charity will not deny it ſelf, and loſe for the good of its neighbour.

2 Cor. 6. 8. 1 Cor. 4. 9. 10. 13. 2 Tim. 2. 9. ὡς κακοῦργος.

XI. It is a property of love not to ſtand upon diſtinctions and nice reſpects, but to be condeſcenſive, and willing to perform the meaneſt offices, needful or uſeful for the good of its friend.

He that truly loveth is a voluntary ſervant, and gladly will ſtoop to any employment, for which the need, or conſiderable benefit of him whom he loveth doth call.

So the greateſt ſouls, and the moſt glorious beings, the which are moſt endewed with charity, by it are diſpoſed with greateſt readineſs to ſerve their inferiors.

This made St. *Paul* conſtitute himſelf a *ſervant* (we might render it a ſlave) *of all men*, abſolutely devoted to the promoting their intereſts with his utmoſt labour and diligence; undertaking toilſome drudgeries, running about upon errands for them. 1 Cor. 9. 19.

This maketh the bleſſed and glorious Angels (the principalities and powers above) vouchſafe to wait on men, to be the guards of all good men, to be miniſtring ſpirits, *ſent out to miniſter for them who ſhall inherit ſalvation*; not only obedience to God enforceth them, but charity diſpoſeth them gladly to ſerve us, who are ſo much their inferiors; the ſame charity, which produceth joy in them at the converſion of a ſinner. Pſal. 91. 11. 34. 7. Heb. 1. 7, 14. Luke 15. 7, 10. ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων.

This made the Son of God to deſcend from heaven; and lay aſide that *glory which he had with God before the world was*; this made him who was ſo *rich, to become poor, that we by his poverty might be enriched*; this made him *converſe* and demean himſelf among his ſervants, *as he that miniſtred*; this made him to waſh his diſciples feet; thereby deſigning inſtructively to exemplifie the duty and nature of charity, for *If* (ſaid he) *I your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, then ye alſo ought to waſh one anothers feet: for I have given you an example, that ye ſhould do as I have done to you.* Joh. 17. 5. 2 Cor. 8. 9. Luke 22. 27. Mat. 20. 28. Joh. 13. 14.

This maketh God himſelf (*the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity*) to condeſcend ſo far, as to be continually employed in carefully watching over, in providing for, in protecting and aſſiſting us vile and wretched *worms*; for though *he dwelleth on high, yet humbleth he himſelf to behold the things that are in heaven and earth.* This maketh him with ſo much pain and patience to ſupport our infirmities, to bear with our offences, to wait for our converſion; according to that proteſtation in the prophet, *Thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, thou haſt wearied me with thine iniquities.* Iſa. 57. 15. Pſal. 113. 6. (Pſal. 8. 4. 144. 3. Job. 7. 17.) Iſa. 43. 24.

In conformity to this wonderful practice, whoſe actions are the beſt rules and patterns of our deportment, charity ſhould diſpoſe us, according to St. *Paul's* practice, *by love to ſerve one another.* Gal. 5. 13.

Indeed it will not ſuffer any man to look down on another with ſupercilious contempt or neglect; as if he were unworthy or beneath our regard. It it will incline ſuperiors to look on their inferiors (their ſubjects, their ſervants, their meaneſt and pooreſt neighbours) not as beaſts or as ſlaves; but as men, as brethren; as deſcending from the ſame ſtock, as partakers of the common nature and reaſon; as thoſe *who have obtained the like precious faith*; as heirs of the ſame precious promiſes and glorious hopes; as their equals in the beſt things, and in all conſiderable advantages; equals *in God's ſight, and according to our Lord's intent, when he ſaid, *one is your maſter, even Chriſt, and all ye are brethren*; according to St. *Paul's* exhortation to *Philemon*, that he would receive *Oneſimus, not now as a ſervant, but above a ſervant, a brother beloved in the Lord.* Job 31. 13, 14, 15. 2 Pet. 1. 1. *Eph. 6. 9. Col. 4. 1. Mat. 23. 9. Philem. 16.

Accordingly charity will diſpoſe men of rank in their behaviour to be condeſcenſive, lowly, meek, courteous, obliging and helpful to thoſe, who in humane eye or in worldly ſtate are moſt below them; remembring that ordinance of our Lord, charged on all his Diſciples, and enforced by his own pattern, *He that is greateſt among you, let him be your ſervant.* Mat. 23. 11. Luke 22. 27.

Love indeed is the great leveller, which in a manner ſetteth all things on even ground, and reduceth to a juſt poiſe; which bringeth down heaven to earth, and raiſeth up earth to heaven; which inclineth the higheſt to wait upon the loweſt, which engageth the ſtrength of the mightieſt to help the weakeſt, and the wealth of the richeſt to ſupply the pooreſt, ὅπως γένηται) ἰσότης, that *there may be an equality*; that no where there may be an uſeleſs abundance, or a helpleſs indigence. *Amicitia pares invenit, aut facit.* 2 Cor. 8. 14.

XII. Charity

XII. Charity doth regulate our dealing, our deportment, our converſation toward our neighbour, implying good uſage, and fair treatment of him on all occaſions; for no man doth handle that which he loveth rudely or roughly, ſo as to endanger the loſs, the detriment, the hurt or offence thereof.

Wherefore the language of charity is ſoft and ſweet, not wounding the heart, nor grating on the ear of any with whom a man converſeth; like the language of
Prov. 15. 26. which the wiſeman ſaith, *The words of the pure are pleaſant words*;—ſuch as are
Prov. 16. 24. *ſweet to the ſoul, and health to the bones*; and, *The words of a wiſe man's*
Eccleſ. 10. 12. *mouth are gracious*; ſuch as our Lord's were, λόγοι χάριτος, *words of grace*; ſuch
Luke 4. 22. as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, *Let your ſpeech be always*, ἐν χάριτι, *with grace*—
Col. 4. 6. ἵνα δῶ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούσι. ſuch as may *give grace to the hearers*; being entertained, not with averſation, but with favourable acceptance.

Eph. 4. 29. Its carriage is gentle, courteous, benign; bearing in it marks of affection and kind reſpect.

Its dealing is equal, moderate, fair, yielding no occaſion of diſguſt, or complaint; not catching at, or taking advantages, not meeting hard meaſure.

It doth not foſter any bad paſſion or humour, which may embitter or ſour converſation, ſo that it rendreth a man continually good company.

If a man be harſh or ſurly in his diſcourſe, rugged or rude in his demeanor, hard and rigorous in his dealing, it is a certain argument of his defect in charity; for that calmeth and ſweetneth the mind, it quaſheth keen, fierce, and boiſterous paſſions; it diſcardeth thoſe conceits, and thoſe humours, from whence ſuch practice doth iſſue.

1 Cor. 13. 5. *Charity* (ſaith St. *Paul*) ἀσχημονεῖ, *behaveth not it ſelf unhandſomely*; is not untoward, unſeemly, uncivil, or clowniſh in word, or in carriage, or in deed; it is in truth the moſt civilizing, and moſt poliſhing diſpoſition that can be: Nothing doth render a man ſo compleatly gentile; not in an affected, or artificial way, (conſiſting in certain poſtures or motions of body; (dopping, cringing, &c.) in forms of expreſſion, or modiſh addreſſes, which men learn like parrots, and vent by rote, uſually not meaning any thing by them, often with them diſguiſing fraud and rancour) but in a real and natural manner, ſuggeſted by good judgment and hearty affection.

A charitable man may perhaps not be guilty of courtſhip, or may be unpractiſed in the modes of addreſs; but he will not be deficient in the ſubſtance of paying every man proper and due reſpect: This indeed is true courteſie, grounded on reaſon, and proceeding from the heart, which therefore is far more genuine, more ſolid, more ſteady, than that which is built on faſhion, and iſſueth from affectation; the which indeed only doth ape or counterfeit the deportment of charity; for what a charitable man truly is, that a gallant would ſeem to be.

Such are the properties of charity.

There be alſo farther many particular acts, which have a very cloſe alliance to it; being ever coherent with it, or ſpringing from it; which are recommended to us by precepts in the holy Scripture; the which it will be convenient to mention.

1. It is a proper act of charity to forbear anger upon provocation, or to repreſs its motions, to reſent injuries and diſcourteſies either not at all, or very calmly and mildly: for

1 Cor. 13. 5. Charity οὐ παροξύνεται, *is not eaſily provoked.*
℣. 4. Charity μακροθυμεῖ, *ſuffereth long and is kind.*
℣. 7. Charity πάντα ὑπομένει, *doth endure all things.*

Anger is a violent inſurrection of the mind againſt a perſon; but love is not apt to riſe up in oppoſition againſt any; anger is an intemperate heat, love hath a pure warmth quite of another nature; as natural heat is from a fever; or as the heat of the ſun from that of a culinary fire; which putteth that out, as the ſun beams do extinguiſh a culinary fire; anger hath an ὄρεξις ἀμύνης, *an appetite of revenge*, or
Rom. 13. 10. doing miſchief to the object of it; but love is innocent *and worketh no evil.*

Love diſpoſeth, if our neighbour doth misbehave himſelf toward us (by wrongful uſage, or unkind carriage) to be ſorry for him, and to pity him, which are paſſions contrary to anger; and ſlaking the violences of it.

Cant. 8. 7. It is ſaid in the *Canticles*, *Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it:* Charity would hold out againſt many neglects, many provocations.

Hence

Hence the precepts, *Walk with all lowlineſs, and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love: Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking be put away from you, with all malice: Put off anger, wrath, malice,* &c. * *Be ſlow to wrath.* Ἀνέχεσθε ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ. Eph. 4. 1, 2. Eph. 4. 31. 1 Theſſ. 1. 14. μακροθ. Col. 3. 8. * Jam. 1. 19.

2. It is a proper act of charity to remit offences, ſuppreſſing all deſigns of revenge, and not retaining any grudge: For, 1 Cor. 13. 7.

Charity, πάντα στέγει, *doth cover all things,* and in this ſenſe doth *hide a multitude of ſins:* All diſpoſitions, all intents to do harm are inconſiſtent with it, are quite repugnant to it. Prov. 10. 12. 1 Pet. 4. 8. Jam. 5. 20.

Hence thoſe precepts, *Put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man hath a quarrel againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye: Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſt's ſake hath forgiven you: See that none render evil for evil, but ever follow that which is good both among your ſelves and to all men:* And many the like precepts occur in the goſpels, the apoſtolical writings; yea even in the old Teſtament, wherein charity did not run in ſo high a ſtrain. Col. 3. 12, 13. μεμφὴν. Eph. 4. 32. 1 Theſſ. 5. 15. 1 Pet. 3. 8. Rom. 12. 17. Matt. 6. 14. 5. 44. Prov. 20. 22. 25. 21.

3. It is a duty coherent with charity, to maintain concord and peace, to abſtain from contention and ſtrife; together with the ſources of them, pride, envy, emulation, malice.

We are commanded to be σύμψυχοι, and ὁμόφρονες, *of one ſoul, of one mind* (like *the multitude of believers* in the *Acts*, who *had one heart and one ſoul*) that we ſhould *keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace*; that we ſhould be *of one accord, of one mind, ſtanding faſt in one ſpirit, with one mind*; that we ſhould *all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among us, but that we be perfectly joined together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment:* That there be no factions, or *ſchiſms in the body*: That all diſſenſions, all clamours, all murmurings, all emulations ſhould be abandoned and put away from us; that we ſhould *purſue and maintain peace with all men:* Obedience to which commands can only be the reſult of charity, eſteeming the perſon and judgment of our neighbour; deſiring his good will, tendring his good; curbing thoſe fleſhly luſts, and thoſe fierce paſſions, from the predominancy whereof diſcords and ſtrifes do ſpring. Phil. 2. 2. 1 Pet. 3. 8. Acts 4. 32. Eph. 4. 3. Phil. 2. 2. 1. 27. 1 Cor. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Rom. 15. 5, 6. 12. 16. Phil. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 12. 25. 11. 18. 1. 11. 3. 3. 2 Cor. 12. 20. Phil. 2. 14. Heb. 12. 14. Rom. 12. 18. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Jam. 4. 1. 1 Cor. 3. 3. Gal. 5. 20. 1 Tim. 6. 4.

4. Another charitable practice is, being candid in opinion, and mild in cenſure about our neighbour and his actions; having a good conceit of his perſon, and repreſenting him to our ſelves under the beſt character we can; making the moſt favourable conſtruction of his words, and the faireſt interpretation of his deſigns.

Charity diſpoſeth us to entertain a good opinion of our neighbour, for deſiring his good we ſhall be concerned for him, and prejudiced (as it were) on his ſide; being unwilling to diſcover any blemiſh in him to our own diſappointment and regret.

Love cannot ſubſiſt without eſteem; and it would not willingly by deſtroying that loſe its own ſubſiſtence.

Love would preſerve any good of its friend, and th[illegible]efore his reputation, which is a good in it ſelf precious, and ever very dear to him.

Love would beſtow any good, and therefore its eſteem; which is a conſiderable good.

Harſh cenſure is a very rude kind of treatment, grievouſly vexing a man, and really hurting him; charity therefore will not be guilty of it.

It diſpoſeth rather to overſee, and connive at faults, than to find them, or to pore on them; rather to hide an[illegible]nother, than to diſcloſe or divulge them; rather to extenuate and excuſe, than to exaggerate or aggravate them.

Are words capable of a good ſenſe? Charity will expound them thereto: May an action be imputed to any good intent? Charity will ever refer it thither: Doth a fault admit any plea, apology or diminution? Charity will be ſure to alledge it: May a quality [illegible]name? Charity will call it thereby.

It doth not [illegible]*mpute evil*, or put it to any man's account, beyond [illegible]olute neceſſi[illegible] 1 Cor. 13. 5.

hopeth all [illegible]lieveth all things; hopeth and believeth all things 1 Cor. 13. 7.

for the beſt, in favour to its neighbour, concerning his intentions and actions liable to doubt.

1 Tim. 6. 4. It baniſheth *all evil ſurmiſes*; it rejecteth all ill ſtories, malicious inſinuations, perverſe gloſſes and deſcants.

5. Another charitable practice is to comport with the infirmities of our neighbour according to that rule of St. *Paul*, *We that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves*; and that precept, *Bear one another's burthens, and ſo fulfil the law of Chriſt.*

Ἀντίχεσθε ἀσθενῶν. Acts 20. 35. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Rom. 15. 1. Gal. 6. 2.

Is a man wiſer than his neighbour (or in any caſe freer of defects) charity will diſpoſe to uſe that advantage ſo as not to contemn him, or inſult over him; but to inſtruct him, to help him, to comfort him.

As we deal with children, allowing to the infirmities of their age, bearing their ignorance, frowardneſs, untoward humours, without diſtaſting them; ſo ſhould we with our brethren who labour under any weakneſs of mind or humour.

6. 'Tis an act of charity to abſtain from offending, or ſcandalizing our brethren; by doing any thing, which either may occaſion him to commit ſin, or diſaffect him to religion, or diſcourage him in the practice of duty, (that which St. *Paul* calleth to * *defile* and *ſmite his weak conſcience*) or which any-wiſe may diſcompoſe, vex, and *grieve* him: For, *If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkeſt thou not charitably.*

* Μολύνει. 1 Cor. 10. 7. Τύπτοντες τὴν συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν. 1 Cor. 8. 12. Rom. 14. 15. Οὐκέτι κατὰ ἀγάπην περιπατεῖς. 1 Cor. 10. 32. 8. 13. Rom. 14. 21.

SERMON XXVIII.

Motives and Arguments to Charity.

HEBREWS. X. 24.

Let us conſider one another to provoke unto love, and to good works.

THAT which is here recommended by the apoſtle, as the common duty of Chriſtians toward each other, upon emergent occaſions, with zeal and care to provoke one another to the practice of charity and beneficence, may well be conceived the ſpecial duty of thoſe whoſe office it is to inſtruct and guide others, when opportunity is afforded: With that obligation I ſhall now comply, by repreſenting divers conſiderations ſerving to excite and encourage us to that practice; this (without premiſing any deſcription or explication of the duty; the nature, ſpecial acts and properties whereof I have already declared) I ſhall immediately undertake.

I. Firſt then, I deſire you to remember and conſider that you are men, and as ſuch obliged to this duty; as being very agreeable to humane nature; the which (not being corrupted or diſtempered by ill uſe) doth incline to it, doth call for it, doth like and approve it, doth find ſatisfaction and delight therein.

Rom. 12. 10. St. *Paul* chargeth us to be εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι; or *to have a natural affection one toward another*; that ſuppoſeth a στοργὴ inbred [illegible] ſhould be rowſed up, improved and exerciſed: Such an one indee[illegible]h although often raked up and ſmothered in the common attenda[illegible]oviding for [illegible] needs, and proſecuting our affairs, will upon occaſio[illegible] break forth diſcover it ſelf.

That the conſtitution and frame of our nature diſpoſeth to it, we cannot but feel, when our bowels are touched with a ſenſible pain at the view of any calamitous object, when our fancies are diſturbed at the report of any diſaſter befalling a man; when the ſight of a tragedy wringeth compaſſion and tears from us; which affections we can hardly quaſh by any reflexion, that ſuch events (true or feigned) do not concern our ſelves.

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἕλοιτ' ἂν καθ' αὑτὸν τὰ πάντ' ἔχειν ἀγαθά. Ariſt. *Eth.* 9. 9.

Hence doth nature ſo ſtrongly affect ſociety and abhor ſolitude; for that a man canot enjoy himſelf alone, or find ſatisfaction in any good without a companion; not only for that he then cannot receive, but alſo becauſe he cannot impart aſſiſtance, conſolation and delight in converſe; for men do not affect ſociety only that they may obtain benefits thereby; but as much or more, that they may be enabled to communicate them; nothing being more diſtaſteful than to be always on the taking hand: neither indeed hath any thing a more pleaſant and ſavoury reliſh than to do good; as even *Epicurus*, the great patron of pleaſure did confeſs.

Hominem homini natura conciliat. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Nullius boni ſine ſocio jucunda poſſeſſio eſt. Sen. *Ep.* 6.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος βιωλόγος ζωσθῆναι πάντας ἀλλήλοις, παιζέτω τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκλω, ὡς οὐ τοῦ τὰ πλησίον συμφέροντι τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου δεδέναι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας ἄτω ζωίσκης. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 25.

The practice of benignity, of courteſie, of clemency, do at firſt ſight, without aid of any diſcurſive reflexion, obtain approbation and applauſe from men; being acceptable and amiable to their mind, as beauty to their ſight, harmony to their hearing, fragrancy to their ſmell, and ſweetneſs to their taſte; and correſpondently uncharitable diſpoſitions and practices (malignity, harſhneſs, cruelty,) do offend the mind with a diſguſtful reſentment of them.

We may appeal to the conſcience of each man, if he doth not feel diſſatisfaction in that fierceneſs or frowardneſs of temper, which produceth uncharitableneſs; if we have not a complacence in that ſweet and calm diſpoſition of ſoul, whence charity doth iſſue; if he do not condemn himſelf for the one, and approve himſelf in the other practice.

This is the common judgment of men; and therefore in common language this practice is ſtyled humanity, as beſt ſorting with our nature, and becoming it; and the principle whence it ſpringeth is called good-nature; and the contrary practice is ſtyled inhumanity, as thwarting our natural inclinations, or diveſting us of manhood; and its ſource likewiſe is termed ill-nature, or a corruption of our nature.

Εἰς γὰρ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργα ἀπὸ θεοῦ καλούμεθα. Flavian. CP. *Ep. in* Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 1. (*p.* 111.)

It is therefore a monſtrous paradox, croſſing the common ſenſe of men, which in this looſe and vain world hath lately got ſuch vogue, that all men naturally are enemies one to another: It pretendeth to be grounded on common obſervation and experience; but it is only an obſerving the worſt actions of the worſt men; of diſſolute ruffians, of villainous cheats, of ravenous oppreſſors, of malicious politicians, of ſuch degenerate apoſtates from humanity; by whoſe practice (debauched by vain conceits and naughty cuſtoms) an ill meaſure is taken of mankind: *Ariſtotle* himſelf, who had obſerved things as well as any of theſe men, and with as ſharp a judgment, affirmeth the contrary, that all men are friends, and diſpoſed to entertain friendly correſpondence with one another: Indeed to ſay the contrary is a blaſphemy againſt the author of our nature; and is ſpoken no leſs out of profane enmity againſt him, than out of venomous malignity againſt men: Out of hatred to God and goodneſs they would diſparage and vilifie the nobleſt work of God's creation; yet do they (if we ſound the bottom of their mind) imply themſelves to admire this quality, and by their decrying it do commend it; for it is eaſie to diſcern that therefore only they ſlander mankind as uncapable of goodneſs, becauſe out of malignity they would not allow it ſo excellent a quality.

Οἰκεῖον πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. Ariſt. *Eth.* 8. 1. *Rhet.* 1. 11.

Ἐνίσχυε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς φίλτρῳ τῇ φύσει τῇ ἑαυτέρᾳ, ὥστε ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν. Chryſ. *in* Eph. *Orat.* 2.

Σωθείτωσαν εἰς ὁμογνωμοσύνην ὁ ἀεικοτέχνης θεὸς ἵνα ἐδημιούργησε φύσιν τῇ διαθέσει τὰς λόγῳ διοικουμένους σωίσφιγξι, &c. Proclus Conſtantinopl. *Syn.* Chal. *Act.* 14.

II. Let us conſider what our neighbour is, how near in blood, how like in nature, how much in all conſiderable reſpects the ſame with us he is.

Should any one wrong or defame our brother, we ſhould be diſpleaſed; ſhould we do it our ſelves, or ſhould we omit any office of kindneſs toward him, we ſhould blame our ſelves: Every man is ſuch, of one ſtock, of one blood with us; and as ſuch may challenge and call for real affection from us.

Should any one mar, tear, or deface our picture, or ſhew any kind of diſreſpect thereto, we ſhould be offended, taking it for an indignity put on our ſelves; and as for our ſelves, we ſhould never in ſuch a manner affront or deſpight our ſelves: Every man is ſuch, our moſt lively image, repreſenting us moſt exactly in all the main figures and features of body, of ſoul, of ſtate; we thence do owe reſpect to every one.

Δι' ὁμοιότητος πάντα φιλεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συναπτόμενα. Plato *Symp.*

Every man is another ſelf, partaker of the ſame nature, endewed with the ſame faculties, ſubject to the ſame laws, liable to the ſame fortunes; diſtinguiſhed from us only in accidental and variable circumſtances; whence if we be amiable or eſtimable, ſo is he upon the ſame grounds; and acting impartially (according to right judgment) we ſhould yield love and eſteem to him: By ſlighting, hating, injuring, hurting him we do conſequentially abuſe our ſelves, or acknowledge our ſelves deſervedly liable to the ſame uſage.

Every man, as a Chriſtian, is in a higher and nobler way allied, aſſimilated and identified to us; to him therefore upon the like grounds improved charity is more due; and we wrong our heavenly relations, our better nature, our more conſiderable ſelves, in withholding it from him.

III. Equity doth plainly require charity from us; for every one is ready not only to wiſh and ſeek, but to demand and claim love from others; ſo as to be much offended, and grievouſly to complain if he do not find it.

We do all conceive love and reſpect due to us from all men; we take all men bound to wiſh and tender our welfare, we ſuppoſe our need to require commiſeration and ſuccour from every man; if it be refuſed, we think it a hard caſe, and that we are ill uſed; we cry out of wrong, of diſcourteſie, of inhumanity, of baſeneſs practiſed toward us.

A moderate reſpect and affection will hardly ſatisfie us, we pretend to them in the higheſt degree, diſguſting the leaſt appearance of diſregard or diſaffection; we can ſcarce better digeſt indifference than hatred.

This evidenceth our opinion and conſcience to be, that we ought to pay the greateſt reſpect and kindneſs to our neighbour; for it is plainly unjuſt and ridiculouſly vain, to require that from others, which we refuſe to others, who may demand it upon the ſame title; nor can we without ſelf-condemnation practiſe that which we deteſt in others.

In all reaſon and equity, if I would have another my friend, I muſt be a friend to him; if I pretend to charity from all men, I muſt render it to all in the ſame kind and meaſure.

Matt. 7. Hence is the law of charity well expreſſed in thoſe terms, *of doing to others whatever we would have them do to us*; whereby the palpable equity of this practice is demonſtrated.

IV. Let us conſider that charity is a right noble and worthy thing, greatly perfective of our nature, much dignifying and beautifying our ſoul.

It rendreth a man truly great, enlarging his mind unto a vaſt circumference, and to a capacity near infinite; ſo that it by a general care doth reach all things; by an univerſal affection doth embrace and graſp the world.

By it our reaſon obtaineth a field or ſcope of employment worthy of it, not confined to the ſlender intereſts of one perſon, or one place, but extending to the concerns of all men.

Chryſ. *in* Eph. Or. 9. Charity is the imitation and copy of that immenſe love, which is the fountain of all being and all good; which made all things, which preſerveth the world, which ſuſtaineth every creature; nothing advanceth us ſo near to a reſemblance of him, who is eſſential love and goodneſs; who freely and purely, without any regard to his own advantage, or capacity of finding any beneficial return, doth bear and expreſs the higheſt good-will, with a liberal hand pouring down ſhowers of bounty and mercy on all his creatures: Who daily putteth up numberleſs indignities and injuries; upholding and maintaining thoſe who offend and provoke him.

Ἡμᾶς εἴτις ἐρωτήσειε, τί τὸ τιμώμενον ὑμῖν καὶ θρασκωιόμενον; πρόχειρον εἰπεῖν ἡ ἀγάπη· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡ ἀ ἀγάπη ἐστὶ, φύσις τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τοῦτο χαίρει μᾶλλον ἀκούων ὁ θεὸς, ἢ τι ἄλλο. Naz. Or. 14.

Καθ' ἑκάστην ὑβρίζομεν τὸν ἡμέτερον, θεραπεύει καὶ ὁρῶν, καὶ ἀκούων, καὶ ὅτι σκηπτὸν ἀφῆκε, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Charity rendreth us as angels, or peers to thoſe glorious and bleſſed creatures, who without receiving or expecting any requital from us, do heartily deſire and delight in our good, are ready to promote it, do willingly ſerve and labour for it.

Nothing

Nothing is more amiable, more admirable, more venerable, even in the common eye and opinion of men; it hath in it a beauty and a majesty apt to ravish every heart: Even a spark of it in generosity of dealing breedeth admiration, a glimpse of it in formal courtesie of behaviour procureth much esteem, being deemed to accomplish and adorn a man: How lovely therefore and truly gallant is an intire, sincere, constant and uniform practice thereof, issuing from pure good-will and affection!

Love indeed or goodness (for true love is nothing else but goodness exerting it self, in direction toward objects capable of its influence) is the only amiable and only honourable thing: Power and wit may be admired by some, or have some fond idolaters; but being severed from goodness, or abstracted from their subserviency to it, they cannot obtain real love, they deserve not any esteem; for the worst, the most unhappy, the most odious and contemptible of beings do partake of them in a high measure: The prince of darkness hath more power, and reigneth with absolute sovereignty over more subjects by many than the *great Turk:* One devil may have more wit than all the politick *Achitophels*, and all the profane *Hectors* in the world; yet with all his power and all his wit he is most wretched, most detestable, and most despicable; and such in proportion is every one, who partaketh in his accursed dispositions of malice and uncharitableness. For,

On the other side, uncharitableness is a very mean and base thing: It contracteth a man's soul into a narrow compass, or straitneth it as it were into one point, drawing all his thoughts, his desires, his affections into himself, as to their centre; so that his reason, his will, his activity have but one pitiful object to exercise themselves about: To scrape together a little pelf, to catch a vapour of fame, to prog for a frivolous semblance of power or dignity, to sooth the humour or pamper the sensuality of one poor worm, is the ignoble subject of his busie care and endeavour. Sen. *de Trang.* 3.

By it we debase our selves into an affinity with the meanest things; becoming either like beasts or fiends; like beasts, affecting only our own present sensible good; or like fiends, designing mischief and trouble to others.

It is indeed hard for a man without charity, not to be worse than an innocent beast; not at least to be as a fox, or a wolf; either cunningly lurching, or violently ravening for prey; love only can restrain a man from flying at all, and seising on whatever he meeteth; from biting, from worrying, from devouring every one that is weaker than himself, or who cannot defend himself from his paws and teeth. Ezek. 22. 27.

V. The practice of charity is productive of many great benefits and advantages to us; so that to love our neighbour doth involve the truest love to our selves; and we are not only obliged in duty, but may be encouraged by our interest thereto: Beatitude is often pronounced to it, or to some particular instances of it; and well it may be so, for it indeed will constitute a man happy, producing to him manifold comforts and conveniencies of life: Some whereof we shall touch.

VI. (1.) Charity doth free our souls of all those bad dispositions and passions which vex and disquiet them; from those gloomy passions, which cloud our mind, from those keen passions, which fret our heart, from those tumultuous passions, which ruffle us and discompose the frame of our souls.

Ὁ γὰρ πιθηκος καὶ φθόνου καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ βασκανίας καὶ δόξοσίας καὶ κενοδοξίας, καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ πάσης ἕξεως ἀφέστηκε, καὶ πάντος νοσήματος καθαρεύουσαν τηρεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. *Orat.* 32.

It stifleth anger, (that swoon of reason, transporting a man out of himself) for a man hardly can be incensed against those whom he tenderly loveth: A petty neglect, a hard word, a small discourtesie will not fire a charitable soul; the greatest affront or wrong can hardly kindle rage therein.

It banisheth envy (that severely just vice, which never faileth to punish it self) for no man will repine at his wealth or prosperity, no man will malign his worth or virtue, whose good he charitably desireth and wisheth.

Φθόνος, ὁ δαπάνη τῶν ἰχθίστων, ὁ τῶν πανηγύρεων ἐὼν, τὸ μόνον τῶν παθῶν ἀδιώκητόν τι ἄμα καὶ δικαίωτον, τὸ μὴ ὅτι πᾶσι διακλεῖον τοῖς κακοῖς, τὸ δ' ὅτι τέκνα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 27.

It excludeth rancour and spite, those dispositions which create a hell in our soul; which are directly repugnant to charity, and thereby dispelled as darkness by light, cold by heat.

It

It ſuffereth not revenge (that canker of the heart) to harbour in our breaſt, for who can intend miſchief to him, in whoſe good he delighteth, in whoſe evil he feeleth diſpleaſure?

1 Joh. 4. 18. κόλασιν ἔχει. *Oderunt quem metuunt.*

It avoideth fear, ſuſpicion, jealouſie of miſchief deſigned againſt us; the which paſſions *have torment*, or do puniſh us (as St. *John* ſaith) racking us with anxious expectation of evil; wherefore *there is*, ſaith he, *no fear in love, but perfect love caſteth out fear:* No man indeed is apt to fear him whom he loveth, or is able much to love him whom he feareth; for love eſteemeth its object as innocent, fear apprehendeth it as hurtful; love diſpoſeth to follow and embrace, fear inclineth to decline and ſhun. To ſuſpect a friend therefore is to diſavow him for ſuch; and upon ſlender grounds to conceit ill of him, is to deem him unworthy of our love: The innocence and inoffenſiveneſs of charity, which provoketh no man to do us harm, doth alſo breed great ſecurity and confidence; any man will think he may walk unarmed and unguarded among thoſe to whom he beareth good-will, to whom he neither meaneth, nor doth any harm; being guarded by a good conſcience and ſhielded with innocence.

It removeth diſcontent or diſſatisfaction in our ſtate; the which uſually doth ſpring from ill conceits and ſurmiſes about our neighbour, or from wrathful and ſpiteful affections toward him; for while men have good reſpect and kindneſs for their neighbours, they ſeldom are diſſatisfied in their own condition; they never want comfort, or deſpair of ſuccour.

It curbeth ambition and avarice, thoſe impetuous, thoſe inſatiable, thoſe troubleſome diſpoſitions; for a man will not affect to climb above thoſe, in whoſe honour he findeth ſatisfaction; nor to ſcramble with them for the goods, which he gladly would have them to enjoy; a competency will ſatisfie him, who taketh himſelf but for one among the reſt, and who can as little endure to ſee others want as himſelf: Who would trouble himſelf to get power over thoſe, to o'er-top them in dignity and fame, to ſurpaſs them in wealth, whom he is ready to ſerve in the meaneſt offices of kindneſs, whom he would in honour prefer to himſelf, unto whom he will liberally communicate what he hath for his comfort and relief?

Καλὰ γὰρ τῦ ἀγαπωμένε εἰς ἄντις ἐπαχθείη πόσι. Chryſoſt. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32.

In the prevalence of ſuch bad paſſions and diſpoſitions of ſoul our miſery doth moſt conſiſt, thence the chief troubles and inconveniences of our life do proceed; wherefore charity doth highly deſerve of us in freeing us from them.

VII. (2.) It conſequently doth ſettle our mind in a ſerene, calm, ſweet and chearful ſtate; in an even temper and good humour, and harmonious order of ſoul, which ever will reſult from the evacuation of bad paſſions, from the compoſure of ſuch as are indifferent, from the excitement of thoſe which are good and pleaſant: *The fruits of the ſpirit*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *are love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs* (or benignity:) love precedeth, joy and peace follow as its * conſtant attendants, gentleneſs and benignity come after as its certain effects.

Gal. 5. 22. Eph. 5. 12. Col. 3. 12. * Eldeſt Daughter.

Love indeed is the ſweeteſt of all paſſions, ever accompanied with a ſecret delectation and pleaſant ſenſe; whenever it is placed upon a good object, when it acteth in a rational way, when it is vigorous, it muſt needs yield much joy.

It therefore greatly conduceth to our happineſs, or rather alone doth ſuffice to conſtitute us happy.

VIII. (3.) Charity will preſerve us from divers external miſchiefs and inconveniences, to which our life is expoſed, and which otherwiſe we ſhall incur.

If we have not charity toward men, we ſhall have enmity with them, and upon that do wait troops of miſchief; we ſhall enjoy nothing quietly or ſafely, we ſhall do nothing without oppoſition or contention; no converſation, no commerce will be pleaſant; clamour, obloquy, tumult and trouble will ſurround us, we ſhall live in perpetual danger; the enmity of the meaneſt and weakeſt creature being formidable.

Τίς δ' ἂν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀλόγως μᾶλλον ἀνδρὸς δεῖ μίαν ἀδαμῶς παρέχοντος αἰτίαν ἔχθρας; Clem. *Str.* 7. (*p.* 532.)

Chryſ. *in* 1 Theſſ. *Or.* 4. Καὶ θηρίον σώσῃς ἡμερον, καὶ λίθον, &c.

Οὐδεὶς ἐχθρὸς τῷ παιδεύσαντι. Hier.

Οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τὸν ἀγαπῶμενον μὴ τὸν ἀγαπῶντα. Chryſ. *in* Gen. *Or.* 32.

But all ſuch miſchiefs charity will prevent or remove; damming up the fountains, or extirpating the roots of them: for who will hate a perſon that apparently loveth him; who can be ſo barbarous or baſe as to hurt that man, whom he findeth ever ready to do himſelf good? What brute, what devil can find in his heart to be a foe to him, who is a ſure friend to all? No publican can be ſo wretchedly vile, no ſinner ſo deſtitute of goodneſs; for, *If* (ſaith our Lord,

upon

upon common experience) *you love them which love you, what reward have you, do not even the publicans the same?* And, *If you do good to them which do good to you, what thank have you? For ſinners alſo do even the ſame:* It ſeemeth beyond the greateſt degeneracy and corruption whereof human nature is capable, to requite charity with enmity, yea not to return ſome kindneſs for it: Τίς ὁ κακώσων; *Who* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *is he that will do you hurt, if you be followers of that which is good*; or imitators of him that is good; (of the ſovereign goodneſs?) None ſurely can be ſo unjuſt, or ſo unworthy

Mat. 5. 46.

1 Pet. 3. 13. Ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μιμηταὶ γένησθε.

As charity reſtraineth us from doing any wrong, or yielding any offence to others in thought, in word, in deed; from entertaining any bad conceits without ground, from hatching any miſchievous deſigns againſt our neighbour; from uſing any harſh, virulent, biting language; from any rugged, diſcourteous, diſobliging behaviour; from any wrongful, rigorous, ſevere dealing toward him; from any contemptuous pride, or ſupercilious arrogance; ſo it conſequently will defend us from the like treatment; for ſcarce any man is ſo malicious as without any provocation to do miſchief; no man is ſo incorrigibly ſavage, as to perſiſt in committing outrage upon perfect innocence, joyned with patience, with meekneſs, with courteſie: Charity will melt the hardeſt heart, and charm the fierceſt ſpirit; it will bind the moſt violent hand, it will ſtill the moſt obſtreperous tongue, it will reconcile the moſt offended, moſt prejudiced heart: It is the beſt guard that can be of our ſafety from aſſaults, of our intereſt from damage, of our reputation from ſlander, detraction and reproach.

Vincit malos pertinax bonitas. Sen.

Carbones ignis congregabis ſuper caput ejus; non in maledictum & condemnationem, ut plerique exiſtimant, ſed in correctionem & pœnitudinem; ut ſuperatus beneficiis, excoctus fervore charitatis, inimicus eſſe deſiſtat. Hier. *in* Pelag. 1. c. 9.

If you would have examples of this, experience will afford many, and ſome we have in the ſacred records commended to our obſervation; *Eſau* was a rough man, and one who had been exceedingly provoked by his brother *Jacob*, yet how did meek and reſpectful demeanor overcome him! ſo that *Eſau* (it is ſaid in the hiſtory) *ran to meet him* (*Jacob*,) *and fell on his neck, and kiſſed him, and they wept.*

Gen. 32. 20.

Gen. 33. 4.

Saul was a man poſſeſſed with a furious envy and ſpite againſt *David*; yet into what expreſſions did the ſenſe of his kind dealing force him! *Is this thy voice, my ſon David?— Thou art more righteous than I; for thou haſt rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil,— behold I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly.* So doth charity ſubdue and triumph over the moſt inveterate prejudices, and the moſt violent paſſions of men.

1 Sam. 24. 16, 17. 26. 17, 21.

If peace and quiet be deſirable things, as certainly they are, and that form implyeth, when by wiſhing peace with men, we are underſtood to wiſh all good to them, it is charity only that preſerveth them; which more ſurely than any power or policy doth quaſh all war and ſtrife; for war muſt have parties, and ſtrife implieth reſiſtance, be it the firſt or ſecond blow which maketh the fray, charity will avoid it; for it neither will ſtrike the firſt in offence, nor the ſecond in revenge. Charity therefore may well be ſtyled *the band of peace*, it being that only which can knit mens ſouls together, and keep them from breaking out into diſſenſions.

Cadit ſtatim ſimultas ab altera parte deſerta— Sen. *de Ir.* 2. 34.

Eph. 4. 3.

It alone is that which will prevent bickering and claſhing about points of credit or intereſt; if we love not our neighbour, or tender not his good as our own, we ſhall be ever in competition and debate with him about thoſe things, not ſuffering him to enjoy any thing quietly; ſtruggling to get above him, ſcrambling with him for what is to be had.

IX. (4.) As charity preſerveth from miſchiefs, ſo it procureth many ſweet comforts and fair accommodations of life.

Friendſhip is a moſt uſeful and pleaſant thing; and charity will conciliate good ſtore thereof; it is apt to make all men friends, for love is the only general philtre and effectual charm of ſouls; the fire which kindleth all it toucheth, and propagateth it ſelf in every capable ſubject; and ſuch a ſubject is every man in whom humanity is not quite extinct, and hardly can any ſuch man be, ſeeing every man hath ſome good humour in him, ſome blood, ſome kindly juice flowing in his veins; no man wholly doth conſiſt of dusky melancholy, or fiery choler; whence all men may be preſumed liable to the powerful impreſſions of charity; its mild and ſerene countenance, its ſweet and gentle ſpeech, its courteous and obliging geſture, its fair dealing, its benign converſation, its readineſs to do any good or ſervice to any man, will inſinuate good-will and reſpect into all hearts.

Ego tibi monſtrabo amatorium ſine medicamento, ſine herba, ſine ullius venefici carmine, ſi vis amari, ama. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

It

It thence will encompaſs a man with friends, with many guards of his ſafety, with many ſupports of his fortune, with many patrons of his reputation, with many ſuccourers of his neceſſity, with many comforters of his affliction: For is a charitable man in danger, who will not defend him? Is he falling, who will not uphold him? Is he falſly accuſed or aſperſed, who will not vindicate him? Is he in diſtreſs, who will not pity him, who will not endeavour to relieve and reſtore him? Who will inſult over his calamity? Will it not in ſuch caſes appear a common duty, a common intereſt to aſſiſt and countenance a common friend, a common benefactor to mankind?

Whereas moſt of our life is ſpent in ſociety and diſcourſe, charity is that which doth ſeaſon and ſweeten theſe, rendring them grateful to others, and commodious to ones ſelf; for a charitable heart is a ſweet ſpring, ſtom whence do iſſue ſtreams of wholſome and pleaſant diſcourſe; it not being troubled with any bad paſſion or deſign, which may ſour or foul converſation, doth ever make him good company to others, and rendreth them ſuch to himſelf, which is a mighty convenience.

Prov. 15. 26. 16. 24.

Τῷ γλῶ ὅτως ὡς τ μεγὴν οἰκέσει, πανταχῆ γαλήνης ἀπελαύων, τ μυρίας ἑαυτῷ πλέκων ςεφάνας. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 32.

In ſhort, a charitable man, or, *true lover of men*, *will* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *inhabit earth as a heaven*, *every where carrying a ſerenity with him*, *and plaiting ten thouſand crowns for himſelf.* Again,

X. (5.) Charity doth in every eſtate yield advantages ſuitable thereto; bettering it, and improving it to our benefit.

It rendreth proſperity not only innocent and ſafe, but uſeful and fruitful to us; we then indeed enjoy it, if we feel the comfort of doing good by it: It ſolaceth adverſity, conſidering that it doth not ariſe as a puniſhment or fruit of ill-doing to others; that it is not attended with the deſerved ill-will of men, that no man hath reaſon to delight for it, or inſult over us therein; that we may probably expect commiſeration and relief, having been ready to ſhew the like to others.

It tempereth both ſtates; for in proſperity a man cannot be tranſported with immoderate joy, when ſo many objects of pity and grief do preſent themſelves before him, which he is apt deeply to reſent; in proſperity he cannot be dejected with extreme ſorrow, being refreſhed by ſo many good ſucceſſes befalling thoſe whom he loveth: One condition will not puff him up, being ſenſible of his neighbour's miſery; the other will not ſink him down, having complacence in his neighbour's welfare. Uncharitableneſs (proceeding from contrary cauſes, and producing contrary effects) doth ſpoil all conditions, rendring proſperity fruitleſs, and adverſity comfortleſs.

XI. (6.) We may conſider, that ſecluding the exerciſe of charity, all the goods and advantages we have (our beſt faculties of nature, our beſt endowments of ſoul, the gifts of providence, and the fruits of our induſtry) will become vain and fruitleſs, or noxious and bainful to us; for what is our reaſon worth, what doth it ſignifie, if it ſerveth only for contriving ſorry deſigns, or tranſacting petty affairs about our ſelves? What is wit good for, if it muſt be ſpent only in making ſport, or hatching miſchief? To what purpoſe is knowledge, if it be not applied to the inſtruction, direction, admonition or conſolation of others? What mattereth abundance of wealth, if it be to be uſeleſly hoarded up, or vainly flung away, in wicked or wanton profuſeneſs; if it be not employed in affording ſuccour to our neighbour's indigency and diſtreſs? What is our credit but a mere noiſe or a puff of air, if we do not give a ſolidity and ſubſtance to it, by making it an engine of doing good? What is our virtue it ſelf, if it be buried in obſcurity, or choaked with idleneſs, yielding no benefit to others by the luſtre of its example, or by its real influence? What is any talent if it be wrapped up in a napkin, any light, if it be hid under a buſhel; any thing private, if it be not by good uſe ſpread out and improved to publick benefit? If theſe gifts do miniſter only to our own particular advantage, to our perſonal convenience, glory or pleaſure, how ſlim things are they, how inconſiderable is their worth?

Paulum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ Celata virtus. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9.

But they being managed by charity, become precious and excellent things; they are great in proportion to the greatneſs of their uſe, or the extent of their beneficial influence: As they carry forth good to the world, ſo they bring back various benefits to our ſelves; they return into our bo[illegible]om laden with reſpect and reward from God and from man; they yield thanks and commendation from without, they work comfort and ſatisfaction within: Yea, which is infinitely more

Luke 6. 38.

conſiderab[illegible]

conſiderable, and enhanceth the price of our gifts to a vaſt rate, they procure glory and bleſſing to God; for *hereby is God glorified, if we bring forth much fruit*; and no good fruit can grow from any other ſtock than that of charity. John 15. 8. Phil. 1. 11. Matt. 5. 16. Prov. 4. 31. 2 Cor. 9. 11. 1 Cor. 13.

Uncharitableneſs therefore ſhould be loathed and ſhunned by us, as that which robbeth us of all our ornaments and advantages; which indeed marreth and corrupteth all our good things, which turneth bleſſings into curſes, and rendreth the means of our welfare to be cauſes of miſchief to us; for without charity a man can have no goods, but goods worldly and temporal; and ſuch goods thence do prove impertinent baubles, burthenſome incumbrances, dangerous ſnares, baneful poiſons to him.

XII. (7.) Charity doth hugely advance and amplifie a man's ſtate, putting him into the poſſeſſion or fruition of all good things: It will endow, enrich, ennoble, embelliſh us with all the world hath of precious, of glorious, of fair; by appropriation thereof to our ſelves, and acquiring of a real intereſt therein. What men commonly out of fond ſelf-love do vainly affect, that infallibly by being charitable they may compaſs, the engroſſing to themſelves all kinds of good: moſt eaſily, moſt innocently, in a compendious and ſure way, without any ſin or blame, without any care or pain, without any danger or trouble, they may come to attain and to enjoy whatever in common eſteem is deſirable or valuable; they may, without greedy avarice, or the carkings, the drudgeries, the diſgraces going with it, procure to themſelves abundant wealth; without fond ambition, or the difficulties, the hazards, the emulations, the ſtrugglings to which it is liable, they may arrive to great honour; without ſordid voluptuouſneſs, or the ſatieties, the maladies, the regrets conſequent thereon, they may enjoy all pleaſure; without any wildneſs or wantonneſs, pride, luxury, ſloth, any of its temptations and ſnares, they may have all proſperity; they may get all learning and wiſdom without laborious ſtudy, all virtue and goodneſs without the fatigues of continual exerciſe: for are not all theſe things yours, if you do eſteem them ſo, if you do make them ſo, by finding much delight and ſatisfaction in them? Doth not your neighbours wealth enrich you, if you feel content in his poſſeſſing and uſing it? Doth not his preferment advance you, if your ſpirit riſeth with it in a gladſome complacence? Doth not his pleaſure delight you, if you reliſh his enjoyment of it? Doth not his proſperity bleſs you, if your heart doth exult and triumph in it? Do not his endowments adorn you, if you like them, if you commend them, if the uſe of them doth miniſter comfort and joy to you? This is the divine magick of charity, which conveyeth all things into our hands, and enſtateth us in a dominion of them, whereof nothing can diſſeiſe us; by virtue whereof *being* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of himſelf) *ſorrowful we yet always rejoyce, having nothing we yet poſſeſs all things.* 2 Cor. 6. 10.

Neither is this property in things merely imaginary or phantaſtick (like that of lunaticks, who fancy themſelves mighty princes, or rich aldermen) but very ſubſtantial and real; yea far more real to the charitable perſon, than it is commonly to thoſe, who in legal or popular account are maſters of them; for how is propriety in things otherwiſe conſiderable, than for the content and pleaſure which they yield to the preſumed owner? The which if a charitable perſon abundantly draweth from them, why are they not truly his? Why is not the tree his, if he can pull and taſte its fruits without injury or blame? Yea doth not the propriety more really belong to him, as to the groſs poſſeſſor, if he doth equally enjoy the benefit, without partaking the inconveniences and impurities adherent to them; if he taſte them innocently, and purely, without being cloyed, without being diſtracted, without being puffed, without being encumbred, enſnared or corrupted by them?

A charitable man therefore can never (in a moral account) be poor, or vile, or any-wiſe miſerable; except all the world ſhould be caſt into penury and diſtreſs; for while his neighbour hath any thing, he will enjoy it; *rejoicing with thoſe that rejoice*, as the apoſtle doth enjoin.

XIII. (8.) If therefore we love our ſelves, we muſt love others, and do others good; charitable beneficence carrying with it ſo many advantages to our ſelves.

We by charitable complacence do partake in their welfare, reaping pleaſure from all the fruits of their induſtry and fortune.

We by charitable aſſiſtance do enable and diſpoſe them to make grateful returns of ſuccour in our need.

We thence aſſuredly ſhall obtain their good-will, their eſteem, their commendation: we ſhall maintain peaceable and comfortable intercourſe with them, in ſafety, in quiet, in good humour and cheer.

Beſides all other benefits we ſhall get that of their prayers; the which of all prayers have a moſt favourable audience and aſſured efficacy: for if the complaints and curſes of thoſe who are oppreſſed or neglected by uncharitable dealing, do certainly reach God's ears, and pull down vengeance from above; how much more will the interceſſions and bleſſings of the poor pierce the heavens, and thence draw recompence; ſeeing God is more ready to perform his proper and pleaſant works of bounty and mercy, than to execute his *ſtrange* and unpleaſing *work* of puniſhment; eſpecially the bleſſings of the poor being always accompanied with praiſes and glorifications of him, who enableth and diſpoſeth men to do good; the which praiſes will ever be reckoned on the account of him who drew them forth by his beneficence; it will be (as the apoſtle ſaith) *fruit redounding to his account*; while *it aboundeth by many thankſgivings to God.*

Jam. 5. 4. Deut. 24. 15. Eccius. 4. 6.

Pſal. 62. 12. Mic. 7. 18. Iſa 28. 21.

Phil. 4. 17. 2 Cor. 9. 11. 8. 19.

So in virtue of charity the pooreſt man amply may requite the wealthieſt; and a peaſant may out-do the greateſt prince in beneficence.

XIV. We may conſider, that charity is a practice ſpecially grateful to God, and a moſt excellent part of our duty; not only becauſe he hath commanded it as ſuch with greateſt earneſtneſs; nor only becauſe it doth conſtitute us in neareſt reſemblance of him, but as a peculiar expreſſion of love and good-will toward him; for if we love him, we muſt for his ſake have a kindneſs for his friends, we muſt tender his intereſts, we muſt favour his reputation, we muſt deſire his content and pleaſure, we muſt contribute our endeavours toward the furtherance of theſe his concerns: Seeing then God is an aſſured friend to all men, ſeeing he hath a property in all men (for he is God and Lord of all) ſeeing he much concerneth himſelf for all mens welfare; ſeeing from the Proſperity, from the virtue, from the happineſs of every man he gaineth honour and praiſe; ſeeing he is greatly ſatisfied and delighted in the good of men, we alſo muſt love them; otherwiſe we greatly ſhall diſoblige and diſguſt him.

Ezek. 18.

Is it not indeed a practice guilty of notorious enmity toward him, inconſiſtent with the maintenance of any friendſhip or peace with him, to diſcord in affection from him, maligning or diſaffecting thoſe whom he dearly loveth and favoureth, who are ſo nearly allied to him by manifold relations, as his creatures, his ſubjects, his ſervants, his children, whom he deſigneth and deſireth to crown with eternal glory and bliſs?

Ὅταν συγγῇ τις ἀνδρὶ, ἢ θεὸς φιλεῖ, ἢ σὺ μισεῖς μισεῖται καλεπτάγῃ, φανερῶς γὰρ αὐτὸ τῷ θεῷ κορύσσεις. Vid. Anthol. *Δεῖ γὰρ φιλεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ.* Chryſ. in 1 Cor. Or. 32.

XV. Seeing God vouchſafeth to eſteem whatever is done in charity to our neighbour (if done with an honeſt and pious mind, as to his friends) to be done unto himſelf; that in feeding our indigent neighbour, we refreſh him; in cloathing our neighbour, we comfort him; we do by charitable beneficence oblige God, and become in a manner benefactors to him; and as ſuch aſſuredly ſhall be requited by him; and is not this a high privilege, a great honour, a mighty advantage to us? If a man had opportunity to do that, which his prince would acknowledge a courteſie and obligation to him, what a happineſs would he account it? And how far more conſiderable is it, that we can ſo eaſily do that which the Lord of all, in whoſe diſpoſal all things are, will take ſo kindly at our hands?

Rom. 12. 8.

Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη μὴ τὸ κέρδος ποιλλῶ ἔχει ἢ τὴ ἡδονὴ, ἢ ποῖον κέρδος ——— Chryſ. in 1 Cor. Or. 32.

XVI. We may conſider, that charity is a very feaſible and very eaſie duty; it requireth no ſore pain, no grievous trouble, no great coſt; for it conſiſteth only in good-will, and that which naturally ſpringeth thence; willingneſs and chearfulneſs are neceſſary ingredients or adjuncts of it, the which imply facility: whence the weakeſt and pooreſt man is no leſs able to perform it than the greateſt potentate; his heart may be as charitable, though his hand cannot be ſo liberal; one of the moſt noble and moſt famous charities that ever was, was the giving two mites; and the *giving a cup of cold water* is the inſtance of that beneficence, which ſhall not fail of being rewarded.

2 Cor. 9. 7. 8. 12.

Ποῖος πένης μὴ κἂν χῶς πένης εἶναι; ποῖα δυσκολία ἀπαλλαγῆναι φύσεως καὶ βαρυθυμίας; ποῖος μοχθηρὸς μὴ κακὸς εἶναι μόνον; ——Chryſ. Ἀνὸρ. ἡ.

Luke 21. 2. Matt. 10. 42.

At nunc cum omnia quæ difficiliora ſunt vel modica ex parte faciamus, hoc ſolum non facimus quod & facta facilius eſt, & abſque quæ caſſa ſunt univerſa quæ ſacimus: Jejunii corpus ſentit injuriam, vigilia carnem macerant ——— *hæc omnia ſunt qui faciant, ſola charitas ſine labore* Hier. in Gal. 5. 13.

XVII

XVII. We may conſider, that charity is the beſt, the moſt aſſured, the moſt eaſie and expedite way, or inſtrument of performing all other duties toward our neighbour: If we would diſpatch, love, and all is done; if we would be perfect in obedience, love, and we ſhall not fail in any point; for *love is the fulfilling of the law*; love *is the bond of perfectneſs*: would we be ſecure in the practice of juſtice, of meekneſs, of humility toward all men, of conſtant fidelity toward our friends, of gentle moderation toward our enemies, of loyalty toward our ſuperiors, of benignity toward our inferiors; if we would be ſure to purifie our minds from ill thoughts, to reſtrain our tongues from ill ſpeaking, to abſtain from all bad demeanour and dealing; it is but having charity, and infallibly you will do all this; for *love worketh no ill to its neighbour*; *love thinketh no evil*; *love behaveth not it ſelf unſeemly*. Rom. 13. 10. Gal. 5. 14. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 13. 5.

Would we diſcharge all our duties without any reluctancy or regret, with much ſatisfaction and pleaſure? Love will certainly diſpoſe us thereto; for it always acteth freely and chearfully, without any compulſion or ſtraining; it is ever accompanied with delectation: If we would know its way and virtue of acting, we may ſee it repreſented in the proceeding of *Jacob*, who being inſpired by love did contentedly and without regret endure ſo long and hard toil, ſuch diſappointments, and ſuch affronts; *And Jacob*, ſaith the text, *ſerved ſeven years for Rachel, and they ſeemed to him but a few days for the love he had to her*. Gen. 29. 20.

Εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἠγάπων τὸν ἑτερόπλουν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀδικηθεὶς ἔδυσε, &c. Chryſ. *in* Cor. Or. 32.
It is winged.
It is fire.
Amor obſequitur ſponte, gratis obtemperat, libere reveretur. Bern. *ad* Eug. Prol. *Vid.* Bern. *Ep.* 11. *p.* 1404.——

This is the root, from whence voluntary obedience doth naturally grow; if it be planted in our heart, we need not fear but that all kind of good fruit will ſprout forth into converſation and practice.

Ὁ γὰρ ὅλως οὐχ ὅτως ἐπιδώσει, ὡς ἐπιτεταμένῳ χαίρει, &c. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 32.

But without it we ſhall not ever perform any good work perfectly, ſteadily, in a kindly manner; no other principle will ſerve, if we are only moved by whip and ſpur, driven on by fear, or incited by hope, we ſhall go forward unwillingly and dully, often halting, ever flagging; thoſe principles which do put ſlaves and mercenaries on action, as they are not ſo noble and worthy, ſo neither are they ſo effectual and ſure; as ambition, vain-glory, ſelf-intereſt, deſign of ſecurity, of profit, of compliance with the expectation of men, *&c.*

XVIII. Charity giveth worth, form and life to all virtue, ſo that without it no action is valuable in it ſelf, or acceptable to God. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 25.

Sever it from courage; and what is that, but the boldneſs or fierceneſs of a beaſt? From meekneſs; and what is that, but the ſoftneſs of a woman, or weakneſs of a child? From courteſie; and what is that, but affectation or artifice? From juſtice; what is that, but humour or policy? From wiſdom; what is that, but craft and ſubtilty?

What meaneth faith without it, but dry opinion; what hope, but blind preſumption; what alms-doing, but ambitious oſtentation; what undergoing martyrdom, but ſtiffneſs or ſturdineſs of reſolution; what is devotion, but glozing or mocking with God? What is any practice (how ſpecious ſoever in appearance, or materially good) but an iſſue of ſelf-conceit, or ſelf-will, of ſervile fear, or mercenary deſign? *Though I have faith, ſo that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing*; *though I beſtow all my goods to feed the poor*; *and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing*. 1 Cor. 13. 2, 3.

But charity doth ſanctifie every action, and impregnate all our practice with a ſavour of goodneſs, turning all we do into virtue: it is true fortitude and gallantry indeed, when a man out of charity and hearty deſign to promote his neighbour's good doth encounter dangers and difficulties; it is genuine meekneſs, when a man out of charity and unwillingneſs to hurt his neighbour, doth patiently comport with injuries and diſcourteſies; it is virtuous courteſie, when cordial affection venteth it ſelf in civil language, in reſpectful deportment, in obliging performances; it is excellent juſtice, when a man regarding his neighbour's caſe as his own, doth unto him, as he would have it done to himſelf: it is admirable wiſdom, which ſagaciouſly contriveth and dexterouſly manageth things with the beſt advantage toward its neighbour's good: It is a worthy faith, which being *ſpirited* and *actuated* by charity, doth produce goodly fruits of beneficence; it is a ſound and ſolid hope, which is grounded on that everlaſting foundation of charity, which *never doth* Gal. 5. 6. Jam. 2. 26. 1 Cor. 13. 8.

fail, or fall away; it is ſincere alms, which not only the hand, but the heart doth reach forth; it is an acceptable ſacrifice, which is kindled by the holy fire of fervent affection; it is a pure devotion, which is offered up with a calm and benign mind, reſembling the diſpoſition of that goodneſs which it adoreth.

1 Tim. 2. 8. Matt. 5. 23.

If therefore we would do any thing well, if we would not loſe all the virtue, and forfeit all the benefit of what we perform, we muſt follow the rule of S. *Paul, to do all our works in charity.*

1 Cor. 16. 14.

XIX. So great benefits doth charity yield; yet if it did not yield any of them, it would deſerve and claim our obſervance; without regard to its ſweet fruits and beneficial conſequences, it were to be embraced and cheriſhed; for it carrieth a reward and a heaven in it ſelf; the very ſame which conſtituted God himſelf infinitely happy, and which beatifieth every bleſſed ſpirit, in proportion to its capacity and exerciſe thereof: A man doth abundantly enjoy himſelf in that ſteddy compoſedneſs, and ſavoury complacence of mind which ever doth attend it; and as the preſent ſenſe, ſo is the memory of it, or the good conſcience of having done good, very delicious and ſatisfactory.

As it is a raskally delight (tempered with regret, and vaniſhing into bitterneſs) which men feel in wreaking ſpite, or doing miſchief; ſuch as they cannot reflect upon without diſguſt and condemning their baſe impotency of ſoul; ſo is the pleaſure which charity doth breed altogether pure, grateful to the mind, and increaſing by reflection, never periſhing or decaying; a man eternally enjoying the good he hath done, by remembring and ruminating thereon. In fine,

XX. Whereas the great obſtacle to charity is ſelf-love, or an extravagant fondneſs of our own intereſts, yet uncharitableneſs deſtroyeth that: for how can we love our ſelves if we do want charity, how can we appear lovely to our ſelves if we are deſtitute of ſo worthy an endowment? Or if we can diſcern thoſe unworthy diſpoſitions, which accompany the defect of it; can we eſteem ſo mean, ſo vile, ſo ugly things as we then are? *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that bad men cannot be friends to themſelves, becauſe *having in themſelves nothing amiable, they can feel no affection toward themſelves*; and certainly, if we are not ſtark blind, or can but ſee wrath, ſpite, envy, revenge in their own black and ugly hue, we muſt needs (if they do poſſeſs our ſouls) grow odious and deſpicable to our ſelves. And being they do rob us of ſo many great benefits, and bring ſo many grievous miſchiefs on us, we cannot be otherwiſe than enemies to our ſelves by cheriſhing them, or ſuffering them to lodge in us.

οὐθὲν φιλητὸν ἔχοντες, οὐθὲν φιλικὴν πάσχουσι. Ariſt. Eth. 9. 4.

Theſe are ſome very conſiderable inducements to the practice of this great virtue; there are divers others of a higher nature, derivable from the inmoſt bowels of our religion, grounded on its peculiar conſtitution and obligations, which I ſhall now forbear to mention, reſerving them for a particular diſcourſe by themſelves.

Quinquag. Sund.

O Lord, who haſt taught us, that all our doings without charity are nothing worth: Send thy Holy Ghoſt, and pour into our hearts that moſt excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whoſoever liveth is counted dead before thee. Grant this for thine only Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake.

SER

SERMON XXIX.

Of a Peaceable Temper and Carriage.

ROM. XII. 18.

If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

THIS chapter containeth many excellent precepts and wholſome advices (ſcarce any portion of holy ſcripture ſo many in ſo little compaſs.) From among them I have ſelected one, alas, but too ſeaſonable and pertinent to the unhappy condition of our diſtracted age, wherein to obſerve this, and ſuch like injunctions, is by many eſteemed an impoſſibility, by others a wonder, by ſome a crime. It hath an apt coherence with, yet no neceſſary dependence upon the parts adjoining; whence I may preſume to treat upon it diſtinctly by it ſelf; and without farther preface or circumſtance we may conſider ſeveral particulars thereín.

I. And firſt, concerning the advice it ſelf, or the ſubſtance of the duty charged on us, Εἰρηνεύειν (*to be in peace*, or *live peaceably*) we may take notice, that whether according to the more uſual acception it be applied to the publick eſtate of things, or as here doth relate only to private converſation, it doth import,

1. Not barely a negation of doing, or ſuffering harm, or an abſtinence from ſtrife and violence (for a mere ſtrangeneſs this may be, a want of occaſion, or a truce, rather than a peace) but a poſitive amity, and diſpoſition to perform ſuch kind offices, without which good correſpondence among men cannot ſubſiſt. For they who by reaſon of diſtance of place, non-acquaintance, or defect of opportunity maintain no intercourſe, cannot properly be ſaid to be in peace with one another: But thoſe who have frequent occaſion of commerce, whoſe conditions require interchanges of courteſie and relief, who are ſome way obliged and diſpoſed to afford needful ſuccour, and ſafe retreat to each other: Theſe may be ſaid to live in peace together, and theſe only, it being in a manner impoſſible, that they who are not diſpoſed to do good to others (if they have power and opportunity) ſhould long abſtain from doing harm.

2. Living peaceably implies not ſome few tranſitory performances, proceeding from caſual humour or the like; but a conſtant, ſtable, and well-ſettled condition of being; a continual ceſſation from injury, and promptitude to do good offices. For as one blow doth not make a battel, nor one skirmiſh a war, ſo cannot ſingle forbearances from doing miſchief, or ſome few particular acts of kindneſs (ſuch as mere ſtrangers may afford each other) be worthily ſtyled a being in peace: but an habitual inclination to theſe, a firm and durable eſtate of innocence and beneficence.

3. Living in peace ſuppoſes a reciprocal condition of being: not only a performing good, and forbearing to do bad offices, but a receiving the like treatment from others. For he, that being aſſaulted is conſtrained to ſtand upon his defence, may not be ſaid to be in peace, though his not being ſo (involuntarily) is not to be imputed to him.

4. Being in peace imports not only an outward ceſſation of violence and ſeeming demonſtration of amity, but an inward will and reſolution to continue therein. For he that intends, when occaſion is preſented, to do miſchief to another, is nevertheleſs an enemy, becauſe more ſecret and dangerous: an ambuſcado is no leſs a piece of war, than confronting the enemy in open field. Proclaiming and denouncing ſignifie, but good and ill intention conſtitute, and are the ſouls of peace and war. From theſe conſiderations we may infer a deſcription of being in peace,

viz.

viz. that it is, to bear mutual good-will, to continue in amity, to maintain good correſpondence, to be upon terms of mutual courteſie and benevolence; to be diſpoſed to perform reciprocally all offices of humanity; aſſiſtance in need, comfort in ſorrow, relief in diſtreſs; to pleaſe and ſatisfie one another, by advancing the innocent delight, and promoting the juſt advantage of each other; to converſe with confidence and ſecurity, without ſuſpicion on either hand of any fraudulent, malicious, or hurtful practices againſt either: Or negatively; not to be in a ſtate of enmity, perſonal hatred, pertinacious anger, jealouſie, envy, or ill-will; not to be apt to provoke, to reproach, to harm, or hinder another, nor to have reaſonable grounds of expecting the ſame bad uſage from others: to be removed from danger of vexatious quarrels, intercourſe of odious language, offending others or being diſquieted ones ſelf. This I take to be the meaning of living, or being in peace, differing only in degree of obligation, and latitude of object, from the ſtate of friendſhip properly ſo called, and oppoſed to a condition of enmity, defiance, contention, hatred, ſuſpicion, animoſity.

II. In the next place we may conſider the object of this duty, ſignified in thoſe words, *With all men.* We often meet in ſcripture with exhortations directed peculiarly to chriſtians, to be at peace among themſelves; as (*Mark* 9. 5.) our Saviour lays this injunction upon his diſciples, εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *Have peace one with another*; inculcated by St. *Paul* upon the *Theſſalonians* in the ſame words: 1 Theſſ. 5. 13. and the like we have in the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothy*, cap. 2. ver. 22. *Follow righteouſneſs, faith, charity, peace with them that call upon the Lord out of a* Vid. Eph. 4. 3. *pure heart*; and to the *Romans*, (14. 17.) *Let us therefore follow after the things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may edifie another.* But here the duty hath a more large and comprehenſive object; πάντες ἄνθρωποι, *all men:* as likewiſe it hath in the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, cap. 12. ver. 14. *Purſue peace with all men:* with all men without any exception, with men of all nations, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians; of all ſects and religions; perſecuting Jews and idolatrous heathens; (for of ſuch conſiſted the generality of men at that time) and ſo St. *Paul* expreſſly in a like advice, (1 *Cor.* 10. 32. *Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; even as I pleaſe all men.*) And I may add by evident parity of reaſon, with men of all degrees and eſtates, high and low, noble and baſe, rich and poor; of all tempers and diſpoſitions, meek and angry, gentle and froward, pliable and perverſe; of all endowments, wiſe and fooliſh, virtuous and vicious; of all judgments and perſuaſions, orthodox and heretical, peaceable and ſchiſmatical perſons: this univerſally vaſt and boundleſs term, *All men*, contains them all. Neither is there any evading our obligation to this duty, by pretending about others, that they differ from us in humour and complexion of ſoul, that they entertain opinions irreconcileably contrary to ours; that they adhere to ſects and parties which we diſlike and diſavow, that they are not ſo virtuous, ſo religious, ſo holy as they ſhould be, or at leaſt not in ſuch a manner as we would have them; for be this allegation true or falſe, it will not excuſe us; while they are not diveſted of humane nature, and can truly claim to the name and title of men, we are by virtue of this precept obliged to live peaceably with them.

III. We may conſider the qualification of the duty here expreſſed, and what thoſe words mean; *If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you.* To which purpoſe we may advert, from our deſcription of living peaceably, that it conſiſts mainly of two parts: one *active*, or proceeding from us, and terminated on others, To bear good-will, to do good offices, to procure the profit, delight and welfare, to abſtain from the diſpleaſure, damage and diſturbance of others: The other *paſſive*, iſſuing from others, and terminated on our ſelves: That they be well affected toward us, inclinable to do us good, and no wiſe diſpoſed to wiſh, deſign or bring any harm, trouble or vexation upon us. Whereof the former is altogether in our power, conſiſting of acts or omiſſions depending upon our free choice and counſel; and we are directly obliged to it, by virtue of thoſe words, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, *as much as lieth in you:* the latter is not fully ſo, yet commonly there be probable means of effecting it, which we are hence bound to uſe, though ſometimes they may fail of ſucceſs. For the words εἰ δυνατὸν, *if it be poſſible*, as they ſignifie the utmoſt endeavour is to be employed; and that no difficulty (beneath the degree of impoſſibility) can diſcharge us from it, ſo they intimate plainly, that ſometime our labour

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may be loſt, and our purpoſe defeated; and that by the default of others it may be impoſſible we ſhould arrive to a peaceable condition of life with all men. However, by this rule we are directed not only our ſelves not to infringe the terms of peace towards others, but to endeavour earneſtly by all honeſt and prudent means to obtain the good-will, favour and reſpect of others, by which they may be diſpoſed to all friendly correſpondence with us, and not to diſturb the quiet and tranquillity of our lives.

Having thus by way of explication ſuperficially glanced upon the words, we will proceed to a more large and punctual review of them; and ſhall conſider more diſtinctly the particulars groſſly mentioned; and,

I. What thoſe eſpecial duties are, included in this more comprehenſive one of living peaceably with all men; both thoſe which are directly required of us, as the neceſſary cauſes or immediate reſults of a peaceable diſpoſition in us toward others; and alſo thoſe which are to be performed by us, as juſt and reaſonable means conducible to beget or preſerve in others a peaceable inclination toward us: Theſe I ſhall conſider promiſcuouſly: And

1. We are by this precept directly obliged heartily to love, that is, to bear good-will to, to wiſh well to, to rejoice in the welfare, and commiſerate the adverſities of all men: At leaſt not to hate, or bear ill-will to, to deſire, or deſign the harm, to repine at the happy ſucceſs, or delight in the misfortunes of any: For as it is very hard to maintain peace and amicable correſpondence with thoſe we do not truly love; ſo it is abſolutely impoſſible to do it long with thoſe we hate; this ſatanick paſſion (or diſpoſition of ſoul) always prompting the mind poſſeſſed therewith to the contrivance and execution of miſchief; whence, he that hates his brother, is ſaid to be a murtherer, as having in him that bitter root, from whence, if power and occaſion conſpire, will probably ſpring that moſt extreme of outrages, and capital breach of peace. Love is the only ſure cement, that knits and combines men in friendly ſociety; and hatred the certain fountain of that violence which rends and diſſolves it. We cannot eaſily hurt, or ſtrive with thoſe we love and wiſh well to: We cannot poſſibly long agree with thoſe we hate and malign. Peace without love can be eſteemed little more than politick diſſimulation; and peace with hatred is really nothing leſs than an artificial diſguiſe, or an inſidious covert of enmity. 1 Joh. 3. 15.

2. We are hence obliged to perform all kind offices of humanity, which the condition of any man can require, and may by us be performed without conſiderable inconvenience or detriment to our ſelves or others. When, for the preſervation, or comfortable accommodation of life, they need our help or our advice, we are readily to afford them; when they are in want or diſtreſs, we are to miniſter to them what comfort and relief we can. We are (upon this very ſcore) to obey that injunction of St *Paul* to the *Galatians*, *As we have opportunity, let us do good to all men.* For without this beneficence a man's carriage (though otherwiſe harmleſs and inoffenſive) appears rather a ſuſpicious ſtrangeneſs, than a peaceable demeanor, and naturally produces an enmity in thoſe that are concerned in it. For he to whom, being preſſed with neceſſity, requiſite aſſiſtance is denied, will infallibly be apt to think himſelf not only neglected and diſeſteemed, but affronted alſo and injured; (Need in the general conceit of men, and eſpecially of thoſe that feel it, begetteth a kind of title to ſome competent relief) and conſequently will hainouſly reſent, and complain bitterly of ſuch ſuppoſed wrong, and if ever he become able, repay it with advantage. And much more are we upon the ſame account not to perform ill offices toward any man; not to diſturb him in the enjoyment of his innocent pleaſure, nor to hinder him in the advancing his lawful profit, nor to interrupt him in the proſecution of his reaſonable deſigns; nor any wiſe to vex and grieve him needleſſly; and (above all) not to detain him in, nor to aggravate his affliction. For theſe are actual violations of peace, and impediments of good correſpondence among men. Farther, Gal. 6. 10.

3. In this duty of living peaceably is included an obligation to all kind of juſt and honeſt dealing with all men; punctually to obſerve contracts, impartially to decide controverſies, equally to diſtribute rewards; to injure no man either in his eſtate, by violent or fraudulent encroachments upon his juſt poſſeſſions; or in his reputation, by raiſing or diſperſing ſlanderous reports concerning him: For theſe

courſes of all others are moſt deſtructive to peace, and upon the pretence of them moſt quarrels that ever were, have been commenced.

Juſtice in its own nature is, and by the common agreement of men hath been deſigned the guardian of peace and ſovereign remedy of contention: But not to inſiſt long upon ſuch obvious ſubjects.

4. It much conduceth to the preſervation of peace, and upholding amiable correſpondence in our dealings and tranſactions with men, liable to doubt and debate, not to inſiſt upon nice and rigorous points of right, not to take all advantage offered us, not to deal hard meaſure, not to uſe extremities, to the damage or hindrance of others, eſpecially when no comparable benefit will thence accrue to our ſelves. For ſuch proceedings, as they diſcover in us little kindneſs to, or tenderneſs of our neigbhours good, ſo they exceedingly exaſperate them, and perſuade them we are their enemies, and render them ours, and ſo utterly deſtroy peace between us. When as abating ſomething from the height and ſtrictneſs of our pretences, and a favourable receſſion in ſuch caſes will greatly engage men to have an honourable opinion, and a peaceable affection towards us.

Vid. Tit. 3. 2. ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπιεικεῖς.

5. If we would attain to this peaceable eſtate of life, we muſt uſe toward all men ſuch demonſtrations of reſpect and courteſie, which according to their degree and ſtation cuſtom doth entitle them to, or which upon the common ſcore of humanity they may be reaſonably deemed to expect from us: reſpective geſtures, civil ſalutations, free acceſs, affable demeanor, chearful looks and courteous diſcourſe. Theſe as they betoken good-will in them that uſe them, ſo they beget, cheriſh and encreaſe it in thoſe, whom they refer to: And the neceſſary fruit of mutual good-will is peace. But the contrary carriages, contemptuous or diſregardful behaviour, difficulty of admiſſion to converſe, a tetrical or ſullen aſpect, rough and faſtidious language, as they diſcover a mind averſe from friendly commerce, ſo they beget a more potent diſdain in others: Men generally (eſpecially thoſe of generous and hearty temper) valuing their due reſpect beyond all other intereſts, and more contentedly brooking injury than neglect. Whence this skill and dexterity of deportment (though immediately, and in its own nature of no great worth, and regulating actions of ſmall importance, geſtures, looks, and forms of ſpeech) yet becauſe it is a nurſe of peace, and greatly contributes to the delightfulneſs of ſociety, hath been always much commended, and hath obtained a conſpicuous place in the honourable rank of virtues, under the titles of courteſie, comity and affability; and the oppoſites thereto, rudeneſs and ruſticity, have been deſervedly counted and called vices in morality.

6. This precept directly prohibits the uſe of all reproachful, ſcornful and provoking language; theſe being the immediate reſults of enmity, and actual breaches of peace. Whence St. *Paul* conjoins, Μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, and ἀμάχους εἶναι, *Tit.* 3. 2. *To ſpeak evil of no man, to be no quarrellers,* (or fighters) *but gentle, ſhewing all meekneſs unto all men.* For war is managed (and that with more deadly animoſity) with the tongue, as well as with the hand. (*There is that ſpeaketh like the piercings of a ſword,* ſaith *Solomon*; and *whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, and their tongue a ſharp ſword,* ſaith *David.*) Words are with more anguiſh felt than blows; their wounds are more incurable, and they leave a deeper ſcar. Men uſually dread more the loſs of their honour than their lives, and take more grievouſly the raviſhing of their credit than the depredation of their eſtate. Living peaceably therefore implies as much abſtaining from opprobrious words as injurious actions; yea more: For reviling is not only a violation of peace, but a diſhonourable waging of war; like ſhooting arrows dipt in poiſon, and diſcharging ſlugs againſt our neighbours reputation; practices condemned by all as baſe and inhumane, and contrary to the laws of a noble warfare; being arguments, we affect rather our adverſaries utter ruine, than a gallant victory over him. There be fair ways of diſputing our cauſe, without contumelious reflexions upon perſons; and the errors of men may be ſufficiently refuted without ſatyrical virulency. One good reaſon modeſtly propounded hath in it naturally more power and efficacy to convince him that is in a miſtake, or to confound him with ſhame that is guilty of a fault, than ten thouſand ſcoff-

Tit. 3. 2.

Πολλαπὸν ὃ χρῆμα λοιδορία; ὡς θυμοδακὲς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἀμύστοις ψυχλῷ μᾶλλον, ἢ σιδηρᾷ χρῶτα. Jul. 2. *Orat.* Prov. 12. 18. Pſal. 57. 4. and 64. 3. Prov. 18. 8.

Ζῆλος γὸ συγγνώμης ἀπεστερημένος ἢ ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς μᾶλλόν ἐστι, καὶ συνθεσία φιλανθρωπίας οὐκ ἔχουσα, βαρβαρία τις οὖσα δεινή. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 32.

ſcoffs and ignominous taunts. When we are to expreſs thoſe deeds of nature (the performance of which is concealed, as containing in it ſomething of ſuppoſed turpitude) we are wont to veil them in ſuch modeſt circumlocutions, that by the hearers without offence to their baſhfulneſs may ſufficiently be underſtood. So when it is needful or expedient to confute the opinions, or reprove the actions of men, if we either charitably deſign their amendment, or deſire to maintain peaceable correſpondence with them, it behoves that we do not by uſing the moſt broad and diſtaſtful language immoderately treſpaſs upon their modeſty and patience; that (to uſe *Seneca*'s phraſe) we do *agere curam non non tantùm ſalutis, ſed & honeſtæ cicatricis*, De Clem. *lib.* 1. *c.* 17. *Have a care not only to cure the wound, but to leave a comely ſcar*, and not to deform him, whom we endeavour to reform; for no ſore is the eaſilier cured for being roughly handled, and leaſt of all thoſe in manners and opinion. A ſoft hand, and a tender heart, and a gentle tongue are moſt convenient qualities of a ſpiritual Chirurgeon. But farther to this purpoſe.

Vid. *Egregium* Antonini *locum, lib.* 11. §. 18. 9. ἀόκνως.

Prov. 15. 1.

7. If we deſire to live peaceably with all men, we are to be equal in cenſuring mens actions, candid in interpreting their meanings, mild in reprehending, and ſparing to relate their miſcarriages, to derive their actions from the beſt principles (from which in the judgment of charity they may be ſuppoſed to proceed; as from caſual miſtake rather than from wilful prejudice, from humane infirmity rather than from malicious deſign) to conſtrue ambiguous expreſſions to the moſt favourable ſenſe they may admit; not to condemn mens practices without diſtinct knowledge of the caſe, and examining the reaſons, which poſſibly may abſolve or excuſe them: To extenuate their acknowledged faults by ſuch circumſtances as aptly ſerve that purpoſe, and not to exaggerate them by ſtreined conſequences, or uncertain conjectures. To rebuke them (if need be) ſo as they may perceive we ſincerely pity their errors, and tender their good, and wiſh nothing more than their recovery, and do not deſign to upbraid, deride, or inſult over them being fallen; and finally not to recount their miſdeeds over-frequently, unſeaſonably, and with complacence. He that thus demeaneth himſelf, manifeſtly ſheweth himſelf to prize his neighbours good-will, and to be deſirous to continue in amity with him; and aſſuredly obliges him to be in the ſame manner affected toward him. But he that is rigidly ſevere and cenſorious in his judgments, blaming in them things indifferent, condemning actions allowable, detracting from qualities commendable, deducing mens doings from the worſt cauſes, and imputing them to the worſt ends, and repreſenting them under the moſt odious appellations; that calls all impoſitions of ſuperiors, which he diſlikes, tyranny, and all manners of divine worſhip, that ſuit not to his fancy, ſuperſtition, and all pretences to conſcience in thoſe that diſſent from him, hypocriſie, and all opinions different from his, hereſie; that is ſuſpicious of ill intention without ſufficient ground, and prejudicates mens meanings before he well apprehends them, and captiouſly perverts ſayings capable of good conſtruction; that is curiouſly inquiſitive into his neighbour's life, and gladly obſerves failings therein, and upon all occaſions recites ſtories to his diſgrace and diſadvantage: That is immoderately bitter, fierce and vehement in accuſing and inveighing againſt others, painting ſuch, as he aſſumes to impugn, with the blackeſt colours, in the moſt horrid ſhape and ugly dreſs, converting all matter of diſcourſe (though never ſo unſeaſonably and impertinently) into declamation, and therein copiouſly expatiating: In fine, employing his utmoſt might of wit and eloquence and confidence in rendring them to others as hateful, as he ſignifies they are to himſelf; ſuch men, what do they elſe but loudly proclaim that they deſpiſe their neighbour's good-will, purpoſely provoke his anger, and defie his utmoſt enmity? For 'tis impoſſible ſuch dealing ſhould not by them, who are therein concerned, be accounted extremely unjuſt, and to proceed from deſperate hatred.

Prov. 17. 9.

That flies like a Vulture to Carrion only. Plut. *de util. cap. ex inim.* Prov. 17. 9. Prov. 24. 17.

8. He that would effectually obſerve this apoſtolick rule, muſt be diſpoſed to overlook ſuch leſſer faults committed againſt him, as make no great breach upon his intereſt or credit, yea to forget or forgive the greateſt and moſt grievous injuries: To excuſe the miſtakes, and connive at the neglects, and bear patiently the haſty paſſions of his neighbour, and to embrace readily any ſeaſonable overture, and accept any tolerable conditions of reconcilement. For even in common [illegible] that obſervation of our Saviour moſt exactly holds, *It*

Sen. *Ben.* 7. 31. *Vincit malos pertinax bonitas.* Νικᾷ ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν. Rom. 12. 21.

Iraſcitur aliquis? tu contrà beneficii provoca: cadit ſtatim ſimultas ab altera parte deſerta; niſi par non pugnat: ſi utrinque certabitur, ille eſt melior, qui prior pedem retulit: victus eſt qui vicit. Sen. *de Ira.* 2. 34.

is impoſſible that offences ſhould not come, the air may ſooner become wholly fixed, and the ſea continue in a perfect reſt without waves or undulations, than humane converſation be altogether free from occaſions of diſtaſte, which he that cannot either prudently diſſemble, or patiently digeſt, muſt renounce all hopes of living peaceably here. He that like tinder is inflammable by the leaſt ſpark, and is inraged by every angry word, and reſents deeply every petty affront, and cannot endure the memory of a paſt unkindneſs ſhould upon any terms be defaced, reſolves ſurely to live in eternal tumult and combuſtion; to multiply daily upon himſelf freſh quarrels, and to perpetuate all enmity already begun. Whenas by total paſſing by thoſe little cauſes of diſguſt, the preſent contention is altogether avoided, or inſtantly appeaſed, our neighbour's paſſion ſuddenly evaporates and conſumes it ſelf; no remarkable footſteps of diſſenſion remain; our neighbour reflecting upon what is paſt ſees himſelf obliged by our diſcreet forbearance, however all poſſible means are
Prov. 19. 11. uſed to prevent trouble and preſerve peace. To this purpoſe (*The diſcretion of a*
Prov. 17. 9. *man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to paſs over a tranſgreſſion*) ſaith *Solomon:* and, *He that covereth a tranſgreſſion ſeeketh love*, ſaith the ſame wiſe prince. But farther,

9. If we would live peaceably with all men, we muſt not over highly value our ſelves, nor over eagerly purſue our own things. We muſt not admire our own endowments, nor inſiſt upon our deſerts, for this will make us apt to depretiate others, and them to loath us. We muſt not be over tender of our credit, and covetous of reſpect; for this will render us apt to take exceptions, and engage us in troubleſome competitions for ſuperiority of place, and pre-eminence in the vain o-
Prov. 28. 25. pinions of men. (*He that is of a proud heart ſtirreth up ſtrife:* And, *Only* (*i. e.*
Prov. 13. 10. chiefly) *from pride cometh contention*, ſaith *Solomon.*) We muſt not be much addicted to our own intereſts, for this will diſpoſe us to encroach upon the concernments of others, and them to reſiſt our attempts, whence conflict and enmity will neceſſarily ariſe. We muſt not prefer our own judgments, and imperiouſly obtrude them upon others; nor be pertinacious in perſuading them to embrace our private opinions, nor violently urgent to a compliance with our humour. For theſe things are intolerably faſtidious in converſation, and obnoxious to be charged with uſurpation and iniquity; all men naturally challenging to themſelves an equal, or at leaſt a proportionable ſhare of reaſon, together with the free conduct of their lives uncontroulable by private dictates. If therefore we deſire to live quietly, and not needleſſly to diſoblige or diſpleaſe others, we ſhould be modeſt in eſteeming our own abilities, and moderate in purſuing our own advantages, and in our converſe not leſs complacent to others than we deſire they ſhould be to us; and as liberal in allowing leave to diſſent from us, as we are bold in taking freedom to abound in our own ſenſe. And if in debate a modeſt declaration of our opinion, and the reaſons inducing us thereto, will not prevail, it behoves us to give over ſuch a ſucceſſleſs combat, and to retire into the ſilent enjoyment of our own thoughts. From not obſerving which rule, diſcourſe grows into contention, and contention improves into feud and enmity.

10. If we would live peaceably, it concerns us to abſtain from needleſs conteſts about matters of opinion, and queſtions either merely vain and frivolous, of little uſe or concernment, or over nice and ſubtile, and thence indeterminable by reaſon; or that are agitated with extraordinary eagerneſs and heat of paſſion, or ſuch as are already defined by general conſent, or ſuch upon the deciſion of which the publick peace and ſafety do depend. There are ſome controverſies prickly like brambles, and apt to ſcratch thoſe that handle them, but yielding no favoury or wholeſom fruit: Such as concern the conſequences of imaginary ſuppoſitions, the ſtate and circumſtances of beings to us unknown, the right application of artificial terms, and the like impertinent matters, which ſerve to no other purpoſe, but the exerciſe of curious wits, and exciting emulation among them. Others there be concerning matters of more weighty moment, yet having the reſolution depending upon ſecrets unſearchable, or the interpretation of ambiguous words and obſcure phraſes, or upon ſome other uncertain conjectures, and are yet rendred more difficult by being intangled with inextricable folds of ſubtilty, nice diſtinctions, and crafty evaſions, deviſed by the parties engaged in them for the maintenance of their cauſes reſpectively, whence it hath happened, though with immenſe care and diligence

Non amplius inveniri licet quàm quod à Deo diſcitur. Tertull. *de Anim. cap.* 2.

both parts they have been long canvaſed; that yet they do, and in all probability will for ever remain undecided. So that now to engage in conteſt about them, may be reaſonably deemed nothing more than a wilful miſpenſe of our time, labour and good humour, by vainly reciprocating the ſaw of endleſs contention. Other queſtions there be in themſelves of more eaſie reſolution, and of conſiderable importance, which yet by extreme oppoſition of parties are ſo clouded and overgrown with inſuperable prejudices, that the diſputing them is ſeldom attended with other ſucceſs, than an inflaming our ſelves and others with paſſion. Others are by ſmall and obſcure parties managed againſt the common conſent, and againſt the poſitive decrees of the moſt venerable authorities among men, by ventilating which as truth is like to gain little, ſo peace is ſure to ſuffer much. For as it is no wiſe a ſafe or adviſed courſe (except in caſe of neceſſary defence) to ſubject received opinions to the hazardous trial of a tumultary conflict, their credit being better upheld by a ſtately reſervedneſs, than by a popular forwardneſs of diſcourſe; as buildings ſtand faſteſt that are never ſhaken, and thoſe poſſeſſions remain moſt ſecure that are never called in queſtion; ſo on the other hand to countenance new and uncouth paradoxes, as it argues too much arrogance and preſumption in confronting our ſingle apprehenſions againſt the deliberate ſenſe and ſuffrage of ſo many men, yea ſo many ages of men; and is likely to prove a ſucceſleſs attempt, like ſwimming againſt the current, accompanied with much toil and little progreſs, ſo it ſerves no good end, but only foments diviſions, and diſturbs both our private and the publick peace. But moſt of all we are to be cautelous of meddling with controverſies of dangerous conſequence, wherein the publick weal and quiet are concerned, which bare the roots of ſacred authority, and proſtitute the myſteries of government to vulgar inſpection. Such points ought to be ſubjects of law, not of ſyllogiſm, and the errors in them to be corrected by puniſhment, rather than confuted by argument: Neither can it be thought reaſonable that the intereſt of publick peace ſhould depend upon the event of private diſputation. It concerns us therefore, if we would live peaceably in ſuch diſputable matters, reſerving all due reverence to the judgments of the moſt, the beſt and wiſeſt perſons, to be content in a modeſt privacy, to enjoy the reſults of a ſerious and impartial diſquiſition, patiently enduring others to diſſent from us, and not attempting by needleſs, fruitleſs and endleſs contentions to gain others to our perſuaſions; eſpecially ſince the truth contended for, may not be worth the paſſion employed upon it, and the benefits of the victory not countervail the prejudices ſuſtained in the combat. For goodneſs and virtue may often conſiſt with ignorance and error, ſeldom with ſtrife and diſcord. And this conſideration I ſhall conclude with thoſe exhortations of St. *Paul*, Tit. 3. 9. *But fooliſh queſtions and genealogies, and contentions, and lawconteſts decline, for they are unprofitable and vain.* And in 2 Ep. to *Tim.* cap. 2. v. 23. *But fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing that they gender ſtrifes; and the ſervant of the Lord* (that is, a miniſter of religion) *muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that are* **contrarily diſpoſed.* And in the ſame chapter, ℣. 14. *Of theſe things put them in remembrance, charging them before the Lord, that they ſtrive not about words to no profit, to the ſubverting of the hearers:* Of ſo pernicious conſequence did St. *Paul* eſteem unneceſſary wrangling and diſputing to be. But farther,

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποῤῥήτως πίστεως δεῖ τὰς θείας τιμᾶν, καὶ τὰς γονεῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἢ ὁ, κολάσεως ἄξιον· οἱ δ' πίστεως ἢ χλεύης λαμβάνουσιν. Arist. *Top.* 1. 8.

* Τὰς ἀνοήτους ζητήσεις.

11. If we deſire to live peaceably, we muſt reſtrain our pragmatical curioſity within the bounds of our proper buſineſs and concernment, not [being *curioſi in aliena republ.*] invading other mens provinces, and without leave or commiſſion intermeddling with their affairs; not ruſhing into their cloſets, prying into their concealed deſigns, or dictating counſel to them without due invitation thereto; not controuling their actions, nor ſubjecting their proceedings to our cenſure without competent authority. For theſe courſes men uſually look upon as raſh intruſions, both injurious and reproachful to them, uſurping upon that freedom of choice (which all men paſſionately affect to preſerve entire to themſelves) and arguing them of weakneſs and incapacity to manage their own buſineſs: Neither do men more naturally drive away flies that buzze about their ears and moleſt them in their employments, than they with diſdain repel ſuch immodeſt and unreaſonable meddlers in their affairs. Let no man ſuffer (ſaith St. *Peter*) *as a bu-*

According to St. *Paul's* advice (1 *Theſ.* 4. 11.) *Strive* (or be ambitious) *to be quiet, and to mind your own buſineſs.* (Φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἴδια.)

1 Pet. 4. 15.

ſie body in other mens matters: Intimating that thoſe who are impertinently inquiſitive into other mens matters, make themſelves liable to ſuffer (and that deſervedly) for their fond curioſity and bold preſumption. And *He that paſſeth by, and meddleth with ſtrife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears* (ſaith *Solomon*) that is, he catcheth at that which he cannot hold, and vainly aims at that which he cannot effect, and raſhly irritates thoſe which will turn upon him and bite him. If therefore we would neither moleſt others, nor be diſquieted our ſelves, we muſt be like natural agents, never working ought beyond our proper ſphere of activity. But eſpecially, if we deſire to live peaceably, we muſt beware of aſſuming to our ſelves a liberty to cenſure the deſigns, decrees, or tranſactions of publick authority, and of ſaying to our ſuperiors, what doeſt thou? And much more, by querulous murmurings, or clamorous declamations, of bringing envy and *odium* upon them. Few private men are capable of judging aright concerning thoſe things, as being placed beneath in a valley, and wanting a due proſpect upon the ground and cauſes of their proceedings, who by reaſon of their eminent ſtation, can ſee more and farther than they; and therefore are incompetent judges, and unjuſtly preſume to interpoſe their ſentence in ſuch caſes. But ſuppoſe the actions of ſuperiors notoriouſly blameable and ſcandalous, and that by infallible arguments we are perſuaded thereof; yet ſeeing neither the taxing of, nor complaint againſt them doth in any wiſe regularly belong to us, nor the diſcovery of our mind therein can probably be an efficacious means of procuring redreſs, and immediately tends to diminiſh the reputation and weaken the affection due to government, and conſequently to impair the peaceable eſtate of things, which by them is ſuſtained, we are wholly to abſtain from ſuch unwarrantable, unprofitable and turbulent practices; and with a ſubmiſs and diſcreet ſilence, paſſing over the miſcarriages of our ſuperiors, to wait patiently upon the providence, and implore the aſſiſtance of him, who is the only competent judge of ſuch, and ſovereign diſpoſer of all things, who hath their hearts in his hands, and faſhioneth them as he thinks good. Farther,

Prov. 26. 17.

Prov. 21. 1.

Prov. 33. 15.

12. If we would live peaceably with all men, it behoves us not to engage our ſelves ſo deeply in any ſingular friendſhip, or in devotion to any one party of men, as to be entirely partial to their intereſts, and prejudiced in their behalf, without diſtinct conſideration of the truth and equity of their pretences in the particular matters of difference; not to approve, favour or applaud that which is bad in ſome; to diſlike, diſcountenance or diſparage that which is good in others: Not out of exceſſive kindneſs to ſome, to give juſt cauſe of diſtaſte to others: Not for the ſake of a fortuitous agreement in diſpoſition, opinion, intereſt or relation to violate the duties of juſtice or humanity. For he that upon ſuch terms is a friend to any one man, or party of men, as to be reſolved (with an implicit faith, or blind obedience) to maintain whatever he or they ſhall affirm to be true, and whatever they ſhall do to be good, doth in a manner undertake enmity againſt all men beſide, and as it may happen, doth oblige himſelf to contradict plain truth, to deviate from the rules of virtue, and to offend Almighty God himſelf. This unlimited partiality we owe only to truth and goodneſs, and to God (the fountain of them) in no caſe to ſwerve from their dictates and preſcriptions. He that followed *Tiberius Gracchus* in his ſeditious practices, upon the bare account of friendſhip, and alledg'd in his excuſe, that if his friend had required it of him, he ſhould as readily have put fire to the Capitol, was much more abominable for his diſloyalty to his countrey, and horrible impiety againſt God, than commendable for his conſtant fidelity to his friend. And that ſoldier which is ſaid to have told *Cæſar* (in his firſt expedition againſt *Rome*) that in obedience to his commands he would not refuſe to ſheath his ſword in the breaſt of his brother, or in the throat of his aged father, or in the bowels of his pregnant mother, was for his unnatural barbarity rather to be abhorred, than to be eſteemed for his loyal affection to his General. And in like manner, he that to pleaſe or gratifie the humour of his friend, can be either injurious, or treacherous, or notably diſcourteous to any man elſe, is very blameable, and renders himſelf deſervedly odious to all others. *Lælius* who incomparably well both underſtood and practiſed the rules of friendſhip, is by *Cicero* reported to have made this the firſt and chief law thereof. *Ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati, That we neither require of our friends the* - *forma*

Cic. *in* Lælio.

Luc. *lib.* 1.

Prov. 24. 24. *He that ſaith to the wicked, thou art righteous, him ſhall the people curſe, nations ſhall abhor him.*

Cic. *in* Lælio.

formance of baſe and naughty things; nor, being requeſted of them, perform ſuch our ſelves. And in the heraldry, or compariſon of duties, as all others muſt give place to thoſe of piety, verity and virtue, ſo after them the duties of humanity juſtly challenge the next place of reſpect, even above thoſe which belong to the higheſt degree of friendſhip (due to our neareſt relations, yea to our countrey it ſelf) preciſely taken, abſtracted and diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of humanity. For the world is in nature the firſt, the moſt comprehenſive and deareſt countrey of us all; and our general obligations to mankind are more ancient, more fundamental, and more indiſpenſable, than thoſe particular ones ſuperadded to or ſuperſtructed on them. The peace therefore of the world, and the general welfare of men its citizens, ought to be more dear to us, and the means conducing thereto more carefully regarded by us in our actions, than either the love, favour or ſatisfaction of any particular perſons is to be valued or purſued. And the not obſerving this rule may reaſonably be eſteemed to have a great influence upon the continuance of thoſe implacable feuds and diſſenſions wherewith the world is ſo miſerably torn and ſhattered. Mens being peremptorily reſolved to extol, countenance, or excuſe promiſcuouſly all the principles and proceedings of the party to which they have addicted themſelves, and to ſee no error, fault or abuſe in them; but by all means to depreſs, vilifie and condemn (if not to reproach, calumniate and perſecute) the opinions and practices of others, and not to acknowledge in them any thing conſiderably good or commendable; whence commonly all apprehend their adverſaries extremely unjuſt and diſingenuous towards them, and are alienated from all thoughts, (or however diſcouraged from all hopes) of friendly accommodation and reconcilement. But he that would live peaceably with all men, muſt be free in his judgment, impartial in his dealing, and ingenuous in his carriage toward all: not θαυμάζων πρόσωπα, admiring or wondring at ſome men (as if they were impeccable, or infallible) nor having the truth in reſpect of perſons, abetting in his friends only what is juſt and true, and allowing the ſame in others, but in neither by ſignal approbation countenancing any thing falſe or evil; for ſo demeaning himſelf, he giveth no man juſt occaſion of diſpleaſure or enmity againſt him. Jud. 16. Jam. 2. 1.

13. If we would live peaceably our ſelves, we ſhould endeavour to preſerve peace, and prevent differences, and reconcile diſſenſions among others, by doing good offices, and making fair repreſentations of intercurrent paſſages between them; by concealing cauſes of future diſguſt, and removing preſent miſunderſtandings, and excuſing paſt miſtakes; by allaying their paſſions, and rightly informing their minds, by friendly interceſſions, and pacifick advices. For the fire that devoureth our neighbour's houſe threatneth and endangereth ours, and it is hard to approach contention without being engaged therein. 'Tis not eaſie to keep our ſelves indifferent or neutral, and doing ſo we ſhall in likelihood be maligned and perſecuted by both the contending parties. *Bleſſed are the peace-makers*, ſaith our Saviour, *for they ſhall be called the ſons of God*; that is, they ſhall be highly eſteemed and reverenced for this divine quality, wherein they ſo nearly reſemble the God of peace, and his bleſſed Son the great Mediator: but farther, without reſpect to other recompence, and from the nature of their employment, ſuch are immediately happy, and in this their virtuous practice rewards it ſelf, that by appeaſing others quarrels, they ſave themſelves from trouble, and enjoy themſelves that tranquillity which they procure to others*. But thoſe informing ſycophants, thoſe internuncio's of peſtilent tales, and incendiaries of diſcord, that (from bad nature, or upon baſe deſign) by the ſtill breath of clandeſtine whiſpers, or by the more violent blaſts of impudent calumnies kindle the flames of diſſenſion, or foment them among others; that, by diſſeminating infamous rumours, and by malicious ſuggeſtions, inſtil jealouſies into, and nouriſh malevolent ſurmiſes in the minds of men, *ſeparating* (as it is in the *Proverbs*) *between chief friends*, and widening the diſtance between others: Theſe (I ſay) from the ſeeds of variance they ſcatter among others, reap in the end miſchief and diſturbance to themſelves; nor can expect to enjoy the benefit of that quiet, which they labour to deprive others of. *The beginning of ſtrife* (ſaith *Solomon*) *is as when one letteth out water*; and he that to the intent his neighbour's lands ſhould be overflown with a torrent of diſſenſion, doth unlooſe the dams, and cut the banks of former friendſhip, may (if he be wiſe) expect the mercileſs flood ſhould at length reach himſelf, and that his own habitation ſhould be at laſt ſurrounded therewith. For when men at length begin Matt. 5. 9. * *To the counſellors of peace is joy.* Prov. 12. 20. Prov. 16. 28. Prov. 17. 14. Prov. 25. 8.

to

to be weary, and to repent of their needleſs quarrels, and the miſchievous conſequences attending them, and to be inquiſitive into the cauſes and inſtruments of their vexation, they will certainly find out, deteſt and invert the edge of their diſpleaſure upon theſe wretched makebates; and ſo the poiſon they mingled for others they themſelves drink up; the cataſtrophe of the tragedy (begun by them) is acted upon themſelves; they ſink down into the pit they made for others, and in the net which they hid is their own foot taken: *Et dolator habet quod dedit exitium.*

Vid. Prov. 11. 27. *He that diligently ſeeketh good procureth favour; but he that ſeeketh miſchief it ſhall come upon him.*

Laſtly, If we would effectually obſerve this precept, we muſt readily comply with the innocent cuſtoms, and obey the eſtabliſh'd laws of the places where we live. I ſay firſt comply with the cuſtoms; which alſo are in effect inferior laws enacted by the tacit agreement of the generality of men; the non-obſervation of which is upon many accounts very prejudicial to peaceable life. For to thoſe concern'd in it, it will always ſeem to intimate a ſqueamiſh niceneſs, a froward perverſeneſs, an arrogant ſelf-conceitedneſs, a manifeſt deſpiſing other mens judgments, and a virtual condemning their practices of fault or folly, and conſequently a monopolizing all goodneſs, and appropriating all wiſdom to himſelf; qualities intolerably odious to men, and productive of enmity. It incenſes the people (hugely ſuſceptive of provocation) with a ſenſe of notable injury done, and contempt caſt upon it. For the only authority, which the commonalty can lay claim to, conſiſts in preſcribing rules of decency in language, habit, geſture, ceremony, and other circumſtances of action, declared and ratified by ordinary practice; non-conformity to which is by them adjudged a marvellous irregularity, contumacy and rebellion againſt the majeſty of the people, and is infallibly revenged and puniſhed by them.

There's no preſerving peace, nor preventing broils and ſtirs, but by punctually obſerving that ordinary rule of equity, That in caſes of doubtful debate, and points of controverted practice, the feweſt ſhould yield to the moſt, the weakeſt bend to the ſtrongeſt, and that to the greateſt number ſhould be allowed at leaſt the greateſt appearance of reaſon. To which purpoſe we may obſerve, that the beſt and wiſeſt men, (not to diſpleaſe thoſe with whom they converſed, as far as their duty to God, and their conſcience would permit) have commonly in their manners of life followed not what in their retired judgment they moſt approved, but what ſuited to the cuſtoms of their times and places, avoiding a moroſe ſingularity as offenſive to others, and productive of diſquiet to themſelves. You know how *Cicero* cenſured *Cato* for endeavouring, againſt the grain and predominant *genius* of thoſe times, to reduce things to a ſtrict agreement with his private notions: *Ille optimo animo utens, & ſummâ fide, nocet interdum reipublicæ. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli fæce ſententiam.* But a more clear and pertinent inſtance we have in St. *Paul*, who thus repreſents his own practice: *I have made my ſelf a ſervant to all: Unto the Jews I became as a Jew; to them that are without law, as without law: To the weak became I as weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means ſave ſome.* St. *Paul* wiſely knew, that by a prudent compliance with mens cuſtoms, and condeſcenſion to their capacities, he engaged to him, or at leaſt did not alienate from him, their affections; and thereby became more capable of infuſing good doctrine into their minds, and promoting their ſpiritual good. And the ſame courſe was generally taken by the primitive chriſtians, who in all things (not inconſiſtent with the rules and principles of their religion) did induſtriouſly conform their converſation to the uſual practices of men; thereby ſhunning thoſe ſcandalous imputations of pride and perverſeneſs, which then rendred the *Jews* ſo odious to the world, as appears by divers paſſages in the ancient apologiſts for chriſtian religion: particularly *Juſtin Martyr* (in his epiſtle to *Diognetus*) hath theſe words: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε [illegible] οὔτε [illegible] διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων· οὔτε γὰρ πού τινας ἰδίας [illegible] οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένην χρῶνται, οὔτε βίον παρήσημον ἀσκοῦσιν—καθ' Ἕλληνας [illegible] τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν [illegible], &c. *The chriſtians neither in dwelling, language or cuſtoms differ from the reſt of men; they neither inhabit towns proper to themſelves, nor uſe any peculiar dialect, nor exerciſe an uncouth*

Id agamus, ut meliorem vitam ſequamur quàm vulgus, non ut contrariam; alioqui quos emendari volumus fugamus & à nobis avertimus.

Temperetur vita inter bonos mores & publicos, &c. Sen. *Epiſt.* 5.

Epiſt. ad Att. *Lib.* 2. *Ep.* 1.

1 Cor. 9. 22. 10. 33.

Vid. Acts 21.

uncouth manner of living, but, as by chance it is allotted to them, inhabiting cities belonging both to Greeks and Barbarians, comply with the cuſtoms of the countrey. And much more hath he there; and much *Tertullian* likewiſe in his *Apologetick*, to the ſame purpoſe. Neither do we find in the life of our Saviour, that exact pattern of wiſdom and goodneſs, that in any thing he did affect to differ from the received cuſtoms of his time and countrey, except ſuch as were grounded upon vain conceits, extremely prejudicial to piety, or directly repugnant thereto.

And I cannot except from this rule the compliance with religious cuſtoms uſed in the worſhip and ſervice of God: ſince a wilful diſcrepancy from them doth much more deſtroy peace, and kindle the flame of contention, in as much as men are apt to apprehend themſelves much more ſlighted and more condemned by a diſagreement in thoſe, than in matters of leſſer concernment. And it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that the God of love and peace, who queſtionleſs delights to ſee men converſe in peace and amity, and who therefore in general terms enjoins us, Rom. 14. 19. to purſue the things that make for peace (whereof certainly in reaſon and to experience, following indifferent and harmleſs cuſtoms, not expreſſly repugnant to his law, nor to the dictates of natural reaſon, is one thing, and not the leaſt) in our addreſſes to himſelf (partly deſigned and mainly ſerving more ſtrictly to unite, not to diſſociate men in affection) ſhould diſlike or diſapprove the uſe of this courſe ſo expedient and conducible to peace: eſpecially ſince he infinitely more regards the ſubſtance of the duty, and the devotion of the heart therein, than the manner or any circumſtantial appendages thereof: 'Tis certain however, that St. *Paul* intimates a wilful departure from ordinary practice in ſuch caſes, to proceed from a contentious diſpoſition: *But if any man* (ſaith he) *have a mind to be contentious* 1 Cor. 11. 16. (ſo δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι imports) *we have no ſuch cuſtom, nor the churches of God.*

But yet much more is peaceable converſation impeached by diſobedience to eſtabliſhed laws, thoſe great bulwarks of ſociety, fences of order, and ſupports of peace; which he that refuſes to obey, is ſo far from living peaceably with all men, that he may reaſonably be preſumed unwilling to have peace with any man; ſince in a manner he defies all mankind, vilifies its moſt ſolemn judgments, endeavours to diſſolve thoſe ſacred bands by which its union is contained, and to ſubvert the only foundations of publick tranquillity. He declares himſelf either to affect an univerſal tyranny over, or an abhorrency from ſociety with other men, to be unwilling to live with them upon equal terms, or to ſubmit to any fair arbitration, to deſire that ſtrifes ſhould be endleſs, and controverſies never decided, who declines the verdict of law, the moſt ſolemn iſſue of deliberate advice, proceeding from the moſt honourable, moſt wiſe, moſt worthy and ſelect perſons, and involving in it the conſent of the whole commonwealth. St. *Paul* directing that pray- 1 Tim. 2. 2. ers ſhould be made for princes and thoſe in authority, aſſigns the reaſon, *that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty:* And certainly if we are to pray for, we are alſo obliged to obey them in order to the ſame end, which to do is abſolutely in our power, and more immediately requiſite to that purpoſe. For as no peace can be preſerved without the influence of authority; ſo no authority can ſubſiſt without obedience to its ſanctions. He that is deſirous to enjoy the privileges of this happy eſtate of peace, muſt in reaſon be content to perform the duties enjoined, and bear the common burthens impoſed by thoſe who are the protectors of it.

Thus, as plainly as I could, have I deſcribed what it is to live peaceably, and what the means are that principally conduce thereto: I ſhould now proceed to conſider the object of the duty, and the reaſons why it reſpects all men: As alſo whence it comes, that ſometimes we may fail in our endeavour of attaining this deſirable condition: And laſtly to propound ſome inducements perſuaſive of its practice. But I muſt not farther encroach on your patience, and ſhall therefore reſerve theſe things to the next

Now [illegible]d, which paſſeth all underſtanding, keep your hearts and minds in [illegible]nd love of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; and the b[illegible]mighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, be among you, and rema[illegible] Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXX.

Of a Peaceable Temper and Carriage.

ROM. XII. 18.

If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

I HAVE very lately conſidered what it is to *live peaceably*, and what are the duties included therein; and what means conduce thereto.

II. I proceed now to conſider the object thereof, and why the duty of living peaceably extends to *all men*, that is, why we are bound to bear good-will, and do good offices, and ſhew civil reſpects to all men: and to endeavour, that all men reciprocally be well affected toward us. For it might with ſome colour of reaſon be objected, and ſaid: Why ſhould I be obliged heartily to love thoſe, that deſperately hate me, to treat them kindly, that uſe me deſpitefully; to help them, that would hinder me; to relieve them, that would plunge me into utter diſtreſs; to comfort them, that delight in my affliction; to be reſpective to and tender of their reputation, who deſpiſe, defame and reproach me; to be indulgent and favourable to them, who are harſh and rigorous in their dealings with me; to ſpare and pardon them, who with implacable malice perſecute me? Why ſhould I ſeek their friendſhip, who diſdainfully reject mine; why prize their favour, who ſcorn mine; why ſtrive to pleaſe them, who purpoſely offend me? Or why ſhould I have any regard to men void of all faith, goodneſs or deſert? And moſt of all, why ſhould I be bound to maintain amicable correſpondence with thoſe, who are profeſſed enemies to piety and virtue, who oppugn truth, and diſturb peace, and countenance vice, error and faction? How can any love, conſent of mind, or communion of good offices intercede between perſons ſo contrarily diſpoſed? I anſwer, they may and ought, and that becauſe the obligation to theſe ordinary performances is not grounded upon any peculiar reſpects, ſpecial qualifications, or ſingular actions of men, (which are contingent and variable) but upon the indefectible ſcore of common humanity. We owe them, (as the philoſopher alledged, when he diſpenſed his alms to an unworthy perſon) ἐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ· not to the men, but to humane nature reſident in them. There be indeed divers other ſorts of love, in nature and object more reſtrained, built upon narrower foundations, and requiring more extraordinary acts of duty and reſpect (not competent to all men;) as a love of friendſhip, founded upon long acquaintance, ſuitableneſs of diſpoſition, and frequent exchanges of mutual kindneſs; a love of gratitude due to the reception of valuable benefits; a love of eſteem belonging to perſons endued with worth and virtue; a love of relation reſulting from kindred, affinity, neighbourhood and other common engagements. But the love of benevolence (which is precedent to theſe, and more deeply rooted in nature, more ancient, more unconfined, and more immutable) and the duties mentioned conſequent on it, are grounded upon the natural conſtitution, neceſſary properties, and unalterable [illegible] of humanity, and are upon ſeveral accounts due thereto.

1. Upon account of univerſal cognation, agreement [illegible] nature. For οἰκεῖον ἅπας ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. *All men na[illegible]l, and friends to each other*, ſaid *Ariſtotle*. *Et fratres etiam [illegible]re naturæ matris unius*; *We are alſo your brethren in the righ[illegible]mon mo[illegible] ther.*

8 *Eth. cap.* 1. *In Apolog.*

ther, ſaid *Tertullian* of old, in the name of the Chriſtians to the Heathens. We are but ſeveral ſtreams iſſuing from one primitive ſource; ſeveral branches ſprouting from the ſame ſtock; ſeveral ſtones hewed out of the ſame quarry. One ſubſtance, by miraculous efficacy of the divine benediction diffuſed and multiplied. One element affords us matter, and one fire actuates it, kindled at firſt by the breath of God. One blood flows in all our veins; one nouriſhment repairs our decayed bodies, and one common air refreſhes our languiſhing ſpirits. We are cohabitants of the ſame earth, and fellow-citizens of the ſame great commonwealth; *Unam Remp. omnium agnoſcimus mundum*, ſaid the forementioned apologiſt for chriſtianity. We were all faſhioned according to the ſame original idea (reſembling God our common father) all endowed with the ſame faculties, inclinations and affections; all conſpire in the eſſential and more notable ingredients of our conſtitution; and are only diſtinguiſhed by ſome accidental inconſiderable circumſtances of age, place, colour, ſtature, fortune, and the like; in which we differ as much from our ſelves in ſucceſſions of time. So that what *Ariſtotle* ſaid of a friend, is applicable to every man: Every man is ἄλλος αὐτὸς, *Another our ſelf*: And he that hates another, deteſts his own moſt lively picture; he that harms another, injures his own nature; he that denies relief to another, ſtarves a member of his own body, and withers a branch of his own tree. *The merciful man doeth good to his own ſoul; but he that is cruel troubleth his own fleſh.* Neither can any perſonal demerit of vicious habit, erroneous opinion, enormous practice, or ſignal diſcourteſie towards us, diſſolve theſe bands: for as no unkindneſs of a brother can wholly reſcind that relation, or diſoblige us from the duties annexed thereto: ſo neither upon the faults or injuries of any man can we ground a total diſpenſation from the offices of humanity, eſpecially if the injuries be not irreparable, nor the faults incurable.

Ἀνδρὸς ποδὸν οὐκ ἀνέξῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ σαυτοῦ ὃς ἔχει τὸν Δία πατρῷον, ὃς πεφ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων γέγονε, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπωθῇ καταβολῆς, &c. Epict. l. 13.

Acts 17. 26.

Nemo eſt in genere humano, cui non dilectio, etſi non pro mutua charitate, pro ipſa tamen communis naturæ ſocietate debeatur. Aug. *Ep.* 121. *ad* Probam.

Cic. *Nihil eſt enim unum uni tam ſimile, tam par, quam omnes inter noſmet-ipſos ſumus*, &c. *de Legib. pag.* 161.

Prov. 11. 17.

See *Deut.* 25. 3. — *leſt thy brother ſeem vile unto thee.*

2. We are indiſpenſably obliged to theſe duties, becauſe the beſt of our natural inclinations prompt us to the performance of them; eſpecially thoſe of pity and benignity, which are manifeſtly diſcernible in all, but moſt powerful and vigorous in the beſt natures; and which queſtionleſs by the moſt wiſe and good author of our beings were implanted therein both as monitors to direct, and as ſpurs to incite us to the performance of our duty. For the ſame bowels, that in our want of neceſſary ſuſtenance, do by a lively ſenſe of pain inform us thereof, and inſtigate us to provide againſt it; do in like manner grievouſly reſent the diſtreſſes of another, and thereby admoniſh us of our duty, and provoke us to relieve them. Even the ſtories of calamities, that in ages long ſince paſt have happened to perſons, nowiſe related to us, yea the fabulous reports of tragical events, do (even againſt the bent of our wills, and all reſiſtance of reaſon) melt our hearts with compaſſion, and draw tears from our eyes: and thereby evidently ſignifie that general ſympathy which naturally intercedes between all men, ſince we can neither ſee, nor hear of, nor imagine anothers grief without being afflicted our ſelves. Antipathies may be natural to wild beaſts; but to rational creatures they are wholly unnatural. And on the other ſide, as nature to eating and drinking, and ſuch acts requiſite to the preſervation of our life, hath adjoined a ſenſible pleaſure and ſatisfaction, enticing us to and encouraging us in the performance of them; ſo, and doubtleſs to the ſame end, hath ſhe made relieving the neceſſities of others, and doing good offices to them, to be accompanied with a very contentful and delicious reliſh to the mind of the doer. *Epicurus*, that great maſter of pleaſure, did himſelf confeſs, that to beſtow benefits was not only more brave, but more pleaſant, than to receive them; (Ἐπικούρῳ, ſaith * *Plutarch*, τὸ εὖ πάσχειν, τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἃ μόνον καλλίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίων εἶναι φησί.) And certainly no kind of actions, a man can perform, are attended with a more pure, more perfect, more ſavoury delight, than thoſe of beneficence are. Since nature therefore hath made our neighbour's miſery our pain, and his con[illegible]eaſure; ſince with indiſſoluble bands of mutual ſympathy ſhe hath concaten[illegible]rtunes and affections together; ſince by the diſcipline of our ſenſe ſhe inſtr[illegible] and by the importunity thereof ſolicits us to the obſervance of our duty; [illegible] follow her wiſe directions, and conſpire with her kindly motions; let us n[illegible] or weaken by diſuſe, or contrary practice, but by conformable action ch[illegible] confirm the good inclinations of nature.

—*hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſûs,*
—*mutuus ut nos Affectus petere auxilium, & præſtare juberet.* Juven. *Sat.* 15.

* *De philoſ. convictu cum Princip.* Εὐθυμίαν τὸ ἀνεπίφθονον. M. Ant.

3. We are obliged to theſe duties upon account of common equity. We have all (the moſt ſour and ſtoical of us all) implanted in us a natural ambition, and a deſire (which we can by no means eradicate) of being beloved and reſpected by all; and are diſpoſed in our need to demand aſſiſtance, commiſeration of our misfortunes, and relief in our diſtreſs of all that are in capacity to afford them; and are apt to be vehemently diſpleaſed, to think our ſelves hardly dealt with, and to complain of cruelty and inhumanity in thoſe that refuſe them to us: and therefore in all reaſon and equity we ſhould readily pay the ſame love, reſpect, aid and comfort to others, which we expect from others; for, *Beneficium qui dare neſcit, injuſtè petit:* Nothing is more unreaſonable, or unequal, than to require from others thoſe good turns, which upon like occaſion we are unwilling to render to others.

4. We are obliged to theſe duties of humanity, upon account of common intereſt, benefit and advantage. The welfare and ſafety, the honour and reputation, the pleaſure and quiet of our lives are concerned in our maintaining a loving correſpondence with all men. For ſo uncertain is our condition, ſo obnoxious are we to manifold neceſſities, that there is no man, whoſe good-will we may not need, whoſe good word may not ſtand us in ſtead, whoſe helpful endeavour may not ſometime oblige us. The great *Pompey*, the glorious triumpher over nations, and admired darling of fortune, was beholden at laſt to a ſlave for the compoſing his aſhes, and celebrating his funeral obſequies. The honour of the greateſt men depends on the eſtimation of the leaſt, and the good-will of the meaneſt peaſant is a brighter ornament to the fortune, a greater acceſſion to the grandeur of a prince, than the moſt radiant gem in his royal diadem. However the ſpite and enmity of one (and him the moſt weak otherwiſe and contemptible) perſon, may happen to ſpoil the content of our whole life, and deprive us of the moſt comfortable enjoyments thereof; may divert our thoughts from our delightful employments to a ſolicitous care of ſelf-preſervation and defence; may diſcompoſe our minds with vexatious paſſions; may by falſe reports, odious ſuggeſtions, and ſlanderous defamations blaſt our credit, raiſe a ſtorm of general hatred, and conjure up thouſands of enemies againſt us; may by inſidious practices ſupplant and undermine us, prejudice our welfare, endanger our eſtate, and involve us in a bottomleſs gulf of trouble: it is but reaſonable therefore, if we deſire to live ſecurely, comfortably and quietly, that by all honeſt means we ſhould endeavour to purchaſe the good-will of all men, and provoke no man's enmity needleſſly; ſince any man's love may be uſeful, and every man's hatred is dangerous.

5. We are obliged to theſe duties by a tacit compact and fundamental conſtitution of mankind, in purſuance of thoſe principal deſigns, for which men were incorporated, and are ſtill contained in civil ſociety. For to this purpoſe do men congregate, cohabit, and combine themſelves in ſociable communion, that thereby they may enjoy a delightful converſation, void of fear, free from ſuſpicion, and free from danger; promote mutual advantage and ſatisfaction; be helpful and beneficial each to other: abſtracting from which commodities the retirements of a cloyſter, or the ſolitudes of a deſert; the life of a recluſe, or of a wild beaſt, would perhaps be more deſirable, than theſe of gregarious converſe: For as men, being pleaſed and well affected to each other, are the moſt obliging friends, and pleaſant companions; ſo being enraged, they are the moſt miſchievous and dangerous neighbours, the moſt fierce and ſavage enemies. By neglecting therefore or contravening theſe duties of humanity, we fruſtrate the main ends of ſociety, diſappoint the expectations of each other, ſubvert the grounds of ordinary civility, and in the commonwealth deal as unpolitickly, as the members in the body ſhould act unnaturally, in ſubſtracting mutual aſſiſtance, or harming each other; as if the eye ſhould deny to the hands the direction of ſight, and the hands in revenge ſhould pluck out the eyes.

6. We are by obſerving theſe rules to oblige, and render men well-affected to us, becauſe being upon ſuch terms with men conduceth to our living (not only delightfully and quietly, but) honeſtly and religiouſly in this [illegible] How peace and edification, ſpiritual comfort and temporal quiet do [illegible]d co-operate, we ſee intimated *Acts* 9. ℣. 31. *Then had the churches [illegible]roughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and [illegible] in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt were mu[illegible]* St. *Paul* adviſed
1 Tim. 2. 2. the Chriſtians of his time, liable to perſecution; *to [illegible]rayers for all men*

and

(and *eſpecially for thoſe in eminent power*,) *that they might lead* * *a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty*; to pray for them, that is, to pray that they might be ſo diſpoſed, as not to moleſt, interrupt or diſcourage them in the exerciſe of virtue, and practice of piety. For theſe by a tranquillity of mind, a ſedateneſs of affections, a competency of reſt and leiſure and retirement, a freedom from amazing fear, diſtracting care, and painful ſenſe are greatly advanced; of which advantages by contentious broils and enmities we are deprived, and encumbred with the contrary impediments. They breed thorny anxieties, and by them choak the ſeeds of good intention: they raiſe dusky fumes of melancholy, by them intercepting the beams of ſpiritual light, and ſtifling the flames of devout affection. By them our thoughts are affixed upon the baſeſt, and taken off from the moſt excellent objects; our fancies are diſordered by turbulent animoſities; our time is ſpent, and our endeavour taken up in the moſt ungrateful, and unprofitable employments, of defeating the attempts, reſiſting the aſſaults, diſproving the calumnies, countermining the plots of adverſaries; they bring us upon the ſtage againſt our will, and make us act parts in tragedies, neither becoming, nor delighting us. They diſturb often our natural reſt, and hinder us in the diſpatch of our ordinary buſineſs; and much more impede the ſteadineſs of our devotion, and obſtruct the courſe of religious practice. They tempt us alſo to omiſſions of our duty, to unſeemly behaviour, and to the commiſſions of grievous ſin; to harſh cenſure, envious detraction, unwarrantable revenge, repining at the good ſucceſſes, and delighting in the misfortunes of others. Many examples occur in hiſtory, like thoſe of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and *Quint. Metellus* (*Pompey*'s antagoniſt) who, in purſuance of ſome private grudges, have not only betrayed their own intereſts, and ſullied their own reputations; but notably diſſerved, and damnified the publick weal of their countrey: And ſo will our being engaged in enmity with men cauſe us to neglect, if not to contradict, our deareſt concernments: Whence we ſhould carefully avoid the occaſions thereof, and by an innocent and beneficent converſation oblige men to a friendly correſpondence with us.

* Ἥσυχον καὶ τρανκυλον βίον. (a retired and quiet life.)

7. We are obliged to perform theſe duties of humanity, becauſe by ſo doing we become more capable of promoting goodneſs in others, and ſo of fulfilling the higheſt duties of chriſtian charity; of ſucceſsfully adviſing and admoniſhing others; of inſtructing their ignorance, and convincing their miſtakes; of removing their prejudices, and ſatisfying their ſcruples; of reclaiming them from vice, error, faction; and reconciling them to virtue, truth and peace. For by no force of reaſon, or ſtratagem of wit are men ſo eaſily ſubdued, by no bait ſo throughly allured and caught, as by real courteſie, gentleneſs and affability; as on the other ſide, by a ſour and peeviſh humour, ſupercilious looks, bitter language and harſh dealing men are rendred indocile and intractable, averſe from better inſtruction, obſtinate in their ways, and pertinacious in their conceits. Eaſily do men ſwallow the pill gilded with fair carriage, and ſweetned by kind ſpeech; readily do they afford a favourable ear to the advice ſeeming to proceed from good-will, and a tender care of their good; but the phyſick of wholſome admonition being ſteeped in the vinegar of reproach, and tempered with the gall of paſſion, becomes diſtaſteful and loathſome to the patient; neither will men willingly liſten to the reaſonings of thoſe, whom they apprehend diſaffected to their perſons, and more deſirous to wound their reputations, than to cure their diſtempers. The ſlighteſt argument, the moſt ſimple and unpoliſhed oration iſſuing from the mouth of a friend, is wonderfully more prevalent, than the ſtrongeſt demonſtration, than the moſt powerful eloquence of an enemy. For obliging uſage, and courteous ſpeech unlock the affections, and by them inſinuate into the reaſon of men; but ſurly deportment, and froward expreſſions dam up the attention with prejudice, and interclude all avenues to the underſtanding. An illuſtration of which diſcourſe we have from comparing the different practice of the *Jews*, and the ancient *Chriſtians*, with the contrary ſucceſſes thereof. The *Jews*, by their ſeditious, and turbulent practices, by their inſolent contempt, and implacable hatred of others (for you know what *Tacitus* ſaith of them: *Apud ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, ſed adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*) by their perverſe and unſociable humours, declining all intercourſe, and refuſing ordinary offices of humanity (ſo much as to ſhew the way, or to direct the thirſty traveller to the fountain) to any not of their own ſect, did procure an *odium*, ſcorn and infamy upon their religion, rendred all men averſe

Hiſt. lib. 5.

from enquiring into, or entertaining any good opinion thereof, and ſo very little inlarged its bounds, and gained few proſelytes thereto. But the *Chriſtians* by a mild, patient and peaceable behaviour; by obedience to laws, and compliance with harmleſs cuſtoms; by perfect innocence, and abſtinence from doing injury; by paying due reſpects, and performing civil offices and demonſtrations of benevolence; by loving converſation, and friendly commerce with all, commended their doctrine to the regard of men: And by this only piece of rhetorick (without terror of arms, or countenance of power, or plauſibility of diſcourſe, or promiſe of temporal reward) ſubdued the faith of men, and perſuaded a great part of the world to embrace their excellent profeſſion.

Thus the ancient Chriſtians; but when religion declined, diſſenſion and ill-will did grow; ſo that the heathen Hiſtorian (*Am. Mar.* lib. 22.) could ſay of *Julian*: *Nullas infeſtas hominibus beſtias, ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum, expertus.*

Tertul. *Apol.* "We converſe with you like men, we uſe the ſame diet, habit, and neceſſary "furniture: We have recourſe to your tribunals; we frequent your markets, your "fairs, your ſhops, your ſtalls, your ſhambles, your baths: We cohabit, we ſail, "we war, we till, we trade, we maintain all manner of commerce with you, ſaith the chriſtian apologiſt to the pagans, in behalf of the ancient chriſtians. Which kind of practice they derived not only from the ſweet temper and noble *genius* of their religion, but from the expreſs inſtitution of the firſt teachers thereof, and from their exemplary practice therein. For both by doctrine did the apoſtles exhort, and by their example incite them to adorn the goſpel, and render the diſcipline of Chriſt amiable by their meek, gentle, compliant and inoffenſive converſation; and thereby to allure others to a willing entertainment thereof. To this purpoſe are thoſe exhortations, *Phil.* 4. 5. *Let your moderation* (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν, *your equity*, or *gentleneſs*) *be known to all men:* And, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 14. ——*Comfort the* * *afflicted, ſupport the weak, be long-ſuffering toward all. Be ye all careful not to render evil for evil, but always purſue goodneſs toward each other, and toward all:* And, *Gal.* 6. 10. *As we have opportunity, let us do good to all men:* And, *Tit.* 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be ſubject to principalities and powers, to be ready to every good work; to reproach no man; not to be contentious, but gentle, ſhewing all meekneſs to all men:* And, 1 *Tim.* 2. 24. *The miniſter of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient: In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves:* (or thoſe that are otherwiſe diſpoſed, Τὰς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους) *if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth:* Where gentleneſs toward all, and meekneſs toward adverſaries are oppoſitely conjoyned, with aptneſs to teach and inſtruct; the one qualification ſo effectually prediſpoſing to the other: And it is beſide intimated, that gentle and meek treatment are ſuitable inſtruments ordinarily imployed by God to convert men from error to truth.

* Τὰς ἀλιτοψύχους.

8. We are bound hereto in compliance and conformity to the beſt patterns, God, Chriſt, the apoſtles, the primitive ſaints: This illuſtrious doctor of chriſtian religion St. *Paul* did not fail to ſecond this his doctrine with his own example. For, 1 Cor. 10. *ult.* *Give none offence* (ſaith he) *neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; even as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved: Pleaſe all men in all things;* 1 Cor. 19, &c. what could St. *Paul* ſay, or what do more? And again, *For though* (ſaith he) *I be free from all men, yet have I made my ſelf a ſervant unto all, that I might gain the more: To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that by all means I might ſave ſome.* See how far this charitable deſign of doing good to others tranſported him: He parted with his own freedom, that he might redeem them from the ſlavery of a wicked life; he denied his own preſent ſatisfaction, that he might procure them a laſting content: He deſpiſed his own profit, that he might promote their ſpiritual advantage; he proſtituted his own reputation, that he might advance them to a condition of true glory. He underwent grievous afflictions for their comfort; ſuſtained endleſs pains for their eaſe, and hazarded his own ſafety for their ſalvation. He condeſcended to their infirmities, ſuited his demeanor to their tempers, complied with their various humours, and contrary cuſtoms: He differed from himſelf, that he might agree with them, and transformed himſelf into all ſhapes, that he might convert them into what they ſhould be, reform their manners, and tranſlate them into a happy eſtate. But above all is the practice of our Lord himſelf moſt remarkable

to this purpoſe: And diſcovers plainly to him that obſerves an univerſally large and unreſtrained philanthropie. For having from a wonderful conſpiracy of kindneſs and good-will (between him and his eternal Father) toward the world of men, deſcended willingly from the throne of his celeſtial Majeſty, and inveloped his divine glory in a cloud of mortal frailty, and *that* (as the apoſtle ſaith) *he might reconcile all things in heaven and earth*, conjoin God and man by a nearer alliance, and unite men together by the more ſacred bands of common relation to himſelf: Having aſſumed not only the outward ſhape and corporeal reſemblance of man, but the inward frame, and real paſſions of humane ſouls; he diſdained not accordingly to obey the laws, to follow the inclinations, to obſerve the duties of the beſt and moſt perfect humanity; with an equal and impartial bounty imparting free admittance, familiar converſe, friendly aid and ſuccour unto all, even the worſt of men in all appearance (and that ſo far, that ſome rigorous cenſurers thence preſumed to tax him as *a glutton, and a good-fellow, a friend to publicans and ſinners*) diſtributing liberally to all the incomparable benefits of his heavenly doctrine, of his holy example, of his miraculous power; inſtructing the ignorances, detecting the errors, diſpoſſeſſing the devils; ſuſtaining the weakneſſes, over-looking the injuries, comforting the afflictions, ſupplying the neceſſities, healing the diſeaſes, and remedying all the miſeries of all, that did not wilfully reject their own welfare: *He went about* (ſaith St. *Peter* in the *Acts*) *doing good, and healing all that were oppreſſed of the devil:* And, **He went about all the cities and villages teaching in their ſynagogues, and preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and healing every ſickneſs, and every diſeaſe among the people* (ſaith St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel.) He deſpiſed not the meaneſt, either in outward eſtate, or ſpiritual improvement. He invited all unto him, repelled, or diſcouraged none; nor refuſed to any that came unto him, his counſel, or his help. He was averſe from no man's ſociety (and if in any degree from any, chiefly from thoſe, who confidently pretended to extraordinary ſanctity, and proudly contemned others.) Meek and gentle he was, mild and patient; courteous and benign; lowly and condeſcenſive; tender and compaſſionate in his converſation unto all. And for a complement of his tranſcendent charity, and for an enforcement unto ours, he laid down his life for us all, as a common price to purchaſe remiſſion of ſins; a general ranſom to redeem the human creation from the captivity of hell and ſlavery of corruption into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God; demoliſhing by his pacifick death all partition walls, and laying open all encloſures of the divine favour; reconciling God to man, and combining man to himſelf by the freſh cement of his precious blood: So that now not only as fellow-creatures; but (which is exceedingly more) as partakers of the ſame common redemption, as objects of the ſame mercy, as obliged in the ſame common debt, and as capable of the ſame eternal happineſs, by new and firmer engagements we are bound to all mutual kindneſs and benevolence toward all. For *Deſtroy not* (ſaith St. *Paul*, and by like reaſon I may ſay, harm not, vex not, be not unkind to) *him, for whom Chriſt died.*

Coloſſ. 1. 20.

Mat. 11. 19.

Acts 10. 38.

*Mat. 9. 35.

Luke 18. 9.

Rom. 8. 21.

Rom. 14.

Nay, farther, we have the example of almighty God himſelf directing, and by our Saviour's expreſs admonition obliging us to this univerſal beneficence, compaſſion and patience towards all. Who by expreſs teſtimony of ſacred writ, and by palpable ſigns of continual experience declareth himſelf to be a *lover of mankind; to be good to all, and tenderly merciful over all his works; not to afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men: To compaſſionate the miſeries, and ſupply the needs, and relieve the diſtreſſes; to deſire the ſalvation, and to delight in the happineſs of men. Who with an indifferent, unlimited munificence diſpenſes his bleſſings, extends his watchful providence, and imparts his loving care unto all: Cauſing his Sun with comfortable beams to ſhine, and the refreſhing ſhowers to deſcend, the earth to yield her pleaſant fruits, the temperate ſeaſons to recur, and all the elements to miniſter ſuccour, joy and ſatisfaction even to the moſt impious and ungrateful toward him. Who with immenſe clemency and long ſufferance over-looks the ſacrilegious affronts offered daily to his majeſty; the outragious violations of his laws, and the contemptuous neglects of his unexpreſſible goodneſs: Who patiently waits for the repentance, and inceſſantly ſolicits the reconcilement, courts the amity, and in a manner begs the good will of his moſt deadly enemies: whom he hath always in his hand, and can cruſh to nothing at his pleaſure. For, *We are embaſſadors for Chriſt, as if God by us did entreat you: We beſeech you in Chriſt's behalf; be reconciled to God* (ſaith St. *Paul.*)

*Tit. 3. 4. *&c.* Pſal. 145. 9.

Vid. Clement. *Epiſt. ad* Cor. *pag.* 27.

Since

Since therefore upon account of natural conſanguinity, of our beſt inclinations, of common equity, and general advantage, and an implicite compact between men; of ſecuring our, and promoting others virtue and piety; from the exhortations of ſcripture mentioned, and many more tending to the ſame purpoſe, from the example of the ancient chriſtians, the leaders and champions of our religion, of the apoſtles, the maſters and patriarchs thereof, of our bleſſed Redeemer, and of almighty God himſelf, we are obliged to this univerſal benevolence and beneficence toward all; no miſapprehenſions of judgment, no miſcarriages in practice, no ill diſpoſitions of ſoul, no demerits in himſelf, no diſcourteſies toward us ought wholly to alienate our affections from, or to avert us from doing good, or to encline us to render evil for evil unto any perſon: Eſpecially conſidering, that the omiſſions of others, cannot excuſe us from the performance of our duty; that no man is to be preſumed incorrigible, nor (like the lapſed Angels) concluded in deſperate impenitence; and that our loving and gentle demeanor toward them may be inſtrumental to their amendment, and the contrary may contribute to their progreſs and continuance in offences; that God hath promiſed to us a reward of our patience, and hath reſerved to them a ſeaſon of judgment and puniſhment, if they perſiſt obſtinate in their diſorderly courſes; that to avenge their treſpaſſes belongs not to us, but to almighty God, who is more nearly concerned in, and more injured by them, and is yet content to endure them, to prolong their lives, to continue his benefits to them, and to expect their converſion: That our differing from them is not to be attributed to our ſelves, but wholly, or chiefly to the goodneſs of God; that we always were, are, and ſhall be liable to the ſame errors, vices, and miſdemeanors: That (laſtly) the faults and follies of others, like the maims of body, diſtempers of ſoul, or croſſes of fortune (being their own greateſt unhappineſſes) require rather our pity than our hatred, to be eaſed by our help, than aggravated by our unkindneſs. 'Tis too ſcant therefore and narrow a charity that is limited by correſpondence of courteſie, or by the perſonal merits of others. We are bound to live peaceably with, that is, to be innocent, beneficial, reſpective to all, and to ſeek the reciprocal good-will, love, and amity of all. But I have inſiſted too long upon this particular, concerning the object of this duty, and its extenſion.

III. I proceed briefly to conſider whence it comes, that (as I before obſerved was intimated in theſe words, *If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you*) though we do our parts, and perform carefully the duties incumbent on us, though we bear good-will, and do good offices, and yield due reſpects, and abſtain from all not only injurious, but rigorous dealing toward all; though we revile none, nor cenſure harſhly, nor preſumptuouſly intermeddle with others affairs; though we obey laws, and comply with received cuſtoms, and avoid all occaſions of contention, though our tempers be meek, our principles peaceable, and our converſations inoffenſive, we may yet prove ſucceſsleſs in our endeavours to live peaceably, and may be hated, harmed and diſquieted in our courſe of life. That it ſo happens, we find by plain experience, and manifold example. For *Moſes, the meekeſt man upon earth*, and commended beſide by all circumſtances of divine favour, and humane worth, was yet often envied, impugned and moleſted by thoſe, whom by all manner of benefits he had moſt highly obliged. And we find *David* frequently complaining, that by thoſe, whoſe good-will by performing all offices of friendly kindneſs, and brotherly affection, he had ſtudiouſly laboured to deſerve, whoſe maladies and calamities he had not only tenderly commiſerated, but had prayed and humbled his ſoul with faſting for their recovery and deliverance from them, was yet recompenſed by their treacherous devices againſt his ſafety, by grievous reproaches, and ſcornful inſultings over him in his affliction; as we ſee at large in *Pſalms* 35. and 69. And in *Pſalm* 120. he thus lamentably bemoans his condition: *Wo is me that I ſojourn in Meſech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar: My ſoul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace: I am for peace, but when I ſpeak, they are for war:* And our bleſſed Saviour himſelf, though in the whole tenour of his life he demonſtrated an incomparable meekneſs and ſweetneſs of [redacted], and exerciſed continually all manner of kindneſs and beneficence [redacted] men, was notwithſtanding loaded with all kinds of injuries and contumelies, was bitterly hated, ignominiouſly diſgraced, and maliciouſly perſecuted unto death: and the ſame lot befel his faithful Diſciples, that although their deſign was benign and charitable, their carriage blameleſs and obliging toward all, they were yet purſued conſtantly

Vid. Pſal. 55. 120.

[redacted] born

both by the outrageous clamours of the people, and cruel uſages from thoſe in eminent power. Now though it ſeem ſtrange and almoſt incredible, that they who are truly friends to all, and are ready to do to all what good they can; who willingly diſpleaſe none but induſtriouſly ſtrive to acquire (not with glozing ſhews of popularity, but by real expreſſions of kindneſs) the good-will and favour of all, ſhould yet be maligned, or moleſted by any; yet ſeeing it ſo happens, if we enquire into the reaſon, we ſhall find this miracle in morality, to proceed (to omit the neglect of the duties mentioned in our former diſcourſe) chiefly from the exceeding variety, difference and contrariety of mens diſpoſitions, joined with the moroſity, aptneſs to miſtake, envy, or unreaſonable perverſeneſs of ſome; which neceſſarily render the means of attaining all mens good-will inſufficient, and the endeavours unſucceſsful. For men ſeeing by ſeveral lights, reliſhing with diverſly diſpoſed palates, and meaſuring things by different ſtandards, we can hardly do or ſay any thing, which if approved and applauded by ſome, will not be diſliked and blamed by others; if it advance us in the opinion of ſome, will not as much depreſs us in the judgment of others; ſo that in this irreconcileable diverſity and inconſiſtency of mens apprehenſions, it is impoſſible not to diſpleaſe many: Eſpecially ſince ſome men either by their natural temper, or from the influence of ſome ſowre principles they have imbibed, are ſo moroſe, rigid and ſelf-willed; ſo impatient of all contradiction to, or diſcrepancy from their ſentiments, that they cannot endure any to diſſent in judgment, or vary in practice from them, without incurring their heavy diſdain and cenſure. And, which makes the matter more deſperate and remedileſs, ſuch men commonly being leaſt able either to manage their reaſon, or to command their paſſion, as guided wholly by certain blind impulſes of fancy, or groundleſs prejudices of conceit, or by a partial admiration of ſome mens perſons, examples and authorities, are uſually moſt reſolute and peremptory in their courſes, and thence hardly capable of any change, mitigation or amendment. Of which ſort there being divers engaged in ſeveral ways, it is impoſſible to pleaſe ſome without diſguſting the other; and difficult altogether to approach any of theſe waſps, without being ſtung or vexed by them. Some alſo are ſo apt to miſunderſtand mens meanings, to miſconſtrue their words, and to make ill deſcants upon, or draw bad conſequences from their actions, that 'tis not poſſible to prevent their entertaining ill-favoured prejudices againſt even thoſe that are heartily their friends, and wiſh them the beſt. To others the good and proſperous eſtate of their neighbour, that he flouriſhes in wealth, power or reputation, is ground ſufficient of hatred and enmity againſt him; for ſo we ſee that *Cain* hated his innocent brother *Abel*, becauſe his brother's works were more righteous, and his ſacrifices better accepted than his own: That *Joſeph*'s brethren were mortally offended at him, becauſe his father eſpecially loved and delighted in him: That *Saul* was enraged againſt *David*, becauſe his gallant deeds were celebrated with due praiſes and joyful acclamations of the people: And that the *Babylonian* Princes, upon no other ſcore, maligned *Daniel*, but becauſe he enjoyed the favour of the King, and a dignity anſwerable to his deſerts: And who, that loves his own welfare, can poſſibly avoid ſuch enmities as theſe? But the fatal rock, upon which peaceable deſigns are moſt inevitably ſplit, and which by no prudent ſteering our courſe can ſometimes be evaded, is the unreaſonable perverſeneſs of mens pretences, who ſometimes will upon no terms be friends with us, or allow us their good-will, but upon condition of concurring with them in diſhoneſt and unwarrantable practices; of omitting ſome duties to which by the expreſs command of God, or evident dictates of right reaſon we are obliged, or performing ſome action repugnant to thoſe indiſpenſable rules. But though peace with men is highly valuable, and poſſeſſing their good-will in worth not inferior to any other indifferent accommodation of life, yet are theſe nothing comparable to the favour of God, or the internal ſatisfaction of conſcience; nor though we were aſſured thereby to gain the entire love and favour of all men living, are we to purchaſe them at ſo dear a rate as with the loſs of theſe. We muſt not, to pleaſe ſo gratifie men, commit any thing prohibited, or omit any thing enjoyned by God, the leaſt glimpſe of whoſe favourable aſpect is infinitely more to be prized, than the moſt intimate friendſhip of the mightieſt monarchs upon earth: And the leaſt ſpark of whoſe indignation is more to be dreaded, than the extremeſt diſpleaſure of the whole world. In caſe of ſuch competition, we muſt reſolve with St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 1. 10. *Do I yet* * *conciliate God, or do I endeavour to* * Gr. *ſooth*

ſooth men? For if I yet ſoothed (or flattered) *men* (ſo you know ἀρέσκειν ſignifies) *I were not the ſervant of Chriſt.* Nor are we, that we may ſatisfie any man's pleaſure, to contravene the dictates of reaſon (that ſubordinate guide of our actions) to do any diſhonourable or uncomely action, unworthy of a man, misbeſeeming our education, or incongruous to our ſtation in humane ſociety, ſo as to make our ſelves worthily deſpicable to the moſt by contenting ſome: Nor are we bound always to deſert our own conſiderable intereſt, or betray our juſt liberty, that we may avoid the enmity of ſuch as would violently or fraudulently encroach upon them. Nor are we in the adminiſtration of juſtice, diſtribution of rewards, or arbitration of controverſies to reſpect the particular favour of any, but the merits only of the cauſe, or the worth of the perſons concerned. Nor are we by feeding mens diſtempered humours, or gratifying their abuſed fancies to prejudice or neglect their real good; to encourage them in bad practices, to foment their irregular paſſions, to applaud their unjuſt or uncharitable cenſures, or to puff up their minds with vain conceit by ſervile flattery: But rather, like faithful phyſicians, to adminiſter wholeſome, though unſavoury, advice; to reveal to them their miſtakes, to check their intended progreſs in bad courſes, to reprove their faults ſeaſonably, and when it may probably do them good, though poſſibly thereby we may provoke their anger and procure their ill-will, and (as St. *Paul* ſaith) become their enemies, for telling them the truth. Nor are we ever explicitely to aſſent to falſhoods (ſo apprehended by us,) to bely our conſciences, or contradict our real judgments (tho' we may ſometimes for peace ſake prudently conceal them;) Nor to deny the truth our defence and patronage, when in order to ſome good purpoſe it needs and requires them, though thereby we may incur the diſlike, and forfeit the good-will of ſome men. Nor are we by entertaining any extraordinary friendſhip, intimate familiarity, or frequent converſe with perſons notoriouſly diſſolute in their manners, diſorderly in their behaviour, or erroneous in weighty points of opinion, to countenance their miſdemeanors, diſhonour our profeſſion, render our ſelves juſtly ſuſpected, run the hazard of contagion, or hinder their reformation. And eſpecially we are warily to decline the particular acquaintance of men of contentious diſpoſitions, miſchievous principles, and factious deſigns; a bare keeping company with whom looks like a conſpiracy, an approving or abetting their proceedings; the refuſing any encouragement, ſignification of eſteem, or vouchſafing any peculiar reſpect to ſuch, we owe to the honour of virtue, which they diſgrace, to the love of truth which they oppugn, to the peace of the world which they diſturb, and to the general good of mankind, which they impeach. And ſo St. *Paul* warns us not to *mingle* or conſort, not to *diet* or *common* (μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, & μὴ συνεσθίειν) with men of a diſſolute and diſorderly converſation: And, *to mark them which cauſe ſeditions, and ſcandals, contrary to chriſtian doctrine, and to ſhun, or decline them* (ἐκκλίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν) and to repudiate, deprecate the familiarity of hereticks (Αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον παραιτεῖσθαι.) And St. *John* forbids us to *wiſh joy*, or to allow the ordinary reſpects of civil ſalutation to apoſtates and impoſtors: *leſt* (by ſuch demonſtration of favour) *we communicate with them in their wicked works.* None of which precepts are intended to interdict to us, or to diſoblige us from bearing real good-will, or diſpenſing needful benefits to any, but to deter us from yielding any ſignal countenance to vice and impiety; and to excite us to declare ſuch diſlike and deteſtation of thoſe heinous enormities as may confer to the reclaiming of theſe, and prevent the ſeduction of others. So St. *Paul* expreſſly, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. 14. *But if any man obeyeth not our injunction by epiſtle, do not conſort with him, that he may by ſhame be reclaimed* (ἵνα ἐντραπῇ) And, *account him not an enemy, but admoniſh him as a brother.* Nor ought laſtly the love of peace and deſire of friendly correſpondence with any men, avert us from an honeſt zeal (proportionable to our abilities and opportunities) of promoting the concernments of truth and goodneſs, though againſt powerful and dangerous oppoſition: I ſay an honeſt zeal, meaning thereby not that blind, heady paſſion, or inflammation of ſpirit, tranſporting men beyond the bounds of reaſon and diſcretion, upon ſome ſuperficially plauſible pretences, to violent and irregular practices; but a conſiderate and ſteady reſolution of mind, effectually animating a man by warrantable and decent means vigorouſly to proſecute commendable deſigns; like that St. *Jude* mentions, of *ſtriving earneſtly for the faith once delivered to the Saints.* For this zeal may be very conſiſtent with, yea, greatly conducible to the deſigns of peace.

Gal. 4. 16.

1 Cor. 5.

Ἀνάκλησις αἵρετ.

Rom. 16. 17. Tit. 3. 10. 2 Joh. 10.

Jude 3.

And

And 'tis not a drouſineſs, a ſlack remiſsneſs, a heartleſs diffidence, or a cowardly ſlinching from the face of danger and oppoſition, we diſcourſe about, or plead for, but a wiſe and wary declining the occaſions of needleſs and unprofitable diſturbance to our ſelves and others.

To conclude this point (which if time would have permitted, I ſhould have handled more fully and diſtinctly) though to preſerve peace, and purchaſe the good-will of men, we may and ought to quit much of our private intereſt and ſatisfaction, yet ought we not to ſacrifice to them what is not our own, nor committed abſolutely to our diſpoſal, and which in value incomparably tranſcends them, the maintenance of truth, the advancement of juſtice, the practice of virtue, the quiet of our conſcience, the favour of almighty God. And if for being dutiful to God, and faithful to our ſelves in theſe particulars, any men will hate, vex and deſpite us; fruſtrate our deſires, and defeat our purpoſes of living peaceably with all men in this world: we may comfort our ſelves in the enjoyment of eternal peace and ſatisfaction of mind, in the aſſurance of the divine favour, in the hopes of eternal reſt and tranquillity in the world to come.

Now briefly to induce us to the practice of this duty of living peaceably, we may conſider,

1. *How good and pleaſant a thing it is* (as *David* ſaith) *for brethren* (and ſo we are all at leaſt by nature) *to live together in unity.* How that (as *Solomon* ſaith) *better is a dry morſel, and quietneſs therewith, than a houſe full of ſacrifices with ſtrife.* How delicious that converſation is, which is accompanied with a mutual confidence, freedom, courteſie and complacence: how calm the mind, how compoſed the affections, how ſerene the countenance, how melodious the voice, how ſweet the ſleep, how contentful the whole life is of him that neither deviſeth miſchief againſt others, nor ſuſpects any to be contrived againſt himſelf: and contrariwiſe, how ingrateful and loathſome a thing it is to abide in a ſtate of enmity, wrath, diſſenſion: having the thoughts diſtracted with ſolicitous care, anxious ſuſpicion, envious regret; the heart boiling with choler, the face overclouded with diſcontent, the tongue jarring and out of tune, the ears filled with diſcordant noiſes of contradiction, clamour and reproach; the whole frame of body and ſoul diſtempered and diſturbed with the worſt of paſſions. How much more comfortable it is to walk in ſmooth and even paths, than to wander in rugged ways, overgrown with briars, obſtructed with rubs, and beſet with ſnares; to ſail ſteadily in a quiet, than to be toſſed in a tempeſtuous ſea; to behold the lovely face of heaven ſmiling with a cheerful ſerenity, than to ſee it frowning with clouds, or raging with ſtorms; to hear harmonious conſents, than diſſonant janglings; to ſee objects correſpondent in graceful ſymmetry, than lying diſorderly in confuſed heaps; to be in health, and have the natural humours conſent in moderate temper, than (as it happens in diſeaſes) agitated with tumultuous commotions: How all ſenſes and faculties of man unanimouſly rejoyce in thoſe emblems of peace, order, harmony and proportion. Yea how nature univerſally delights in a quiet ſtability or undiſturbed progreſs of motion; the beauty, ſtrength and vigour of every thing requires a concurrence of force, co-operation, and contribution of help; all things thrive and flouriſh by communicating reciprocal aid, and the world ſubſiſts by a friendly conſpiracy of its parts; and eſpecially that political ſociety of men chiefly aims at peace as its end, depends on it as its cauſe, relies on it as its ſupport. How much a peaceful ſtate reſembles heaven, into which neither *complaint, pain*, nor *clamour* (ὔτε πένθος, ὔτε πόνος, ὔτε κραυγή, as it is in the *Apocalypſe*) do ever enter; but bleſſed ſouls converſe together in perfect love, and in perpetual concord; and how a condition of enmity repreſents the ſtate of hell, that black and diſmal region of dark hatred, fiery wrath, and horrible tumult. How like a paradiſe the world would be, flouriſhing in joy and reſt, if men would cheerfully conſpire in affection, and helpfully contribute to each others content: and how like a ſavage wilderneſs now it is, when, like wild beaſts, they vex and perſecute, worry and devour each other. How not only philoſophy hath placed the ſupreme pitch of happineſs in a calmneſs of mind, and tranquillity of life, void of care and trouble, of irregular paſſions and perturbations; but that holy ſcripture it ſelf in that one term of peace moſt uſually comprehends all joy and content, all felicity and proſperity: ſo that the heavenly conſort of Angels, when they agree moſt

Pſal. 133. 1.

Prov. 17. 1.

Vid. Clem. *ad* Cor. *pag.* 27, &c.

Apoc. 21.

Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a ſtalled ox and hatred therewith. Prov. 15. 17.

Ἀταραξία.

Luke 2. 14.

moſt highly to bleſs, and to wiſh the greateſt happineſs to mankind, could not better expreſs their ſenſe, than by ſaying, *Be on earth peace, and good-will among men.*

2. That as nothing is more ſweet and delightful, ſo nothing more comely and agreeable to humane nature than peaceable living, it being (as *Solomon* ſaith) *an honour to a man to ceaſe from ſtrife*; and conſequently alſo a diſgrace to him to continue therein: That rage and fury may be the excellencies of beaſts, and the exerting their natural animoſity in ſtrife and combat may become them; but reaſon and diſcretion are the ſingular eminencies of men, and the uſe of theſe the moſt natural and commendable method of deciding controverſies among them: and that it extremely misbecomes them that are endowed with thoſe excellent faculties ſo to abuſe them, as not to apprehend each others meanings, but to ground vexatious quarrels upon the miſtake of them: not to be able by reaſonable expedients to compound differences, but with mutual damage and inconvenience to prorogue and encreaſe them: not to diſcern how exceedingly better it is to be helpful and beneficial, than to be miſchievous and troubleſome to one another. How fooliſhly and unskilfully they judge, that think by unkind ſpeech and harſh dealing to allay mens diſtempers, alter their opinions, or remove their prejudices; as if they ſhould attempt to kill by miniſtring nouriſhment, or to extinguiſh a flame by pouring oil upon it. How childiſh a thing it is eagerly to contend about trifles, for the ſuperiority in ſome impertinent conteſt, for the ſatisfaction of ſome petty humour, for the poſſeſſion of ſome inconſiderable toy: yea how barbarous and brutiſh a thing it is to be fierce and impetuous in the purſuit of things that pleaſe us, ſnarling at, biting and tearing all competitors of our game, or oppoſers of our undertaking. But how divine and amiable, how worthy of humane nature, of civil breeding, of prudent conſideration it is, to reſtrain partial deſires, to condeſcend to equal terms, to abate from rigorous pretences, to appeaſe diſcords, and vanquiſh enmities by courteſie and diſcretion; like the beſt and wiſeſt commanders, who by skilful conduct, and patient attendance upon opportunity, without ſtriking of ſtroke or ſhedding of blood, ſubdue their enemy.

Prov. 20. 3.

3. How that peace with its near alliance and concomitants, its cauſes and effects, love, meekneſs, gentleneſs and patience, are in ſacred writ reputed the genuine fruits of the holy ſpirit, iſſues of divine grace, and off-ſprings of heavenly wiſdom; producing like themſelves a goodly progeny of righteous deeds. But that emulation, hatred, wrath, variance and ſtrife derive their extraction from fleſhly luſt, helliſh craft, or beaſtly folly; propagating themſelves alſo into a like ugly brood of wicked works. For ſo ſaith St. *James*, *If you have bitter zeal and ſtrife in your hearts, glory not, * nor be deceived untruly: This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh: For where emulation and ſtrife are, there is † tumult, and every ‡ naughty thing: but the wiſdom that is from above is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, * obſequious, full of mercy* (or beneficence) *and of good fruits, without partiality and diſſimulation: And the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowed in peace to thoſe that make peace: and from whence are wars, and quarrels among you? Are they not hence, even from your luſts, that war in your members?* Likewiſe, *He loveth tranſgreſſion that loveth ſtrife*; and, *A fools lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for ſtrokes*, ſaith *Solomon*. That the moſt wickeh and miſerable of creatures is deſcribed by titles denoting enmity and diſcord: *the hater* (ſatan) *the enemy* (ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος) *the accuſer* (ὁ κατήγορος) *the ſlanderer* (ὁ διάβολος) *the deſtroyer* (ὁ ἀπολλύων) the furious dragon, and miſchievouſly treacherous ſnake: and how ſad it is to imitate him in his practices, to reſemble him in his qualities: But that the beſt, moſt excellent, and moſt happy of beings delights to be ſtyled, and accordingly to expreſs himſelf, *The God of love, mercy and peace*; and his bleſſed Son to be called, and to be, *the prince of peace*, the great *mediator, reconciler, and peace-maker*, who is alſo ſaid from on high to have viſited us, *To give light to them that ſit in darkneſs, and in the ſhadow of death, and to guide our feet in the ways of peace.* That laſtly no devotion is pleaſing, no oblation acceptable to God, conjoined with hatred, or proceeding from an unreconciled mind: For, *If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee; Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift*, ſaith our Saviour.

Gal. 5.

Jam. 3. 14.
* Καὶ μὴ ψεύδεσθε κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας.
† Ἀκαταστασία, confuſion.
‡ Φαῦλον πρᾶγμα.
* Εὐπειθής.
Prov. 17 19.
Prov. 18. 6.
Qui poſuit in cælo bellum, in paradiſo fraudem, odium inter primos fratres. Aug.
Mat. 13. 28.
Ἀντίδικος,
1 Pet. 5. 8.
A murtherer,
John 8. 44.
2 Cor. 13. 11.
Philip. 4. 9.
1 Theſſ. 5. 23.
2 Theſſ. 3. 16.
Heb. 7.
Luke 1. 79.
Χαίειν δὲ τὴν ξυμφωνίαν λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ παντὸς, καὶ εὐλογεῖν τὸν ἀφανῆ. Orig. c. Celſ. 8. (p. 424.)
Mat. 5. 23, 24.

I clofe

I cloſe up all with this *Corollary:* that if we muſt live lovingly, aud peaceably with all men, then much more are we obliged to do ſo with all Chriſtians: to whom by nearer and firmer bands of holy alliance we are related; by more precious communions in faith and devotion we are endeared; by more peculiar and powerful obligations of divine commands, ſacramental vows, and formal profeſſions we are engaged: Our ſpiritual brethren, members of the ſame myſtical body, temples of the ſame holy ſpirit, ſervants of the ſame Lord, ſubjects of the ſame prince, profeſſors of the ſame truth, partakers of the ſame hope, heirs of the ſame promiſe, and candidates of the ſame everlaſting happineſs.

Now Almighty God, the moſt good and beneficent Maker, gracious Lord, and merciful preſerver of all things, infuſe into our hearts thoſe heavenly graces of meekneſs, patience and benignity, grant us and his whole church, and all his creation to ſerve him quietly here, and in a bliſsful reſt to praiſe and magnify him for ever: To whom with his bleſſed Son, the great Mediator and Prince of peace, and with his holy Spirit, the ever-flowing ſpring of all love, joy, comfort and peace, be all honour, glory and praiſe. And

The peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: And the bleſſing of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt be among you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

THE
Duty and Reward
OF
BOUNTY
TO THE
POOR.

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir RICHARD FORD,

Lord MAYOR

OF

LONDON,

AND THE

Court of Aldermen.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

AS out of grateful Reſpect I did (although otherwiſe indiſpoſed for ſuch Employments) endeavour to diſcharge that Service which You vouchſafed to call me unto, in conceiving and uttering theſe Meditations; ſo now, in publiſhing them, I do purely ſubmit to Your Commands, meaning therein to approve my ſelf,

Right Honourable,

Your moſt Obedient Servant,

Iſaac Barrow.

SERMON

SERMON XXXI.

The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor.

PSAL. CXII. 9.

He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor; his righteouſneſs endureth for ever, his horn ſhall be exalted with honour.

This Sermon was preached at the *Spittal* upon *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* week, *Anno Domini*, 1671.

AS this whole pſalm appears to have a double intent; one to deſcribe the proper actions and affections of a truly religious or pious man; (of a man *who feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments*;) the other to declare the happineſs of ſuch a man's ſtate, conſequent upon thoſe his affections and actions, whether in way of natural reſult, or of gracious recompence from God: So doth this verſe particularly contain both a good part of a pious man's character, and ſome conſiderable inſtances of his felicity. The firſt words (*He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor*) expreſs part of his character; the latter (*His righteouſneſs endureth for ever, his horn ſhall be exalted with honour*) aſſign inſtances of his felicity. So that our text hath two parts, one affording us good information concerning our duty, the other yielding great encouragement to the performance thereof; for we are obliged to follow the pious man's practice, and ſo doing we ſhall aſſuredly partake of his condition. Theſe parts we ſhall in order proſecute, endeavouring (by God's aſſiſtance) ſomewhat to illuſtrate the words themſelves, to confirm the truths couched in them, and to inculcate the duties which they imply. ℣. 1.

For the firſt part, *He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor*; theſe words in general do import the liberal bounty and mercy which a pious man is wont to exerciſe; doing which, doth in good part conſtitute him pious, and ſignally declareth him ſuch; is a neceſſary ingredient of his piety, and a conſpicuous mark thereof: But particularly they inſinuate ſome things concerning the nature, the matter, the manner, and the object of thoſe acts.

He hath diſperſed, he hath given. Thoſe words being put indefinitely, or without determining what is diſperſed and given by him, may be ſuppoſed to imply a kind of univerſality in the matter of his beneficence; that he beſtoweth whatever he hath within compaſs of his poſſeſſion, or his power; his τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, (the things which he hath,) and his τὰ ἐνόντα, (the things which he may,) according to the preſcriptions of our Lord in the Goſpel. Every thing (I ſay) which he hath in ſubſtance, or can do by his endeavour, that may conduce to the ſupport of the life, or the health, or the welfare in any kind of his neighbour, to the ſuccour or relief of his indigency, to the removal or eaſement of his affliction, he may well here be underſtood to diſperſe and give. Feeding the hungry, cloathing the naked, viſiting the ſick, entertaining the ſtranger, ranſoming the captive, eaſing the oppreſſed, comforting the ſorrowful, aſſiſting the weak, inſtructing or adviſing the ignorant, together with all ſuch kinds or inſtances of beneficence, may be conceived either immediately as the matter of the good man's diſperſing and giving, or by juſt analogy of reaſon inducible thereto: Subſtantial alms, as the moſt ſenſible and obvious matter of bounty, was ('tis probable) eſpecially intended, but thence no manner of expreſſing it is to be excluded; for the ſame reaſons which oblige us, the ſame affections which diſpoſe us to beſtow our money, or deal our bread, will equally bind and move us to contribute our endeavour and advice, for the ſuſtenance and comfort of our poor neighbour. Anſwerably our diſcourſe will more expreſſly Luke 12. 33. Luke 11. 41.

regard

regard the principal matter, liberal communication of our goods; but it may be referred to all ſorts of beneficence.

Farther, the word *diſperſed* intimateth the nature of his bounty, in excluſion of practices different from it. He *diſperſeth*, and is therefore not tenacious, doth not hoard up his goods, or keep them cloſe to himſelf, for the gratifying his covetous humour, or nouriſhing his pride, or pampering his ſenſuality; but ſendeth them abroad for the uſe and benefit of others. He *diſperſeth* his goods, and therefore doth not fling them away altogether, as if he were angry with them, or weary of them, as if he loathed or deſpiſed them; but fairly and ſoftly, with good conſideration he diſpoſeth of them here and there, as reaſon and need do require. He *diſperſeth* them *to the poor*, not diſſipateth them among vain or lewd perſons in wanton or wicked profuſions, in riotous exceſſes, in idle divertiſements, in expenſive curioſities, in hazardous gamings, in any ſuch courſes which ſwallow whole all that a man hath, or do ſo cripple him, that he becomes unable to diſperſe any thing: Our good man is to be underſtood wiſely provident, honeſtly induſtrious, and ſoberly frugal, that he may have wherewith to be juſt firſt, and then liberal.

Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς χρήματα ἔχειν μὴ ἐπιμελούμενον ὅπως ἔχῃ. Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 1.

His *diſperſing* alſo (or *ſcattering*, ſo the * *Hebrew* word here uſed is otherwhere rendred: *There is* (ſaith the wiſe man) *that ſcatterèth, and yet increaſeth:* where we may remark, that this word ſingly by it ſelf, without any adjunct matter to limit or interpret it, is uſed to ſignifie this kind of practice. This his *diſperſing*, I ſay alſo) denotes the extent of the pious man's bounty, that it is very large and diffuſive, and in a manner unreſtrained; that it reacheth to many places, and is with-held from no perſons within the verge of his power, and opportunity to do good. This practice commonly by a like phraſe (unto which perhaps this word refers) is termed *ſowing: He* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *which ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall alſo reap ſparingly; and he which ſoweth bountifully, ſhall alſo reap bountifully.* Now, he that ſoweth, having choſen a good ſoil, and a fit ſeaſon, doth not regard one particular ſpot, but throweth all about ſo much as his hand can hold, ſo far as the ſtrength of his arm doth carry. It is likewiſe called *watering*, (*He that watereth*, ſaith *Solomon*, *ſhall be watred himſelf:*) which expreſſion alſo ſeemeth to import a plentiful and promiſcuous effuſion of good, dropping in ſhowers upon dry and parched places; that is, upon perſons dry for want, or parched with affliction. So the good man doth not plant his bounty in one ſmall hole, or ſpout it on one narrow ſpot, but with an open hand diſſeminates it, with an impartial regard diſtills it all about. He ſtints it not to his own family or relations; to his neighbours or friends, or benefactors; to thoſe of his own ſect and opinion, or of his humour and diſpoſition; to ſuch as ſerve him, or oblige him, or pleaſe him; whom ſome private intereſt ties, or ſome particular affection endears him to: but ſcatters it indifferently and unconfinedly toward all men that need it; toward mere ſtrangers, yea, toward known enemies; toward ſuch who never did him any good, or can ever be able to do any; yea, even toward them who have done evil to him, and may be preſumed ready to do more. Nothing in his neighbour but abſence of need, nothing in himſelf but defect of ability, doth curb or limit his beneficence. In that προθυμία (that proclivity and promptitude of mind) which St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, he doth good every where: whereever a man is, there is a room for his wiſhing well, and doing good, if he can: He obſerves that rule of the Apoſtle, *As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men.* So the pious man hath *diſperſed*. It follows,

Εἰ τοίνυν τινὰ κακῶς πάσχοντα, μηδὲν περιεργάζῃ λοιπὸν· ἔχει τὸ δικαίωμα ἡ βοηθείας, τῷ κακῶς παθεῖν αὐτόν.—τῷ θεῷ ἐχθρὸς, κἂν Ἕλλην, κἂν Ἰουδαῖος. Chryſ. *in Heb. Orat.* 10.

He hath given to the poor. Theſe words denote the freeneſs of his bounty, and determine the principal object thereof: He not only lendeth (though he alſo doth that upon reaſonable occaſion; for, *A good man*, as it is ſaid before in this pſalm, *ſheweth mercy, and lendeth*; and other-where, *The righteous is ever merciful, and lendeth*; he I ſay, not only ſometimes willingly lendeth) to thoſe who in time may repay, or requite him; but he freely giveth to the poor, that is, to thoſe from whom he can expect no retribution back. He doth not (as good and pious, he doth not) preſent the rich: To do ſo is but a cheatly way of begging, or a ſubtile kind of trade; 'tis hardly courteſie; 'tis ſurely no bounty; to ſuch perſons (if they are not very ſordid or very careleſs, and ſuch men are not uſually much troubled with preſents) will it is likely over-do him, or at leaſt will be even with him in kindneſs. In doing this, there is little virtue; for it, there will be ſmall

reward.

2 Cor. 9. 6, 10. Gal. 6. 7, 8. Prov. 11. 18.

Prov. 11. 25.

2 Cor. 8. 12. *Ubicunque homo eſt, ibi beneficio locus eſt.* Sen. *de Vit. B. cap.* 24.

Gal. 6. 10.

2 Cor. 9. 13.

Pſal. 112. 5.

Pſal. 37. 26.

Qui diviti donat, petit. He that giveth to the rich ſhall ſurely come to want.

reward. For, *If you do good to them who do good to you*, (or whom you conceive able and diſpoſed to requite you,) ποία χάρις *what thanks* are due to you? For that (ſaith our Saviour) *even ſinners* (even men notoriouſly bad) *do the ſame: And if you lend to them from whom you hope to receive, what thanks have you? For ſinners even lend to ſinners, to receive as much again.* All men commonly, the bad no leſs than the good, are apt to be ſuperfluouſly kind in heaping favours on thoſe whom fortune befriends, and whoſe condition requires not their courteſie; every one almoſt is ready to adopt himſelf into the kindred, or to ſcrue himſelf into the friendſhip of the wealthy and proſperous: But where kindred is of uſe, there it is ſeldom found; it is commonly ſo deaf, as not to hear when it is call'd; ſo blind, as not to diſcern its proper object, and natural ſeaſon, (*the time of adverſity, for which a brother is born.*) Men diſclaim alliance with the needy, and ſhun his acquaintance; ſo the wiſeman obſerved, *All the brethren of the poor do hate him, how much more do his friends go far from him?* Thus it is in vulgar practice: But the pious man is more judicious, more juſt, and more generous in the placing of his favours; he is courteous to purpoſe, he is good to thoſe who need. He, as ſuch, doth not make large entertainments *for his friends, his brethren, his kindred, his rich neighbours*; but obſerves that precept of the Lord, *When thou makeſt a feaſt, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed: For they cannot recompenſe thee, thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the reſurrection of the juſt.* Thus the pious man giveth, that is, with a free heart and pure intention beſtoweth his goods on the indigent, without deſigning any benefit, or hoping for any requital to himſelf; except from God, in conſcience, reſpect and love to whom he doth it.

Luke 6. 33, 34.

Ὅλως δ' ὁ δαίμων τῷ διδῷ, τί χρὴ φίλων; Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὠφελεῖν θέλων. Eurip. *in Oreſt.*

Τῶν εὐτυχούντων πάντες εἰσὶ συγγενεῖς.

Prov. 17. 17.

Prov. 19. 7. 4.

Εὖ ποιῶν τὰ φίλων δ' ἀδίκει, ἢ τις δυσυχῆ. Eurip.

Luke 14. 12, 13, 14.

It may be alſo material to obſerve the form of ſpeech here uſed, in reference to the time: *He hath diſperſed, and he hath given*; or, *He doth diſperſe, he doth give*, (for in the *Hebrew* Language the paſt and preſent times are not diſtinguiſhed:) Which manner of ſpeaking may ſeem to intimate the reality, or the certainty, and the conſtancy of his practice in this kind; for what is paſt or preſent, we are infallibly ſecure of; and in morals, what one is ſaid to have done, or to do, is always underſtood according to habit or cuſtom. It is not, *He will diſperſe, he will give*; that were no fit deſcription of a good man; to pretend to, would be no argument of piety; thoſe words might import uncertainty, and delay in his practice: He that ſaith, *I will give*, may be fallacious in his profeſſions, may be inconſiſtent with his reſolutions, may wilfully or negligently let ſlip the due ſeaſon of performing it. Our good man is not a *Doſon*, or *Will-give*, (like that king of *Macedon*, who got that name from often ſignifying an intention of giving, but never giving in effect;) he not only purpoſes well, and promiſes fairly for the future, but he hath effectually done it, and perſeveres doing it upon every fit occaſion. He puts not his neighbour into tedious expectations, nor puts him off with frivolous excuſes, ſaying to him, (as it is in the *Proverbs*) *Go, and come again, and to morrow I will give, when he hath it by him:* He bids him not have patience, or ſays unto him, *Depart in peace*, when his need is urgent, and his pain impatient, when hunger or cold do then pinch him, when ſickneſs inceſſantly vexeth him, when preſent ſtraits and burthens oppreſs him; but he affordeth a ready, quick, and ſeaſonable relief.

Ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Δώσων ὡς ἐπαγγελτικὸς μὲν, ἀτελεστικὸς δὲ καὶ ὑστερικός. Plut. *in* Paulo *Æmil.*

Prov. 3. 28. Jam. 2. 16.

He hath diſperſed, and *given*, while he lives, not reſerving the diſpoſal of all at once upon his death, or by his laſt will; that unwilling will, whereby men would ſeem to give ſomewhat, when they can keep nothing; drawing to themſelves thoſe commendations and thanks, which are only due to their mortality; when as were they immortal, they would never be liberal: No; it is, *he hath freely diſperſed*, nor an inevitable neceſſity will extort it from him; it cannot be ſaid of him, that he never does well, but when he dies; ſo he hath done it really and ſurely.

Avarus, niſi cum moritur, nil recte facit. Laber.

He alſo doth it conſtantly, through all the courſe of his life, whenever good opportunity preſents it ſelf. He doth it not by fits, or by accident, according to unſtable cauſes or circumſtances moving him, (when bodily temper or humour inclineth him, when a ... object makes vehement impreſſion on him, when ſhame obligeth him to comply with the practice of others, when he may thereby promote ſome deſign, or procure ſome glory to himſelf) but his practice is conſtant and uniform; being drawn from ſteady principles, and guided by certain rules, proceeding from reverence to God, and good-will toward man, following the clear dictates

tates and immutable laws of conſcience. Thus hath the pious man *diſperſed*, and *given to the poor*: And let thus much ſuffice for explicatory reflexion upon the firſt words.

The main drift and purport of which is, to repreſent the liberal exerciſing of bounty and mercy, to be the neceſſary duty, the ordinary practice, and the proper character of a truly pious man; ſo that performing ſuch acts, is a good ſign of true piety; and omitting them, is a certain argument of ungodlineſs. For the demonſtration of which points, for exciting us to a practice anſwerable, I ſhall propound ſeveral conſiderations, whereby the plain reaſonableneſs, the great weight, the high worth and excellency of this duty, together with its ſtrict connexion with other principal duties of piety will appear. And firſt, I will ſhew with what advantage the holy ſcripture repreſents it to us, or preſſes it upon us.

I. Head of diſcourſe. 1. We may conſider, that there is no ſort of duties which God hath more expreſſly commanded, or more earneſtly inculcated, than theſe of bounty and mercy toward our brethren; whence evidently the great moment of them, and their high value in God's eſteem may be inferred. Even in the ancient law, we may obſerve very careful proviſions made for engaging men to works of this kind, and the performance of them is with huge life and urgency preſcribed. Deut. 15. 7. *Thou ſhalt not harden thy heart, nor ſhut thine hand from thy poor brother.—Thou ſhalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, unto thy poor, and to thy needy in the land.* So did *Moſes*, in God's name, with language very ſignificant and emphatical, enjoin to the children of *Iſrael*. The holy prophets alſo do commonly with an eſpecial heat and vigour preſs theſe duties, moſt ſmartly reproving the tranſgreſſion or neglect of them; eſpecially when they reclaim men from their wicked courſes, urging them ſeriouſly to return unto God and goodneſs, they propoſe this practice as a ſingular inſtance moſt expreſſive of their converſion, moſt apt to appeaſe God's wrath, moſt effectual to the recovery of his favour. Eſay 1. 16, 17, 18. *Waſh you, (ſaith God in Eſay) make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well.* So in general he exhorts to repentance: then immediately he ſubjoins theſe choice inſtances thereof: Jer. 7. 5, 6. *Seek judgment, relieve the oppreſſed, judge the fatherleſs, plead for the widow.—— Come now,* (then he adds) *let us reaſon together: though your ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as ſnow; though they be red like crimſon, they ſhall be as wool.* When *Daniel* would preſcribe to king *Nebuchadnezzar*, the beſt way of amendment, and the ſureſt means of averting God's judgments impendent on him, he thus ſpeaks: Dan. 4. 27. *Wherefore, O king, let my counſel be acceptable unto thee; * break off thy ſins by righteouſneſs, and thine iniquities by ſhewing mercy to the poor.* This he cull'd out as of all pious acts chiefly grateful to God, and clearly teſtifying repentance; and, *ſo very impious a perſon was alms able to juſtify*, ſays the Father thereupon. So alſo when God himſelf would declare what thoſe acts are which render penitential devotions moſt agreeable to him, and moſt effectual, he thus expreſſeth his mind: Iſa. 58. 6, 7. *Is not this the faſt which I have choſen? To looſe the bands of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burthens, to let the oppreſſed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are caſt out to thine houſe; when thou ſeeſt the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thy ſelf from thine own fleſh?* Of ſo great conſideration and moment was this ſort of duties, even under that old diſpenſation of weakneſs, ſervility and fear; ſo much tenderneſs of compaſſion and benignity did God exact even from that hard-hearted and worldly people, who were ſo little capable of the beſt rules, and had encouragements, in compariſon, ſo mean toward performances of this nature. The ſame we may well conceive, under the more perfect diſcipline of univerſal amity, of ingenuity, of ſpiritual grace and goodneſs, in a higher ſtrain, with more force and greater obligation to be impoſed on us, who have ſo much ſtronger engagements, and immenſely greater encouragements to them. And ſo indeed it is: for Luke 12. 33. 6. 30. 11. 41. Matt. 19. 21. 6. 19. thoſe precepts delivered by our Lord, *Sell all that you have, and give alms: If thou wilt be perfect, ſell all that thou haſt, and give to the poor; Give to every man that asketh thee; Treaſure not up to your ſelves treaſures upon the earth,* do indeed ſound high, but are not inſignificant, or impertinent. They cannot ſignify or deſign leſs than that we ſhould be always in affection, and diſpoſition of mind,

* Τὰς ἐμμελείας τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης λύτρωσαι· ſo the LXX render thoſe words, reading, it ſeems, פרוק for פרק.

Ναὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, τί τοιοῦτον ἀσεβὴς, ἴσχυσεν ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη δικαιῶσαι. Athan. *ad* Antioch. *Quæſt.* 87.

mind, ready to part with any thing we have for the ſuccour of our poor brethren; that to the utmoſt of our ability, (according to moral eſtimation prudently rated) upon all occaſions we ſhould really expreſs that diſpoſition in our practice; that we are exceedingly obliged to the continual exerciſe of theſe duties in a very eminent degree. Theſe indeed were the duties which our Lord, as he did frequently in his diſcourſe commend and preſcribe, ſo he did moſt ſignally exemplify in his practice; his whole life being in effect but one continual act of moſt liberal bounty and mercy toward mankind; in charity to whom, he out-did his own ſevereſt rules, being content never to poſſeſs any wealth, never to enjoy any eaſe in this world. And therein (both as to doctrine and practice) did the holy apoſtles cloſely follow their maſter: *As poor, yet enriching many; as having nothing, yet poſſeſſing all things.* 2 Cor. 6. 10. So they throughly in deeds practiſed theſe duties, which in words they taught, and earneſtly preſſed; admoniſhing their converts to [a] *diſtribute to the neceſſities of the ſaints*, to [b] *do good to all men*; [c] *to do good, and to communicate not to forget*; *to ſhew mercy with chearfulneſs*, to [d] *put on bowels of mercy*; to [e] *be kind, and tender-hearted one toward another*; to *abound in the grace of liberality*. Such are their directions and injunctions to all chriſtian people; ſo did they preach themſelves, and ſo they enjoined others to preach. *Charge the rich in this world* (ſaith St. *Paul* to his ſcholar *Timothy*) *that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing to communicate:* and, *Theſe things* (ſaith he likewiſe adviſing biſhop *Titus*) *I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which believe in God may be careful to maintain good works:* what *good works* he meaneth, the reaſon adjoined doth ſhew; *For theſe things* (ſaith he) *are good and profitable unto men.*

[a] Rom. 12. 13.
[b] Gal. 6. 10.
[c] Heb. 13. 16.
[d] Coloſ. 3. 12.
[e] Eph. 4. 32.
2 Cor. 8. 7.
1 Tim. 6. 17, 18.
Tit. 3. 8.

2. It is indeed obſervable, that as in every kind that which is moſt excellent doth commonly aſſume to it ſelf the name of the whole kind; ſo among the parts of righteouſneſs, (which word is uſed to comprehend all virtue and goodneſs) this of exerciſing bounty and mercy is peculiarly called *righteouſneſs*; ſo that *righteouſneſs* and *mercifulneſs*, (or *alms-deeds*) the righteous and bountiful perſon, are in ſcripture-expreſſion ordinarily confounded, as it were, or undiſtinguiſhably put one for the other; it being often, when commendations are given to righteouſneſs, and rewards promiſed to righteous perſons, hard to diſcern, whether the general obſervance of God's law, or the ſpecial practice of theſe duties, are concerned in them. Likewiſe works of this nature are in way of peculiar excellency termed *good works*; and to perform them is uſually ſtyled *to do good*, and *to do well*; ([a] ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, [b] καλὸν ποιεῖν, [c] ἀγαθοεργεῖν, [d] ἀγαθοποιεῖν, [e] ὠφελεῖν, [f] εὐεργετεῖν, are words applied to this purpoſe) which manners of expreſſion do argue the eminent dignity of theſe performances.

[a] Acts 9. 36.
[b] 1 Tim. 5. 10.
[c] 1 Tim. 6. 18.
Tit. 3. 8, 14.
2 Cor. 9. 8.
Gal. 6. [b] 9, [c] 10.
[d] Luke 6. 35.
[e] Heb. 13. 16.
[f] Acts 10. 38.

3. We may alſo conſequently mark, that in thoſe places of ſcripture where the divine law is abridged, and religion ſumm'd up into a few particulars of main importance, theſe duties conſtantly make a part: ſo when the prophet *Micah* briefly reckons up thoſe things which are beſt in the law, and chiefly required by God, the whole catalogue of them conſiſting but of three particulars, *mercy* comes in for one; *He hath ſhewed thee, O man*, (ſaith he) *what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* Likewiſe of thoſe (βαρύτερα τῦ νόμυ, thoſe) more ſubſtantial and *weighty things of God's law*, the neglect of which our Saviour objecteth as an argument of impiety, and a cauſe of woe, to thoſe pretending zealots, this is one: *Woe unto you, ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites; for ye pay tythe of mint and cumin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith.* The ſum of St. *John* the Baptiſt his inſtruction of the people is by St. *Luke* reduced to this point; *The people asked him, ſaying, what ſhall we do?* He anſwering, ſaith unto them, *He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewiſe.* St. *James* his ſyſtem of religion is this; *Pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father is this, to viſit the fatherleſs and widow in their affliction*, (that is, to comfort and relieve all diſtreſſed and helpleſs perſons) *and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world.* St. *Paul* ſeems to be yet more compendious and cloſe: *Bear ye* (ſaith he) *one another's burthens, and ſo fulfil the Law of Chriſt.* Yea, God himſelf compriſeth all the ſubſtantial part of religion herein, when comparing it with the circumſtantial part, he ſaith, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice.*

Micah 6. 8.
Matt. 23. 23.
Luke 3. 10, 11.
James 1. 27.
Gal. 6. 2.
Hoſ. 6. 6.

4. It is in like manner conſiderable, that in the general deſcriptions of piety and goodneſs, the practice of theſe duties is ſpecified, as a grand ingredient of them. In this *Pſalm*, where ſuch a deſcription is intended, it is almoſt the only particular inſtance; and it is not only mentioned, but reiterated in divers forms of expreſ-

Pſal. 37. 21, 26. The righteous giveth, and ſpareth not. Prov. 21. 26.

ſion. In the 37th *Pſalm* it is affirmed, and repeated, that *The righteous ſheweth mercy; he ſheweth mercy, and giveth; he ſheweth mercy, and lendeth.* In the *Proverbs*, 'tis a commendation of the virtuous woman, *whoſe price is far above rubies*, that *ſhe ſtretcheth out her hand to the poor, yea ſtretcheth forth both her hands to the needy.* And in *Ezekiel* (which is eſpecially remarkable) the 18th

Prov. 31. 20.

chapter, where the principal things conſtituting a pious man are, more than once, profeſſedly enumerated, this among a very few other particulars is expreſſed, and taketh up much room in the account; of ſuch a perſon (who *ſhall ſurely live, and not die*, that is, who certainly ſhall abide in God's favour, and enjoy the hap-

Ezek. 18. 7, 16.

py conſequences thereof) it is ſuppoſed, that he *neither hath oppreſſed any, nor hath withholden the pledge, nor hath ſpoiled by violence; but hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment, and hath taken off his hand from the poor.*

5. Alſo in the particular hiſtories of good men this ſort of practice is ſpecially

Heb. 13. 2.

taken notice of, and expreſſed in their characters. In the ſtory of our father *Abraham*, his benignity to ſtrangers, and hoſpitableneſs, is remarkable among all his deeds of goodneſs, being propounded to us as a pattern and encouragement to the like practice. In this the conſcience of *Job* did ſolace it ſelf, as in a ſolid aſſu-

Job 29. 12, 13, 15.

rance of his integrity: *I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him. The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me, and I cauſed the widow's heart to ſing. I was eyes to*

Job 30. 25.

the blind, and feet I was to the lame; I was a father to the poor. Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? Was not my ſoul grieved for the poor? Hence alſo did the good publican recommend himſelf to the favour and approba-

Luke 19. 8, 9.

tion of our Saviour, ſaying, *Behold*, Lord, *half of my goods I give to the poor:* hence did *ſalvation come to* his *houſe:* hence he is proclaimed *a ſon of Abraham.* Of *Dorcas*, that good woman, who was ſo gracious and precious among the diſci-

Acts 9. 36.

ples, this is the commendation and character; *She was full of good works, and alms-deeds which ſhe did*; ſuch practice made her capable of that favour, ſo great and extraordinary, the being reſtored to life; at leaſt in St. *Chryſoſtome*'s judg-

Ἡ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνης δύναμις ἐνίκησε θανάτου τυραννίδα. Chryſ. in Gen. Orat. 55.

ment: *The force of her alms*, ſaith he, *did conquer the tyranny of death.* *Cornelius* alſo, that excellent perſon, who was, though a *Gentile* ſo acceptable to God, and had ſo extraordinary graces conferred on him, is thus repreſented; *He*

Acts 10. 2.

was a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his houſe, who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway. We may add, that to be hoſpitable

1 Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 8.

(one branch of theſe duties, and inferring the reſt) is reckoned a qualification of thoſe who are to be the guides and patterns of goodneſs unto others. And particularly, one fit to be promoted to a widow's office in the church is thus deſcribed:

1 Tim. 5. 10.

well reported of for good works; if ſhe have brought up children; if ſhe have lodged ſtrangers; if ſhe have waſhed the ſaints feet; if ſhe have relieved the afflicted; if ſhe have diligently followed every good work.

6. So near to the heart of piety doth the holy ſcripture lay the practice of theſe duties: and no wonder; for it often expreſſly declares charity to be the fulfilling

Gal. 5. 14. Rom. 13. 9, 10.

of God's law, as the beſt expreſſion of all our duty toward God, of faith in him, love and reverence of him, and as either formally containing, or naturally produc-

1 Tim. 1. 5. Matt. 7. 12.

cing all our duty toward our neighbour. And of charity, works of bounty and mercy are both the chief inſtances, and the plaineſt ſigns: for whereas all charity doth conſiſt either in mental deſire, or in verbal ſignification, or in effectual performance of good to our neighbour; this laſt is the end, the completion, and the aſ-

Ἐντεῦθεν ἀγάπης ὁ τέλειος. Greg. Nyſſ. in Matt. 5. 7.

ſurance of the reſt. Good-will is indeed the root of charity; but that lies under ground, and out of ſight; nor can we conclude its being or life without viſible fruits of beneficence. Good words are at beſt but fair leaves thereof, ſuch as may (and too often do) proceed from a weak and barren diſpoſition of mind. But theſe

Tit. 3. 14. Rom. 15. 28. Phil. 4. 17.

good works are *real fruits*, (ſo St. *Paul* calls them); *Let ours alſo*, ſaith he, *learn to maintain good works for neceſſary uſes, that they be not unfruitful*) which declare a true life, and a good ſtrength of charity in the bearer of them: by them

2 Cor. 8. 8.

τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἀγάπης, *the ſincerity* (or genuineneſs) *of our charity is proved.* For

as no

as no man ever doth impreſs a falſe ſtamp on the fineſt metal; ſo coſtly charity is ſeldom counterfeit. It is to decline ſpending their goods, or their pains, that men forge and feign; pretending to make up in wiſhing well, the defect of doing ſo, and paying words inſtead of things: but he that freely imparts what he hath, or can do for his neighbour's good, needs no other argument to evince that he loves in good earneſt, nor can indeed well uſe any other: for words, if actions are wanting, ſeem abuſive; and if actions are preſent, they are ſuperfluous. Wherefore St. *John* thus adviſes; *My little children, let us not love in word, or in tongue,* (ἀλλ' ἔργῳ) *but in work and in truth.* To love in *work*, and to love in *truth*, he ſignifies to be the ſame thing; and to pretend love in ſpeech, without practiſing it in deed, he implies not allowable. And St. *James* in way of compariſon ſays, that as faith without works is dead, ſo love without beneficence is uſeleſs. For, *If a brother or ſiſter be naked, and deſtitute of daily food, and one of you ſay unto him, Depart in peace, be you warmed and filled, notwithſtanding ye give them not thoſe things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit? Even ſo faith without works is dead.* Cold wiſhes of good, working no real benefit to our neighbour, and a faint aſſent unto truth, producing no conſtant obedience to God, are things near of kin, and of like value; both of little worth or uſe. Charity then being the main point of religion, mercy and bounty being the chief parts of charity, well may theſe duties be placed in ſo high a rank, according to the divine heraldry of ſcripture.

1 John 3. 18.

James 2. 15, 16, 17.

7. To enforce which obſervations, and that we may be farther certified about the weight and worth of theſe duties, we may conſider, that to the obſervance of them moſt ample and excellent rewards are aſſigned; that in return for what we beſtow on our poor brethren, God hath promiſed all ſorts of the beſt mercies and bleſſings to us. The beſt of all good things, (that which in *David*'s opinion was better than life it ſelf) the fountain of all bleſſings (God's love and favour, or mercy) is procured thereby, or is annexed to it. For, *God loveth a chearful giver*, ſaith St. *Paul*; and, *The merciful ſhall obtain mercy*, ſaith our Saviour; and, *Mercy rejoiceth againſt judgment*, (or boaſteth, and triumpheth over it; ἔλεος κατακαυχᾶται κρίσεως· that is, it appeaſeth God's wrath, and prevents our condemnation and puniſhment) ſaith St. *James*; God will not continue diſpleaſed with him, nor will withhold his mercy from him, who is kind and merciful to his neighbour. 'Tis true, if rightly underſtood, what the *Hebrew* wiſe-man ſaith, *Water will quench a flaming fire, and alms maketh an atonement for ſins.* For this practice hath the nature and name of a ſacrifice, and is declared as ſuch both in excellency and efficacy to ſurpaſs all other ſacrifices; to be moſt acceptable to God, moſt available for expiation of guilt, moſt effectual in obtaining mercy and favour. Other ſacrifices performed in obedience to God's appointment (on virtue of our Lord's perfect obedience, and with regard to his pure ſacrifice of himſelf) did in their way propitiate God, and atone ſin; but this hath an intrinſick worth, and a natural aptitude to thoſe purpoſes. Other obligations did ſignify a willingneſs to render a due homage to God; this really and immediately performs it. They were ſhadows or images well reſembling that duty, (parting with any thing we have for the ſake of God, and for purchaſing his favour) whereof this is the body and ſubſtance. This is therefore preferr'd as in it ſelf excelling the reſt, and more eſtimable in God's ſight; ſo that in compariſon or competition therewith, the other ſeem to be ſlighted and rejected. *I will* (ſaith God) *have mercy, and not ſacrifice:* and, *Will the Lord be pleaſed with thouſands of rams, or with ten thouſands of rivers of oil?* Will he? that is, he will not be pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, if they be abſtracted from the more delightful ſacrifices of bounty and mercy. God never made an exception againſt theſe, or derogated from them in any caſe; they abſolutely and perpetually are (as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh) *Odours of a ſweet ſmell, ſacrifices acceptable and well-pleaſing to God.* And the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeconds him: *To do good*, ſaith he, *and to communicate, forget not; for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed.* By theſe, all other works and all enjoyments are ſanctified; for, *Give alms* (ſaith our Lord) *of what you have, and behold all things are pure unto you.* Such charitable perſons are therefore frequently pronounced bleſſed, that is in effect inſtated in a confluence of all good things. *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poor*, ſays the Pſalmiſt; and, *He that hath a bountiful eye, is bleſſed*, ſaith *Solomon*; and, *He that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he*, ſaith the wiſe-man again; and, *Bleſſed are the merciful*, ſaith our Lord himſelf. So in groſs and generally

Pſal. 63. 3.

2 Cor. 9. 7.

Matth. 5. 7.

James 2. 13.

Matth. 6. 14.

Eccluſ. 3. 39. *Si nudum veſtias, teipſum induis juſtitiam.* Ambr. *Offic.* 1. 11. Hier. *in Pſalm.* 133. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 55.

Hoſ. 6. 6. Micah. 6. 7.

Phil. 4. 18.

Heb. 13. 16.

Luke 11. 41.

Pſal. 41. 1. Prov. 22. 9. Prov. 14. 21. Matth. 5. 7.

nerally. Particularly alſo, and in retail, the greateſt bleſſings are expreſſly allot-
Deut. 15. 10. ted to this practice: proſperity in all our affairs is promiſed thereto. *Thou* (ſaith *Moſes*) *ſhalt ſurely give thy poor brother, and thine heart ſhall not be grieved that thou giveſt unto him; becauſe that for this thing the Lord thy God ſhall bleſs thee in all thy works, and in all that thou putteſt thine hand unto.* Stability in a good condition is ordinarily conſequent thereon: ſo the prophet *Daniel* implies,
Dan. 4. 27. when, adviſing king *Nebuchadnezzar* to theſe works, he adds, *If it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.* Deliverance from evil incumbent, protection in imminent danger, and ſupport in afflictions, are the ſure rewards thereof: ſo the
Pſal. 41. 1, &c. Pſalmiſt aſſures us; *Bleſſed* (ſaith he) *is he that conſidereth the poor: The Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preſerve him and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon earth; and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his enemies. The Lord will ſtrengthen him upon the bed of languiſhing; thou wilt make all his bed in his ſickneſs.* Security from all want is likewiſe a
Prov. 28. 27. recompence proper thereto: for, *He that giveth to the poor ſhall not lack,* ſaith
Iſa. 58. 10, 11, 12. the wiſe-man. *If thou draw out thy ſoul to the hungry, and ſatisfy the afflicted ſoul, then ſhall thy light ariſe in obſcurity,* &c. Thriving in wealth and eſtate is
Prov. 11. 25. another ſpecial reward: for, *The liberal ſoul ſhall be made fat*; the ſame author gives us his word for it. Even of the good things here below, to thoſe who for
Matt. 19. 29. his ſake in this or any other way do *let go houſes or lands,* our Lord promiſeth the return of *a hundred-fold,* either in kind, or in value. So great encouragements are annexed to this practice even in relation to the concernments of this tranſitory life: but to them beſide God hath deſtinated rewards incomparably more conſiderable and precious, ſpiritual and eternal rewards, treaſures of heavenly wealth, crowns of endleſs glory, the perfection of joy and bliſs to be diſpenſed *at the reſurrection*
Luke 14. 14. *of the juſt. He that for my ſake hath left houſes or lands, ſhall receive a hun-*
Matt. 19. 29. *dred-fold now at this time,* (or in this preſent life) *and in the world to come ſhall*
Mark 10. 29, 30. *inherit everlaſting life*; ſo infallible truth hath aſſured us. They who perform
Luke 12. 33. theſe duties are ſaid to *make themſelves bags, which wax not old, a treaſure that*
16. 9. *faileth not in the heavens*; to *make themſelves friends of the unrighteous mammon, who, when they fail,* (when they depart, and leave their earthly wealth)
1 Tim. 6. 19. *will receive them into everlaſting habitations*; to *lay up in ſtore for themſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life:* Such rewards are promiſed to the obſervers.

8. And correſpondently grievous puniſhments are deſigned and denounced to the tranſgreſſors of theſe duties; the worſt of miſeries is their portion and doom: they, for being ſuch, do forfeit God's love and favour; they loſe his bleſſing and protection; they can have no ſure poſſeſſion, nor any comfortable enjoyment of their
James 2. 13. eſtate; for, *He* (ſaith St. *James*) *ſhall have judgment without mercy, who ſhew-*
Job 20. 18, 19. *eth no mercy.* And of ſuch a perſon it is ſaid in *Job, That which he laboureth for he ſhall reſtore, and ſhall not ſwallow it down: according to his ſubſtance ſhall the reſtitution be, and he ſhall not rejoyce therein; becauſe he hath oppreſſed, and forſaken the poor* (Not only becauſe he hath unjuſtly oppreſſed, but becauſe he hath uncharitably forſaken the poor.) If by the divine forbearance ſuch
Pſal. 17. 14. perſons do ſeem to enjoy a fair *portion in this life,* (*proſpering in the world,*
Pſal. 73. 12. *and increaſing in riches*) they will find a ſad reckoning behind in the other world:
Luke 6. 24. this will be the reſult of that audit; *Woe be unto you, rich men, for you have received your conſolation*; (ſuch rich men are meant, who have got, or kept, or uſed their wealth baſely; who have detained all the conſolation it yields to them-
Luke 16. 25. ſelves, and imparted none to others;) and, *Remember, ſon, thou didſt receive thy good things in this life*; (ſo didſt receive them, as to ſwallow them, and ſpend them here, without any proviſion or regard for the future in the uſe of them;)
Matt. 25. 30. and, *Caſt that unprofitable ſervant* (who made no good uſe of his talent) *into*
Luke 12. 21. *utter darkneſs.* Such will be the fate of *every one that treaſures up to himſelf, and is not rich unto God*; not rich in piety and charity, not rich in performing for God's ſake works of bounty and mercy.

9. It is indeed moſt conſiderable, that at the final reckoning, when all mens actions ſhall be ſtrictly ſcann'd, and juſtly ſentenced according to their true deſert, a ſpecial regard will be had to the diſcharge or neglect of theſe duties. It is the bountiful and merciful perſons, who have relieved *Chriſt* in his poor members and brethren, who in that day will appear to be the ſheep at the

right

right hand, and ſhall hear the good ſhepherd's voice uttering thoſe joyful words, *Come ye bleſſed of my father, enter into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me drink; I was a ſtranger and ye took me in; I was naked, and ye cloathed me; I was ſick and ye viſited me; I was in priſon, and ye came unto me.* He doth not ſay, becauſe you have made goodly profeſſions, becauſe you have been orthodox in your opinions, becauſe you have frequented religious exerciſes, (have pray'ed often and long, have kept many faſts, and heard many ſermons,) becauſe you have been ſtaunch in your converſations, becauſe you have been punctual in your dealings, becauſe you have maintained a ſpecious guiſe of piety, ſobriety and juſtice; (although, indeed, he that will come off well at that great trial, muſt be reſponſible, and able to yield a good account in reſpect to all thoſe particulars;) but, becauſe you have been charitably benign and helpful to perſons in need and diſtreſs, therefore bleſſed are you, therefore enter into the kingdom of glorious bliſs prepared for ſuch perſons. This proceeding more than intimates, that in the judgment of our Lord, no ſort of virtue or good practice is to be preferred before that of charitable bounty; or rather that, in his eſteem, none is equal thereto: So that if the queſtion were put to him, which is one of them to *Antiochus*, (in *Athanaſius* his works,) which is the moſt eminent virtue? Our Lord would reſolve it no otherwiſe than is done by that father, affirming, that mercifulneſs is the queen of virtues; for that, at the final account, the examination chiefly proceeds upon that; it is made the ſpecial touchſtone of piety, and the peculiar ground of happineſs. On the other ſide, thoſe who have been deficient in theſe performances (uncharitable and unmerciful perſons) will at the laſt trial appear to be the wretched goats on the left hand, unto whom this uncomfortable ſpeech ſhall by the great judge be pronounced, *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: For I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye cloathed me not; ſick and in priſon, and ye viſited me not.* It is not, we may ſee, for having done that which in this world is called rapine or wrong, for having pillaged or couzened their neighbour, for having committed adultery or murther, or any other thing prohibited, that theſe unhappy men are ſaid to be formerly impeached, and finally condemned to that miſerable doom; but for having been unkind and unmerciful to their poor brethren: This at that high tribunal, will paſs for a moſt enormous crime, for the capital offence; for this it is that they ſhall be curſed, and caſt down into a wretched conſortſhip with thoſe malicious and mercileſs fiends, unto whoſe diſpoſition they did ſo nearly approach.

Mat. 25. 34, &c.

Athanaſius. Tom. 2.

Mat. 25. 41, &c.

Οὐχ ὅτι ἁρπάκασιν, ἀλ' ὅτι στυγνήκασιν, ἢ μεμοιχεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων πεπράκασιν, ταῦτα γὰρ τάχα κατακεχρίσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ χεῖρα διὰ τῶν δεομένων πεπήγασιν. Greg. Naz. Orat. 16.

Thus it appears how mighty a ſtreſs God in the holy ſcripture doth lay upon theſe duties, ſo peremptorily commanding them, ſo vehemently preſſing them, ſo highly commending them, ſo graciouſly by promiſes alluring us to the performance, ſo dreadfully by threatnings deterring us from the neglect of them. What an affront then will it be to God's authority, what a diſtruſt to his word, what a contempt of his power, his juſtice, his wiſdom, what a deſpight to his goodneſs and mercy, if, notwithſtanding all theſe declarations of his will and purpoſes, we ſhall preſume to be uncharitable in this kind? There are alſo conſiderations (very many, very clear, and very ſtrong) which diſcover the great reaſonableneſs and equity of theſe laws, with our indiſpenſable obligation to obey them; the which indeed with greater force do exact theſe duties from us, and do more earneſtly plead in the poor man's behalf, than he can beg or cry. If we either look up unto God, or down upon our poor neighbour, if we reflect upon our ſelves, or conſider our wealth it ſelf, every where we may diſcern various reaſons obliging us, and various motives inducing us to the practice of theſe duties.

In regard to God.

II. Head of diſcourſe.

1. We may conſider, that by exerciſing of bounty and mercy, we are kind and courteous to God himſelf; by neglecting thoſe duties, we are unkind and rude to him: For that what of good or evil is by us done to the poor, God interprets and accepts as done to himſelf. The poor have a peculiar relation to God; he openly and frequently profeſſeth himſelf their eſpecial friend, patron and protector; he is much concerned in, and particularly chargeth his providence with their ſupport.

In

Pſal. 22. 26. 18. 27. 146. 9. Iſa. 41. 17. In effect therefore they ſhall ſurely be provided for, one way or other, (*The poor ſhall eat and be ſatisfied: God will ſave the afflicted people; The Lord preſerveth the ſtrangers, he relieveth the fatherleſs and widow. When the poor and needy ſeek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirſt, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Iſrael will not forſake them:*) But out of goodneſs to us, he chuſeth, (if it may be, we freely concurring therein) and beſt liketh, that it ſhould be done by our hands; this conducing no leſs to our benefit, than to theirs; we thereby having opportunity to ſhew our reſpect to himſelf, and to lay an engagement on him to do us good. God therefore lendeth the poor man his own name, and alloweth him to crave our ſuccour for his ſake. (When the poor man asketh us in God's name, or for God's ſake, he doth not uſurp or forge, he hath good authority, and a true ground for doing ſo:) God gives him credit from himſelf unto us for what he wants, and bids us charge what he receiveth on his own account; permitting us to reckon him obliged thereby, and to write him our debtor; engaging his own word and reputation duly to repay, fully to ſatisfy us. Prov. 19. 17. Mat. 25. 40, 45. *He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord; and that which he hath given, will he pay him again*, ſaith the wiſe man: And, *Inaſmuch as ye have done it to the leaſt of my brethren, ye have done it unto me*, ſaith our Saviour: Heb. 6. 10. And, *God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed toward his name, in that ye have miniſtred to the ſaints, and do miniſter*, ſaith the apoſtle. What therefore we give to the poor, God accepteth as an expreſſion of kindneſs to himſelf, being given to one of his friends and clients, in reſpect to him; he regards it as a teſtimony of friendly confidence in him, ſignifying that we have a good of opinion him, that we take him for able and willing to requite a good turn, that we dare take his word, and think our goods ſafe enough in his cuſtody. But if we ſtop our ears, or ſhut our hands from the poor, God interprets it as a harſh repulſe, and an heinous affront put upon himſelf: We doing it to one who bears his name, and wears his livery, (for the poor man's rags are badges of his relation unto God,) he thereby judges, that we have little goodwill, little reſpect, little compaſſion toward himſelf: Since we vouchſafe not to grant him ſo mean a favour, ſince we refuſe at his requeſt, and (as it were) in his need, to accommodate him with a ſmall ſum, he juſtly reputes it as an argument of unkindly diffidence in him, that we have ſorry thoughts of him, deeming him no good correſpondent, little valuing his word, ſuſpecting his goodneſs, his truth, or his ſufficiency.

2. We by practiſing thoſe duties are juſt, by omitting them are very unjuſt toward God. For our goods, our wealth, and our eſtate, are indeed none of them ſimply or properly our own, ſo that we have an abſolute property in them, or an entire diſpoſal of them: No, we are utterly incapable of ſuch a right unto them, or power over them: God neceſſarily is the true and abſolute proprietary of them. They are called the gifts of God; but we muſt not underſtand that God, by giving them to us, hath parted with his own right to them: They are depoſited with us in truſt, not alienated from him; they are committed to us as ſtewards, not transferred upon us as maſters: They are ſo ours, that we have no authority to uſe them according to our will or fancy, but are obliged to manage them according to God's direction and order. He by right immutable, is Lord paramount of all his creation; every thing unalienably belongs to him upon many accounts. He out of nothing made all things at firſt, and to every creature through each moment a new being is conferr'd by his preſervative influence: Originally therefore he is Lord of all things, and continually a new title of dominion over every thing ſpringeth up unto him: It is his always, becauſe he always maketh it. We our ſelves are naturally mere ſlaves and vaſſals to him: As we can never be our own, (maſters of our ſelves, of our lives, of our liberties,) ſo cannot we ever properly be owners of any thing; there are no poſſible means by which we can acquire any abſolute title to the leaſt mite; the principal right to what we ſeem to get, according to all law and reaſon, accrueth to our maſter. Eccleſ. 5. 19. 6. 2. Pſal. 24. 1. 50. 12. 89. 11. 95. 5. All things about us, by which we live, with which we work and trade, the earth which ſupports and feeds us, and furniſheth us with all commodities, the air we breath, the ſun and ſtars which cheriſh our life, are all of them his, his productions and his poſſeſſions, ſubſiſting by his pleaſure, ſubject to his diſpoſal. How then can any thing be ours? How can we ſay with the fooliſh churl *Nabal, Shall I take my bread, and my water,* 1 Sam. 25. 11.

and

and my fleſh, and give it? Thine? O inconſiderate man! how cam'ſt thou by it? How doſt thou hold it? Didſt thou make it? Or doſt thou preſerve it? Canſt thou claim any thing by nature? No, thou broughteſt nothing with thee into the world, thou didſt not bring thy ſelf hither. Canſt thou challenge any thing to thy ſelf from chance? No, for there is no ſuch thing as chance, all things being guided and governed by God's providence. Doſt thou conceive thy induſtry can entitle thee to any thing? Thou art miſtaken, for all the wit and ſtrength thou applieſt, the head thou contriveſt with, and the hands thou workeſt with, are God's; all the ſucceſs thou findeſt did wholly depend on him, was altogether derived from him; all thy projects were vain, all thy labours would be fruitleſs, did not he aſſiſt and bleſs thee. Thou doſt vainly and falſly *lift up thine heart, and forget the Lord thy God, when as thy herds and flocks multiply, and thy ſilver and gold is multiplied, and all that thou haſt is multiplied; if thou ſayeſt in thy heart, my power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou muſt remember the Lord thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth.* [——*Who am I* (ſaith *David*) *and what is my people, that we ſhould be able to offer ſo willingly after this ſort? For all things come of thee; and of thine own have we given thee.* 1 Chron. 29. 14.] Since thence upon all ſcores every thing we have doth appertain to God, he may without any injury recal or reſume whatever he pleaſeth; and while he letteth any thing abide with us, we cannot juſtly uſe it otherwiſe than he hath appointed, we cannot duly apply it otherwiſe than to his intereſt and ſervice. God then having enjoined, that after we have ſatisfied our neceſſities, and ſupplied our reaſonable occaſions, we ſhould employ the reſt to the relief of our poor neighbours; that * *if we have two coats* (one more than we need) *we ſhould impart one to him that hath none; if we have meat* abundant, that we *likewiſe* communicate to him that wants it: God by the poor man's voice (or by his need and miſery) demanding his own from us, we are very unjuſt if we preſume to withhold it; doubly unjuſt we are, both toward God, and toward our neighbour: We are unfaithful ſtewards, miſapplying the goods of our maſter, and croſſing his order: We are wrongful uſurpers, detaining from our neighbour that which God hath allotted him: We are in the court of conſcience, we ſhall appear at the bar of God's judgment no better than robbers, (under vizards of legal right and poſſeſſion) ſpoiling our poor brother of his goods; his, I ſay, by the very ſame title as any thing can be ours, by the free donation of God, fully and frequently expreſſed, as we have ſeen in his holy word. (He cannot take it away by violence or ſurreption againſt our will, but we are bound willingly to yield it up to him; to do that, were diſorder in him; to refuſe this, is wrong in us.) * 'Tis the hungry man's bread which we hoard up in our barns, 'tis his meat on which we glut, and his drink which we guzzle. 'Tis the naked man's apparel which we ſhut up in our preſſes, or which we exorbitantly ruffle and flaunt in: 'Tis the needy perſon's gold and ſilver which we cloſely hide in our cheſts, or ſpend idly, or put out to uſeleſs uſe. We are in thus holding, or thus ſpending, truly πλεονέκται, not only covetous, but wrongful, or havers of more than our own, againſt the will of the right owners; plainly violating that precept of *Solomon, withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it.* If we are ambitious of having a property in ſomewhat, or affect to call any thing our own, 'tis only by nobly giving that we can accompliſh our deſire; that will certainly appropriate our goods to our uſe and benefit: But from baſely keeping, or vainly embezelling them, they become not our poſſeſſion and enjoyment, but our theft and our bane. (Theſe things, ſpoken after the holy fathers, wiſe inſtructors in matters of piety, are to be underſtood with reaſonable temperament, and practiſed with honeſt prudence. I cannot ſtand to diſcuſs caſes, and remove ſcruples; a

Sed ais, Quid injuſtum eſt, ſi cùm aliena non invadam, propria diligentius ſervem? O impudens dictum! propria dicis? quæ? ex quibus reconditis in hunc mundum detuliſti? Ambroſ.

Deut. 8. 13, 14, 17, 18.

Alienæ rapere convincitur, qui ultra neceſſaria ſibi retinere probatur. Hieron.

Quicquid Deus plusquam opus eſt dederit, non nobis ſpecialiter dedit, ſed per nos aliis erogandum tranſmiſit; quod ſi non dederimus, res alienas invaſimus. Aug. *Serm.* 219. *de Temp.*

* Luke 3. 11.

Proprium nemo dicat quod commune; plus quàm ſufficeret ſumptui violenter obtentum eſt. Ambroſ.

Συ δε ουκ ἀδικεις, ὁ μη τῶν ἰδιων ἀποστερῶν; τὰ σὰ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἃ κατέχεις; Baſ. M.

* *Noſtrum eſt* (*pauperes clamant*) *quod effunditis; nobis crudeliter ſubtrahitur, quod inaniter expenditur.* Bern. *Epiſt.* 42.

Prov. 3. 27.

Omne quod male poſſidetur alienum eſt; male autem poſſidet, qui male utitur. Auguſt. *Ep.* 54.

pious charity will eaſily diſcern its due limits and meaſures, both declining perplexity, and not evading duty. The ſum is, that juſtice towards God and man obligeth us, not to ſuffer our poor brother to periſh, or pine away for want, when we ſurfeit and ſwim in plenty, or not to ſee him lack neceſſaries, when we are well able to relieve him.)

3. Shewing bounty and mercy are the moſt proper and the principal expreſſions of our gratitude unto God; ſo that in omitting them, we are not only very unjuſt, but highly ingrateful. Innumerable are the benefits, favours and mercies, (both common and private) which God hath beſtowed on us, and doth continually beſtow: He inceſſantly ſhowers down bleſſings on our heads; he *daily loadeth us with his benefits*; he perpetually *croweneth us with loving kindneſs and tender mercies*: All that we are, all that we have, all that we can hope for of good, is alone from his free bounty: Our beings and lives, with all the conveniences and comforts of them, we entirely owe to him as to our maker, our preſerver, our conſtant benefactor: All the excellent privileges we enjoy, and all the glorious hopes we have as chriſtians, we alſo ſtand indebted for purely to his undeſerved mercy and grace. And, *What ſhall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward us*? Shall we render him nothing? Shall we refuſe him any thing? Shall we boggle at making returns ſo inconſiderable, in regard to what he hath done for us? What is a little gold, or ſilver, or braſs perhaps, which our poor neighbour craveth of us, in compariſon to our life, our health, our reaſon; to all accommodations of our body, and all endowments of our mind? What are all the goods in the world to the love and favour of God, to the pardon of our ſins, to the gifts of God's ſpirit, to the dignity of being the children of God, and heirs of ſalvation; to the being freed from extreme miſeries, and made capable of eternal felicity? And doth not this unexpreſſible goodneſs, do not all theſe ineſtimable benefits require ſome correſpondent thankfulneſs? Are we not obliged, ſhall we not be willing to exhibit ſome real teſtimony thereof? And what other can we exhibit beſide this? We cannot directly or immediately requite God, for he cannot ſo receive any thing from us; he is not capable of being himſelf enriched or exalted, of being any wiſe pleaſured or bettered by us, who is in himſelf infinitely ſufficient, glorious, joyful and happy: *Our goodneſs extends not to him*; *A man cannot be profitable to his maker*. All that we can do in this kind, is thus indirectly, in the perſons of his poor relations, to gratify him, imparting at his deſire, and for his ſake, ſomewhat of what he hath beſtowed on us, upon them. Such a thankful return we owe unto God, not only for what he hath given us, but even for the capacity of giving to others; for that we are in the number of thoſe who can afford relief, and who need not to demand it. Our very wealth and proſperous ſtate ſhould not ſeem to us ſo contemptible things, that we ſhould be unwilling to render ſomewhat back in grateful reſentment for them: The very act of giving is it ſelf no mean benefit; (having ſo much of honour in it, ſo much of pleaſure going with it, ſo much of reward following it;) we receive far more than we return in giving; for which therefore it is fit that we ſhould return our gratitude, and conſequently that we ſhould perform theſe duties. For indeed without this practice, no other expreſſion of gratitude can be true in it ſelf, or can be acceptable to God. We may ſeem abundantly to thank him in words; but a ſparing hand gives the lie to the fulleſt mouth: We may ſpare our breath, if we keep back our ſubſtance: For all our praiſing God for his goodneſs, and bleſſing him with our lips, if we will do nothing for him, if we will not part with any thing for his ſake, appears meer complement, is in truth plain mockery, and vile hypocriſie.

Pſal. 68. 19. Pſal. 103. 4.

Pſal. 116. 12.

Pſal. 16. 2. Job 22. 2.

Δὸς τι θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι τῶν εὖ ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν εὖ πάσχειν δεομένων. Naz.

— ἢ φιλάνθρωπον ὑμᾶς ἀποκαλῶ, ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἡμᾶς συμφορήσει παθήμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑτέρων παρέπεμψεν οἰκίας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἄλλους ἤγαγε θύρας. Theod. *Ep.* 30.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ νομίζεις λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον, ἢ διδόναι, μὴ θαύμαζε. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 54.

Nec enim homo Deo præſtat beneficium in his quæ dederit, ſed Deus his homini quæ acceperit. Salvian.

4. Yea, which we may farther conſider, all our devotion ſevered from a diſpoſition of practiſing theſe duties, is no leſs ſuch; cannot have any true worth in it, ſhall not yield any good effect from it. Our prayers, if we are uncharitably diſpoſed, what are they other than demonſtrations of egregious impudence and folly? For how can we with any face preſume to ask any thing from God, when we deny him requeſting a ſmall matter from us? How can we with any reaſon expect any mercy from him, when we vouchſafe not to ſhew any mercy for his ſake? Can we imagine that God will hearken unto, or mind our petitions, when we

we are deaf to his entreaties, and regardleſs of his deſires? No; *Whoſo ſtoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he alſo ſhall cry himſelf, but ſhall not be heard.* 'Tis his declaration to ſuch bold and unreaſonable petitioners, *When you ſpread forth your hands, I will not hear you; when you make many prayers, I will not hear.* No importunity, no frequency of prayers will move God in ſuch a caſe; the needy man's cries and complaints will drown their noiſe; his ſighs and groans will obſtruct their paſſage, and ſtop the ears of God againſt them. Likewiſe all our ſemblances of repentance, all our corporal abſtinences and auſterities, if a kind and merciful diſpoſition are wanting, what are they truly but preſumptuous dallyings, or impertinent triflings with God? For do we not groſly collude with ſin, when we reſtrain the ſenſual appetites of the body, but foment the ſoul's more unreaſonable deſires? When we curb our wanton fleſh, and give licence to a baſe ſpirit? Do we not palpably baffle, when in reſpect to God, we pretend to deny our ſelves, yet upon urgent occaſion allow him nothing? Do we not ſtrangely prevaricate, when we would ſeem to appeaſe God's anger, and purchaſe his favour by our ſubmiſſions, yet refuſe to do that which he declares moſt pleaſing to him, and moſt neceſſary to thoſe purpoſes? It is an ordinary thing for men thus to ſerve God, and thus to delude themſelves: *I have known many* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *who have faſted, and prayed, and groaned, and expreſſed all kind of coſtleſs piety, who yet would not part with one doit to the afflicted.* Such a cheap and eaſie piety, which * coſts us little or nothing, can ſurely not be worth much; and we muſt not conceit that the all-wiſe God (*the God of knowledge, by whom actions are weighed*, as *Anna* ſang) and, who *weighed the ſpirits* alſo (as the wiſe man ſaith) will be cheated therewith, or take it for more than its juſt value. No, he hath expreſſly ſignified, that he hath *not choſen* ſuch ſervices, nor doth take any pleaſure in them: He hath called them *vain and impertinent oblations*; not *ſweet* or *acceptable*, but *abominable* and *troubleſome* to him, ſuch as he *cannot away with*, and *is weary to bear*. 'Tis *religious liberality* that doth prove us to be ſerious and earneſt in other *religious performances*; which aſſures that we value matters of piety at a conſiderable rate; which gives a ſubſtance and ſolidity to our devotions; which ſanctifies our faſts, and verifies our penances; which renders our praiſes real, and our prayers effectual; ſo that theſe being combined, we may reaſonably expect acceptance and recompence; and in effect to hear that from God, which by him was returned to good *Cornelius*, *thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.*

Prov. 21. 13. Iſa. 1. 15. Jam. 5. 4. Ecclus 4. 4, 5, 6.

οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ νηστεύοντες, προσευχόμενοι, στενάζοντες, πάντα τὸν ἀδικαίον ὑλακτοῦντα συνεπιτελοῦμεν, ὅσαλλ' ἢ ἵνα μὴ περιῇ τοῖς ἐλεεῖσθαι. Baſ. M. *in Luc.* 12. 8.

* 2 Sam. 24. 24.

1 Sam. 2. 3. Prov. 16. 2. Iſa. 58. 5. & 1. 13, 14. Mic. 6. 6, 7. Jer. 6. 20.

Acts 10. 4.

5. The conſcionable practice of theſe duties doth plainly ſpring from thoſe good diſpoſitions of mind regarding God, which are the original grounds and fountains of all true piety; and the neglect of them iſſueth from thoſe vicious diſpoſitions which have a peculiar inconſiſtency with piety, being deſtructive thereof in the very foundation and root. Faith in God is the fundamental grace upon which piety is grounded; love and fear of God are the radical principles from which it grows: All which as the charitable man diſcovers in his practice, ſo they are apparently baniſhed from the heart of the illiberal and unmerciful perſon.

As for faith, the good man, in ſhewing bounty, exerciſeth the chief acts thereof; he freely parteth with his goods, becauſe he truſteth on God's providence more than them; and believeth God more ready to help him, than any creature can do, in his need: Becauſe he is perſuaded that God is moſt good and benign, ſo as never to ſuffer him to be oppreſſed with want; becauſe he taketh God to be juſt and faithful, who having charged him *to care for nothing*, but *to caſt his care and burthen upon the Lord*, having promiſed to *care for him*, to *ſuſtain him*, *never* to *leave or forſake him*, having alſo engaged himſelf to repay and recompence him for what he giveth to his poor neighbour, will not fail to make good his word: Becauſe he thinks God abundantly ſolvent and himſelf never the poorer for laying out in his behalf; becauſe, in ſhort, he is content to live in a dependence upon God, and at his diſpoſal. It is mentioned by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, as a ſpecial inſtance of a reſolute and conſtant faith in the firſt chriſtians, that *they took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, knowing in themſelves, that they had in heaven a better and an enduring ſubſtance.* He that not forcibly by the violent rapacity of others, but voluntarily by his own free reſignation for the ſervice of God, delivereth them up with the ſame alacrity, opinion and hope,

Matth. 6. 25. Phil. 4. 6. 1 Per. 5. 7. Pſal. 55. 22. Heb. 13. 5.

Heb. 10. 34.

Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος οὐ τῇ θεῷ πεπίστευκεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίᾳ, θεὸν τὸν ἔπαινον, ὃς ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποιθώς. *Const. Apost.* 4. 4.

thereby demonstrates the same faith. But the *gripple wretch*, who will bestow nothing on his poor brother for God's sake, is evidently an infidel, having none at all, or very heathenish conceits of God. He must be either a mere atheist, disbelieving the existence of God; or an epicurean, in his heart denying God's providence over humane affairs; (for did he conceive God to have any regard unto, or any influence over what passes here, how could he be afraid of wanting upon this score? How could he repose any confidence in these possessions? How could he think himself secure in such a neglect or defiance of God?) Or he must be exceedingly prophane, entertaining most dishonourable and injurious apprehensions of God. He cannot but imagine God very unkind, not only in neglecting men that want his help, but in making them to suffer for spending upon his account; very unjust, in not repaying what he borrows; very unfaithful, in breaking his word; very deceitful, in gulling us of our things by fair promises of restitution and requital: Or he must apprehend God forgetful of what we do, and himself says; or that he is needy and impotent, not having wherewith to make satisfaction, not being able to make good what he pretends. He must in his conceit debase God even beneath the vilest creatures, thinking a senseless lump of clay more apt in his need to help him, than God can be with all his power and care; supposing his money safer in his own coffers than in God's hands, and that iron bars will guard it more surely than divine protection; esteeming his neighbour's bond for much better security than God's word, and that a mortal man is far more able or more true than the eternal God. He certainly cannot think one word true that God says, being loth to trust him for a penny, for a piece of bread, or for an old garment. All God's promises of recompence, and threatnings of punishment, he takes for idle fictions: Heaven and hell are but *Utopia*'s in his conceit; the joys of one, offered to the charitable person, are but pleasant fancies; the torments of the other, denounced to the uncharitable, but fearful dreams. All other things are but names; money and lands are the only real things unto him: all the happiness he can conceive or wish is contained in bags and barns; these are the sole points of his faith, and objects of his confidence. *He makes gold his hope, and saith to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence. He rejoyces because his wealth is great, and because his hand hath gotten much*, as *Job* speaketh, disclaiming that practice in himself, and tacitly charging it on the persons we speak of. He doth in fine affect a total independency upon God, and cares to have no dealing with him; he would trust to himself, and live on his own estate: so gross infidelity, and horrible prophanenes of mind, lie couched under this sort of vices.

Habac. 2. 9. Job 31. 24, 25.

As for the love of God, the liberal man declares it, in that for God's sake he is willing to part with any thing, that he values God's love and favour above all other goods; that he deems himself rich and happy enough in the enjoyment of God. But, *Who hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* saith St *John*: that is, it is impossible he should love God; 'tis a vain conceit to think he does; 'tis a frivolous thing for him to pretend it. For how possibly can he bear in his heart any affection to God, who will not for his sake, and at his instance, part with a little worthless trash, and dirty pelf? Who prizes so inconsiderable matters beyond God's favour and friendship? Who prefers the keeping of his wealth, before the enjoyment of God: and chuses rather certainly to quit his whole interest in God, than to adventure a small parcel of his estate with God? His practice indeed sufficiently discovers, that his hard and stupid heart is uncapable of any love, except of a corrupt, inordinate and fond love, or dotage toward himself, since so present and sensible objects cannot affect him. *He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?*

1 John 3. 17. 1 John 4. 20.

And as to the fear and reverence of God, the liberal man expresses it in submission to God's commands, although with his own present seeming diminution and loss; in preferring the discharging of his conscience before the retaining his money; in casting over-board his temporal goods, that he may secure his spiritual and eternal concernments. He can say (his practice attesting to his profession) with *David*, *I love thy commandments above gold*; and, *The law of thy mouth is dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver*: he shews that he is *a man of truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness*; which dispositions, as having much affinity and connexion, are well joined together by *Jethro*. But the uncha-

Psal. 119. 127. Exod. 18. 21.

ritable man can have little fear of God before his eyes; ſince the commands of God have no efficacy on his conſcience; ſince he dreads not the effects of divine power and juſtice, provoked by his diſobedience; ſince he deems an imaginary danger of want from giving, worſe than a certain commiſſion of ſin in withholding, and is more afraid of penury here, than of damnation hereafter.

The truth is, the covetous or illiberal man is therefore uncapable of being truly pious, becauſe his heart is poſſeſſed with vain devotion toward ſomewhat beſide God, which in effect is his ſole divinity: he is juſtly ſtyled an idolater, for that he directs and employs the chief affections of his mind upon an idol of clay, which he loves with all his heart, and all his ſoul, which he entirely confides in, which he eſteems and worſhips above all things. It is mammon, which of all the competitors and antagoniſts of God, invading God's right, and uſurping his place, is (as our Lord intimates) the moſt dangerous, and deſperately repugnant: where he becomes predominant, true religion is quite excluded; *Ye cannot ſerve God and mammon*. Other vicious inclinations combat reaſon, and often baffle it, but ſeldom ſo vanquiſh it, as that a man doth approve or applaud himſelf in his miſcarriages: but the covetous humour ſeizeth on our reaſon it ſelf, and ſeateth it ſelf therein; inducing it to favour and countenance what is done amiſs. The voluptuous man is ſwayed by the violence of his appetite, but the covetous is ſeduced by the dictate of his judgment: he therefore ſcrapes and hoards, and lets go nothing, becauſe he eſteems wealth the beſt thing in the world, and then judges himſelf moſt wiſe, when he is moſt baſe. *Labour not to be rich, ceaſe from thine own wiſdom*, ſaith *Solomon*; intimating the judgment ſuch perſons are wont to make of their riches: whence of all diſpoſitions oppoſite to piety, this is the moſt pernicious. But farther,

Coloſ. 3. 5. Epheſ. 5. 5.

Matt. 6. 24.

Prov. 23. 4.

6. Let us conſider, that nothing is more conformable to God's nature, or renders us more like to him, than beneficence and mercy; and that conſequently nothing can be more grateful to him: that nothing is more diſagreeable and contrary to the eſſential diſpoſition of God, than illiberality and unmercifulneſs; and therefore that nothing can be more diſtaſteful to him. What is any being in the world, but an efflux of his bounty, and an argument of his liberality? Look every where about Nature, conſider the whole tenour of providence, ſurvey all the works and ſcan all the actions of God, you will find them all conſpiring in atteſtation to thoſe ſweet characters and elogies which the holy ſcripture aſcribeth to God, repreſenting him to be *merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs*; to be *ſorry for evil*, (incident to or inflicted upon any creature) to *delight in mercy*, to *wait that he may be gracious*; ſtyling him the *God of love, of peace, of hope, of patience, of all grace, and of all conſolation, the father of pities, rich in mercy, and full of bowels*; affirming of him, and by manifold evidences demonſtrating, that he is *benign even unto the ingrateful and evil*; that *he is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works*. Nature, (I ſay) providence and revelation, do all concur in teſtifying this, that there is nothing in God ſo peculiarly admirable, nothing (as it were) ſo God-like, that is, ſo highly venerable and amiable, as to do good and ſhew mercy. We therefore by liberal communication to the needy do moſt approach to the nature of God, and moſt exactly imitate his practice; acquiring to our ſelves thereby ſomewhat of divinity, and becoming little gods to our neighbour. *Nothing* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*) *maketh us ſo near equal to God, as beneficence:* and, *Be* (ſaith St. *Gregory Nazianzen*) *a God to the unfortunate, imitating the mercy of God; for a man hath nothing of God ſo much as to do good.* That ſuch hath always been the common apprehenſion of men, the practice of all times ſheweth, in that men have been ever apt to place their benefactors among their gods, deferring that love and veneration unto them in degree, which in perfection do appertain to the ſupreme benefactor. *Be merciful, as your heavenly father is merciful*; ſo our Saviour propoſeth God's mercy to us, both as a pattern directing, and as an argument inducing us to mercifulneſs: implying it alſo to be a good ſign declaring us the children of God, the genuine off-ſpring of the all-good and all-merciful Father; yea, that it even renders and conſtitutes us

Exod. 34. 6. Joel 2. 13. Mic. 7. 18. Iſa. 30. 18. Rom. 15. 33. 15. 5. Epheſ. 2. 4. 2 Cor. 13. 11. 1. 3. Jam. 5. 11. 1 Pet. 5. 10.

Luke 6. 35. Pſalm 145. 9.

Θεὸν πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐφ' οἷς θαυμάζεται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἅπαντος ὡς τὸ πᾶσιν εὐεργετεῖν ἰδιώτατον. Naz. *Orat.* 26.

Deus eſt mortali, juvare mortalem. Plin. *N.H. l.* 2.

Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἴσους ποιεῖ θεῷ, ὡς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. Chryſ. *in Mat. Orat.* 35.

Γίνου τοῦ ἀτυχοῦντος θεὸς, τὸ ἴλεων τοῦ θεοῦ μιμούμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔχει θεῖον ὡς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. Naz. *Orat.* 16.

Hic eſt vetuſtiſſimus referendi benè meritis gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adſcribantur. Plin. 2. 7.

Suſcepit vita hominum, conſuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cœlum famâ ac voluntate tollerent. Cic. *de N. D.* 2.

Luke 6. 35, 36.

ſuch,

such, (we thereby coming most truly to represent, and most nearly to resemble
Matth. 5. 44, 45. him.) Our Lord farther teaches us, saying, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to those that hate you—— that you may be the sons of your father which is in heaven.* And they who thus are God's children must consequently be very dear to him, and most gracious in his sight; he cannot but greatly like and love himself (the best of himself) in them; he cannot but cherish and treat them well, who are the fairest and truest images of himself; no spectacle can be so pleasant to him, as to see us in our practice to act himself, doing good to one
Colos. 3. 12, 13. another; *as the elect of God, holy and beloved, putting on bowels of mercies and kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another,*
Eph. 5. 1, 2. *and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave us*; being *followers of God as dear children, and walking in love, even as Christ also loved us.* But on the other side, there is not in nature any thing so remotely distant from God, or so extremely opposite to him, as a greedy and griping niggard: hell is scarce so contrary to heaven, as such a man's disposition to the nature of God: for 'tis *goodness* which sits gloriously triumphant at the top of heaven; and *uncharitableness* lieth miserably groveling under the bottom of hell: heaven descends from the one, as its principal cause; hell is built on the other, as its main foundation: as the one approximates the blessed angels to God, and beatifies them; so the other removeth the cursed fiends to such a distance from God and happiness: not to wish, not to do any good, is that which renders them both so bad, and so wretched; and whoever in his conditions is so like to them, and in his practice so agrees with them, cannot but also be very odious to God, and extremely unhappy. God cannot but abhor so base a degeneration from his likeness in those who by nature are his children, and should be farther such according to his gracious design; neither can any thing more offend his eyes, than seeing them to use one another unkindly. So that if obtaining the certain favour of the great God, with all the benefits attending it, seem considerable to us; or if we think it advisable to shun his displeasure, with its sad effects; it concerns us to practise these duties. So I conclude that sort of considerations, enforcing these duties, which more immediately regard God.

III. Head of discourse. Farther, before we deny our relief to our poor neighbour, let us with the eyes of our mind look on him, and attentively consider who he is, what he is in himself, and what he is in relation unto us. [*The righteous considereth the cause of the poor; but the wicked regardeth not to know it.* Prov. 29. 7. *Blessed is he that considereth the poor.* Psal. 41. 1.]

1. He whose need craves our bounty, whose misery demands our mercy, what is he? He is not truly so mean and sorry a thing, as the disguise of misfortune, under which he appears, doth represent him. He who looks so deformedly and dismally, who to outward sight is so ill bestead, and so pitifully accoutred, hath latent in him much of admirable beauty and glory. He within himself containeth a nature very excellent; an immortal soul, and an intelligent mind, by which he nearly resembleth God himself, and is comparable to angels: he invisibly is owner of endowments rendring him capable of the greatest and best things. What are money and lands? What are silk and fine linen? What are horses and hounds in comparison to reason, to wisdom, to virtue, to religion, which he hath, or (in despight of all misfortune) he may have if he please? He whom you behold so dejectedly sneaking, in so despicable a garb, so destitute of all convenience and comfort, (lying in the dust, naked or clad with rags, meager with hunger or pain) he comes of a most high and heavenly extraction: he was born a prince, the son of the greatest king eternal; he can truly call the sovereign Lord of all the world his father, having derived his soul from the mouth, having had his body formed by
Prov. 22. 2. the hands of God himself. (In this, *The rich and poor*, as the wise man saith, *do meet together*; *the Lord is the maker of them all.*) That same forlorn wretch, whom we are so apt to despise and trample upon, was framed and constituted lord
Gen. 1. 28. of the visible world; had all the goodly brightnesses of heaven, and all the costly
Psal. 8. 6. furnitures of earth created to serve him. (*Thou madest him* (saith the *psalmist* of man) *to have dominion over the works of thine hands; thou hast put all things under his feet.*) Yea, he was made an inhabitant of paradise, and possessor of felicities superlative; had immortal life and endless joy in his hand, did enjoy the entire favour and friendship of the most high. Such in worth of nature and nobleness of birth he is, as a man: and highly more considerable he is, as a christian.

For, as vile and contemptible as he looks, God hath ſo regarded and prized him, as for his ſake to deſcend from heaven, to cloath himſelf with fleſh, to aſſume the form of a ſervant; for his good to undertake and undergo the greateſt inconveniencies, infirmities, wants and diſgraces, the moſt grievous troubles and moſt ſharp pains incident to mortal nature. God hath adopted him to be his child; the Son of God hath deigned to call him brother: he is a member of *Chriſt*, a temple of the Holy Ghoſt, a free denizon of the heavenly city, an heir of ſalvation, and and candidate of eternal glory. The greateſt and richeſt perſonage is not capable of better privileges than God hath granted him, or of higher preferments than God hath deſigned him to. He equally with the mightieſt prince is the object of God's eſpecial providence and grace, of his continual regard and care, of his fatherly love and affection; *who*, as good *Elihu* ſaith, *accepteth not the perſons* Job 34. 19. *of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor; for they are all the work of his hands.* In fine, this poor creature whom thou ſeeſt is a man, and a chriſtian, thine equal, whoever thou art, in nature, and thy peer in condition: I ſay not, in the uncertain and unſtable gifts of fortune, not in in this worldly ſtate, which is very inconſiderable; but in gifts vaſtly more precious, in title to an eſtate infinitely more rich and excellent. Yea, if thou art vain and proud, be ſober and humble; he is thy better, in true dignity much to be preferred before thee, far in real wealth ſurpaſſing thee: *Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightneſs, than he that is perverſe in his ways, though he be rich.* Eccluſ. 10. 24. Prov. 28. 6.

——εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐμοίης τοι ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ τοι κοινὴ ὀργεῶνας, καὶ πάντα τοι κατὰ πάντα. Chryſ. *in Heb. Orat.* 2.

Οἱ τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς πανδημοτάτοις τοιαύτην ἔχοντες ἰσοτιμίαν, πόθεν μέγα φρονήσει; ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα πλουτεῖ, καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἀρχεῖ; Chryſ. *in Eph.* 4. 4. *in Joh. Orat.* 15.

Ἡ τῆ πανδήμῳ χάρις ἐμοίμους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀμόρφους. Naz. *Orat.* 23.

2. That diſtinction which thou ſtandeſt upon, and which ſeemeth ſo vaſt between thy poor neighbour and thee, what is it? Whence did it come? Whither tends it? It is not any-wiſe natural, or according to primitive deſign: for as all men are in faculties and endowments of nature equal, ſo were they all originally equal in condition, all wealthy and happy, all conſtituted in a moſt proſperous and plentiful eſtate; all things at firſt were promiſcuouſly expoſed to the uſe and enjoyment of all, every one from the common ſtock aſſuming as his own what he needed. Inequality and private intereſt in things (together with ſickneſſes and pains, together with all other infelicities and inconveniencies) were the by-blows of our fall: Sin introduced theſe degrees and diſtances; it deviſed the names of rich and poor; it begot theſe ingroſſings and incloſures of things; it forged thoſe two ſmall peſtilent words, *meum* and *tuum*, which have engendred ſo much ſtrife among men, and created ſo much miſchief in the world: theſe preternatural diſtinctions were (I ſay) brooded by our fault, and are in great part foſtered and maintained thereby; for were we generally ſo good, ſo juſt, ſo charitable as we ſhould be, they could hardly ſubſiſt, eſpecially in that meaſure they do. God indeed (for promoting ſome good ends, and for prevention of ſome miſchiefs, apt to ſpring from our ill-nature in this our lapſed ſtate; particularly to prevent the ſtrife and diſorder which ſcrambling would cauſe among men, preſuming on equal right, and parity of force) doth ſuffer them in ſome manner to continue, and enjoyns us a contented ſubmiſſion to them: but we miſtake, if we think that natural equality and community are in effect quite taken away; or that all the world is ſo cantonized among ſome few, that the reſt have no ſhare therein. No, every man hath ſtill a competent patrimony due to him, and a ſufficient proviſion made for his tolerable ſubſiſtence. God hath brought no man hither to be neceſſarily ſtarved, or pinched with extreme want; but hath aſſigned to every one a child's portion, in ſome fair way to be obtained by him, either by legal right, or by humble requeſt, which according to conſcience ought to have effect. No man therefore is allowed to detain, or to deſtroy ſuperfluouſly what another man apparently wants, but is obliged to impart it to him: ſo that rich men are indeed but the treaſurers, the ſtewards, the caterers of God for the reſt of men, having a ſtrict charge to *diſpenſe unto every one his meat in due ſeaſon*, and no juſt privilege to withhold it from

Πτωχὸς καὶ πλούσιος, ἀδελφέα τι, ὦ φιλτάτη, καὶ δούλοιν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆ ὀνόματα, ὅσοις ὑπεισέλθοι τῷ βίῳ τῆ ἀνθρώπων, ἅπερ ἀξιώσημαλα τῆ κακίας ζωιπατίσεμαλα, κἀκείνης ὄντα ἐπινοήμαλα. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 6.

Τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν, καὶ τὸ σὸν, τοῦτο τὸ ψυχρὸν ῥῆμα, καὶ μυρίας πολέμους εἰς τὸ οἰκουμένην εἰσαγαγὸν, &c. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *oper.* 10. & *in Act.* 2. 47.

Natura omnia omnibus in commune profudit; ſic enim Deus generari juſſit omnia, ut paſtus omnibus communis eſſet, & terra foret omnium quædam communis poſſeſſio. Natura igitur jus commune generavit, uſurpatio jus fecit privatum. Amb. *Offic.* 1. 28.

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἀκριβείας τοῦτο ἰφυλάττετο, ὁ δεῖνα, οὐκ ἐλεύθερος ἦν, οὐκ ἄρχων, οὐκ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ πλούσιος, ὁ πένης, ὁ μικρὸς, ὁ μέγας, ὁ ἀξιόλογος οὐκ ἐγεγόνει ποτέ. Chryſ. *in 1 Cor. Orat.* 32.

Ὥσπερ οὖν εἴτις ἐν θεάτρῳ θεὸν καταλαβὼν εἶτα εἰσιόντες τοὺς ἐπεισιόντας ἴδιον ἑαυτῷ κρίνων τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι καὶ τῆ τῶν χρῶντι περιόμενον· τοιοῦτοι εἰσι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι· τὰ κοινὰ προκαλάβοντες ἰδιοποιοῦνλαι καὶ τῶν περιλειψιν. Basil. *M.*

Incaſſum ſe innocentes putant, qui commune Dei munus ſibi privatum vindicant. Greg. *M.*

Matt. 24. 45. Luke 12. 42.

from any: The honour of diſtribution is conferred on them, as a reward of their fidelity and care; the right of enjoyment is reſerved to the poor, as a proviſion for their neceſſity. Thus hath God wiſely projected, that all his children ſhould both effectually and quietly be provided for; and that none of them ſhould be oppreſſed with penury; ſo that (as St. *Paul* hath it) *One man's abundance ſhall ſupply another man's want, that there may be an equality:* for ſince no man can enjoy more than he needs, and every man ſhould have ſo much as he needs, there can be really no great inequality among men; the diſtinction will ſcarce remain other-where than in fancy. What the philoſopher ſaid of himſelf, *What I have is ſo mine, that it is every man's*, is according to the practice of each man, who is truly and in due meaſure charitable; whereby that ſeemingly enormous *diſcrimination among men is well moderated, and the equity of divine providence is vindicated. But he that ravenouſly graſps for more than he can well uſe, and gripes it faſt into his clutches, ſo that the needy in their diſtreſs cannot come by it, doth pervert that equity which God hath eſtabliſhed in things, defeats his good intention, (ſo far as he can) and brings a ſcandal on his providence; and ſo doing is highly both injurious and impious.

2 Cor. 8. 14.

Ego mea ſic habeo, ut omnium ſint. Demetrius apud Sen. *de Benef.* VII. 10.

Ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὰ πλούτου ἀ; ἰωτὸν, ἀδίκως διακείμενος κἀκείνῳ τὸ πλούσιον. Baſil *M.*

3. It was alſo (which we ſhould conſider) even one main end of this difference among us, permitted and ordered by God's providence, that as ſome mens induſtry and patience might be exerciſed by their poverty, ſo other men by their wealth ſhould have ability of practiſing juſtice and charity; that ſo both rich and poor might thence become capable of recompences, ſuitable to the worth of ſuch virtuous performances. *Why art thou rich* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *and he poor? Surely for this; that thou mayſt attain the reward of benignity, and faithful diſpenſation; and that he may be honoured with the great prize of patience.* God in making thee rich, would have thee to be a double benefactor, not only to thy poor neighbour, but alſo to thy ſelf; whilſt thou beſtoweſt relief on him, purchaſing a reward to thy ſelf. God alſo by this order of things deſigns, that a charitable entercourſe ſhould be maintained among men, mutually pleaſant and beneficial; the rich kindly obliging the poor, and the poor gratefully ſerving the rich. Wherefore by neglecting theſe duties, we unadviſedly croſs the good purpoſe of God toward us, depriving our ſelves of the chief advantages our wealth may afford.

Διὰ τί τὸ μὲν πλούσιον οὕτω σ πέπτωκας; ἵνα σὺ πλοῦτος ἦς σὺ χορηγὸς ἀ; πένητας διακονίας μισθὸν ἀποδῷ, κἀκείνῳ τὰς μεγάλους ἄθλους ἡ ὑπομονὴς τιμηθῇ. Baſil. *M.*

Πλούτει ἀ; πένητας, τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης ἀπόδειξιν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς σε ἀ; πραγματικὴν οὐκ ἄδικον ὕφορον χορηγοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν ἀφελείας τοῖς πλουσίοις παρέχων τῶν πενήτων τὴν ἔνδειαν. Theod. *Epiſt.* 23.

4. We ſhould alſo do well to conſider that a poor man, even as ſuch, is not to be diſregarded, and that poverty it ſelf is no ſuch contemptible thing as we may be prone to imagine: There are conſiderations, which may qualify poverty even to diſpute the place with wealth, and to claim precedence to it: If the world vulgarly doth account, and call the rich man happy, a better author hath pronounced the poor man ſuch: *Bleſſed are the poor*, doth march in the van of the beatitudes, and a reaſon goeth along therewith, which aſſerteth its right to the place, *for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*; for that they are not only in an equal capacity as men, but in a nearer diſpoſition as poor, to the acquiſition of that bliſsful ſtate; for that poverty (the miſtreſs of ſobriety and honeſt induſtry, the mother of humility and patience, the nurſe of all virtue) renders men more willing to go, and more expedite in the way toward heaven; by it alſo we conform to the Son of God himſelf, the heir of eternal majeſty, the Saviour of the world, *who for our ſake became poor*, (δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε, for our ſake became a beggar) *that we through his poverty* (or beggary) *might become rich:* He willingly choſe, he eſpecially dignified and ſanctified that depth of poverty, which we ſo proudly ſlight and loath. The greateſt princes and potentates in the world, the moſt wealthy and haughty of us all, but for one poor beggar had been irrecoverably miſerable: To poverty it is, that every one of us doth owe all the poſſibility there is, all the hopes we can have of our ſalvation; and ſhall we then ingratefully requite it with ſcorn, or with pitileſs neglect? Shall we preſume in the perſon of any poor man, to abhor or contemn the very poor, but moſt holy and moſt happy *JESUS*, our Lord and Redeemer? No; if we will do poverty right, we muſt rather for his dear ſake and memory defer an eſpecial reſpect and veneration thereto.

Luke 6. 20.

2 Cor. 8. 9.

Dedignatur aliquis paupertatem, cujus tam clara imagines ſunt? Sen. *Conſol. ad* Helv. 12.

5. Thus a due reflexion on the poor man himſelf, his nature and ſtate, will induce us to ſuccour: But let us alſo conſider him as related unto our ſelves: Every

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ſuch perſon is our near kinſman, is our brother, is by indiſſoluble bands of cognation in blood, and agreement in nature knit and united to us. We are all but ſeveral ſtreams iſſuing from one ſource, ſeveral twigs ſprouting from one ſtock; *one blood*, derived through ſeveral chanels; one ſubſtance, by miraculous efficacy of the divine benediction, multiplied or dilated unto ſeveral times and places. We are all faſhioned according to the ſame original idea, reſembling God our common father; we are all indowed with the ſame faculties, inclinations and affections; we all conſpire in the ſame eſſential ingredients of our conſtitution, and in the more notable adjuncts thereof; it is only ſome inconſiderable accidents, (ſuch as age, place, figure, ſtature, colour, garb) which diverſify and diſtinguiſh us; in which, according to ſucceſſions of time and chance, we commonly no leſs differ from our ſelves, than we do at preſent from them: So that in effect and reaſonable eſteem, every man is not only our brother, but (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith of a friend) ἄλλος αὐτός, *another ones ſelf*; is not only our moſt lively image, but in a manner our very ſubſtance; another our ſelf under a ſmall variation of preſent circumſtances: The moſt of diſtinction between us and our poor neighbour, conſiſts in exterior ſhew, in moveable attire, in caſual appendages to the nature of man; ſo that really when we uſe him well, we are kind to our ſelves; when we yield him courteous regard, we bear reſpect to our own nature; when we feed and comfort him, we do ſuſtain and cheriſh a member of our own body: But when we are cruel or harſh to him, we abuſe our ſelves; when we ſcorn him, we lay diſparagement and diſgrace on mankind it ſelf; when we withhold ſuccour or ſuſtenance from him, we do (as the prophet ſpeaketh) *hide our ſelves from our own fleſh*; we ſtarve a part of our own body, and wither a branch of our ſtock: Immoderate ſelfiſhneſs ſo blindeth us, that we overſee and forget our ſelves: It is in this, as it is in other good ſenſes, true what the wiſe man ſaith, *The merciful man doth good to his own ſoul*; *but he that is cruel, troubleth his own fleſh.*

Nemo eſt in genere humano, cui non dilectio, etſi non pro mutua charitate, pro ipſa tamen communis naturæ ſocietate debetur. Aug. *Epiſt.* 121. Acts 17. 26. Οἰκεῖον πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. Ariſt. Ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις πάθεσι διεγρηγορέναι τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ οἰκεῖον Greg. Naz. *Nihil eſt unum uni tam ſimile, tam par, quàm omnes inter noſmetipſos ſumus.* Cic. *de Leg.* 1. Iſa. 58. 7. Prov. 11. 17.

6. Farther, as the poor man is ſo nearly allied to us by ſociety of common nature, ſo is he more ſtrictly joined to us by the bands of ſpiritual conſanguinity. All chriſtians (high and low, rich and poor) are children of the ſame heavenly father, ſpring from the ſame incorruptible ſeed, are regenerated to the ſame lively hope, are co-heirs of the ſame heavenly inheritance; are all members of one body, (*members*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *one of another*) and animated by one holy ſpirit: Which relation, as it is the moſt noble, and moſt cloſe that can be, ſo it ſhould breed the greateſt endearments, and ſhould expreſs it ſelf in correſpondent effects; it ſhould render us full of affection and ſympathy one toward another; it ſhould make us to tender the needs, and feel the ſufferings of any chriſtian as our own; it ſhould diſpoſe us freely to communicate whatever we have, how precious ſoever, to any of our brethren; this holy friendſhip ſhould eſtabliſh a charitable equality and community among us, both in point of honour and of eſtate: For ſince all things conſiderable are common unto us, ſince we are all purchaſed and purified by the ſame precious blood, ſince we all partake of the ſame precious faith, of the ſame high calling, of the ſame honourable privileges, of the ſame glorious promiſes and hopes; ſince we all have the ſame Lord and Saviour; Why ſhould theſe ſecular trifles be ſo private and particular among us? Why ſhould not ſo huge a parity in thoſe only valuable things not wholly (I ſay not in worldly ſtate, or outward appearance, ſuch as the preſervation of order in ſecular affairs requireth, but) in our opinion and affection extinguiſh that ſlight diſtinction of *rich* and *poor*, in concernments temporal? How can we ſlight ſo noble, ſo great a perſonage as a chriſtian, for wanting a little droſs? How can we deem our ſelves much his ſuperior, upon ſo petty an advantage, for having that, which is not worth ſpeaking or thinking of, in compariſon to what he enjoyeth? Our Lord himſelf is not aſhamed to call the leaſt among us his brother and his friend; And ſhall we then diſdain to yield to ſuch an one the regard, and treatment ſuitable to ſuch a quality? Shall we not honour any brother of our Lord? Shall we not be civil and kind to any friend of his? If we do not, how can we pretend to bear any true reſpect or affection unto himſelf? It is his expreſs precept, that the greateſt among us ſhould, in imitation of his moſt humble and charitable ſelf, be ready to ſerve the meaneſt; and, that we ſhould *in honour prefer one another*, and *in lowlineſs of mind eſteem others better than our ſelves*, are apoſtolical rules, extending indifferently to rich and poor, which are plainly violated by diſregarding the poor. Yea, this relation

Ἑνὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐσμεν ἐσμὲν οἱ χεροῦ. Chryſ. *in Joh. Orat.* 15. Φίλων γὰρ κοινὰ τἴδια, εἰ δὲ μὴ φίλοι δοξάσεις πρόσω, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ χρήματα. Eurip. Androm. Coloſ. 3. 11. Heb. 2. 11. Matt. 25. 40. Joh. 15. 14. Mat. 20. 26. Rom. 12. 10. Phil. 2. 3.

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ſhould, according to St. *John*'s doctrine, diſpoſe us not only freely to impart theſe temporal goods, but even, if occaſion be, willingly to expoſe our very lives for our brethren: *Hereby* ſaith he, *we perceive the love of God, becauſe he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for our brethren.* How greatly then are they deficient from their duty, how little in truth are they chriſtians, who are unwilling to part with the very ſuperfluities and excrements of their fortune for the relief of a poor chriſtian? Thus conſidering our brother, may breed in us charitable diſpoſitions toward him, and induce us to the practice of theſe duties.

1 Joh. 3. 16.

IV. Head of diſcourſe.

Moreover, if we reflect upon our ſelves, and conſider either our nature, or our ſtate here, we cannot but obſerve many ſtrong engagements to the ſame practice.

1. The very conſtitution, frame and temper of our nature directeth and inclineth us thereto; whence by obſerving thoſe duties, we obſerve our own nature, we improve it, we advance it to the beſt perfection it is capable of; by neglecting them, we thwart, we impair, we debaſe the ſame—— *hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſus*; the beſt of our natural inclinations (thoſe ſacred reliques of God's image originally ſtamped on our minds) do ſenſibly prompt, and vehemently urge us to mercy and pity: The very ſame bowels, which in our own want do by a lively ſenſe of pain inform us thereof, and inſtigate us to provide for its relief, do alſo grievouſly reſent the diſtreſſes of another, admoniſhing us thereby, and provoking us to yield him ſuccour. Such is the natural ſympathy between men, (diſcernible in all, but appearing moſt vigorous in the beſt natures) that we cannot ſee, cannot hear of, yea, can hardly imagine the calamities of other men, without being ſomewhat diſturbed, and afflicted our ſelves. As alſo nature, to the acts requiſite toward preſervation of our life, hath annexed a ſenſible pleaſure, forcibly enticing us to the performance them: So hath ſhe made the communication of benefits to others, to be accompanied with a very delicious reliſh upon the mind of him that practiſes it; nothing indeed carrying with it a more pure and ſavory delight than beneficence. A man may be virtuouſly voluptuous, and a laudable epicure by doing much good; for to receive good, even in the judgment of *Epicurus* himſelf, (the great patron of pleaſure) is no wiſe ſo pleaſant as to do it: God and nature therefore within us do ſolicite the poor man's caſe; even our own eaſe and ſatisfaction demand from us compaſſion and kindneſs towards him; by exerciſing them, we hearken to nature's wiſe diſciplines, and comply with her kindly inſtincts; we cheriſh good humour, and ſweeten our complexion; ſo ennobling our minds, we become not only more like to God, but more perfectly men; by the contrary practice we rebel againſt the laws, and pervert the due courſe of our nature; we do weaken, corrupt and ſtifle that which is beſt in us; we harden and ſtupify our ſouls; ſo monſtrouſly degenerating from the perfection of our kind, and becoming rather like ſavage beaſts, than ſociable men; yea, ſomewhat worſe perhaps than many beaſts; for commonly brutes will combine to the ſuccour of one another; they will defend and help thoſe of the ſame kind.

Juven. *Sat.* 15.

——*Mutuum ut nos Affectus petere auxilium & præſtare juberet.*

Juven. 16. Φιλόπλωτον ἡ συμπαθὲς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. Arch. *ad Mon.* 852.

2. And if the ſenſitive part within us doth ſuggeſt ſo much, the rational dictates more unto us; that heavenly faculty, having capacities ſo wide, and ſo mighty energies, was ſurely not created to ſerve mean or narrow deſigns; it was not given us to ſcrape eternally in earth, or to amaſs heaps of clay for private enjoyment; for the ſervice of one puiſne creature, for the ſuſtenance or ſatisfaction of a ſingle carcaſe: 'Tis much below an intelligent perſon to weary himſelf with ſervile toils, and diſtract his mind with ignoble cares for concernments ſo low and ſcanty; but to regard and purſue the common good of men; to diſpenſe, adviſe and aid, where need requires, to diffuſe its virtue all about in beneficial effects; theſe are operations worthy of reaſon, theſe are employments congruous to the native excellency of that divine power implanted in us; ſuch performances declare indeed what a man is, whence he ſprang, and whither he tends.

Ἐπίκηρος ὁ τὸ εὖ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἡδὺ μὴ νομίζων καλλίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναι φησί. Plut. *de Philoſ. conv. cum Princ.*

3. Farther, examining our ſelves, we may alſo obſerve, that we are in reality, what our poor neighbour appears to be, in many reſpects no leſs indigent and impotent than he: We no leſs, yea far more, for our ſubſiſtence depend upon the arbitrary bounty of another, than he ſeemeth to relie upon ours. We as defectible creatures do continually want ſupport; we as grievous ſinners do always need mercy, every moment we are contracting huge debts, far beyond our ability to diſcharge; debts of gratitude for benefits received, debts of guilt for offences committed; we therefore perpetually ſtand obliged to be craving for mercy and relief

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at the gates of heaven. We all, from prince to peaſant, live merely upon alms, and are moſt really in condition beggars: *to pray always*, is a duty incumbent on us from the condition of our nature, as well as by the command of God. Such a likeneſs in ſtate ſhould therefore diſpoſe us to ſuccour our fellows, and δανείζειν θεῷ ἔλεον ἐλέᾳ χρήζοντας, *to lend mercy to God, who need mercy from him*, as the good father ſpeaketh. We ſhould (as the apoſtle adviſes and argues) *Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which ſuffer adverſity, as being our ſelves alſo in the body*; as being companions in neceſſity, or ſubject to the like diſtreſs. If we daily receive mercy and relief, yet unmindful of our obligation to God, refuſe them to others, ſhall we not deſerve to hear that dreadful exprobration, *O thou wicked ſervant, I forgave thee all that debt becauſe thou deſiredſt me; ſhouldeſt not thou alſo have had compaſſion on thy fellow-ſervant, even as I had pity on thee?*

Greg. Naz.

Heb. 13. 3.

Matt. 18. 32, 33.

4. The great incertainty, and inſtability of our condition, doth alſo require our conſideration. We that now flouriſh in a fair and full eſtate, may ſoon be in the caſe of that poor creature, who now ſues for our relief; we that this day enjoy the wealth of *Job*, may the morrow need his patience; there are *Sabeans*, which may come and drive away our cattel; there are tempeſts, which may ariſe, and ſmite down our houſes; there is a fire of God, which may fall from heaven, and conſume our ſubſtance; a meſſenger of all theſe miſchiefs may, for all we know, be preſently at our doors; it happened ſo to a better man than we, as unexpectedly and with as ſmall ground to fear it, as it can arrive to us: all our wealth is ſurrounded with dangers, and expoſed to caſualties innumerable; violence may ſnatch it from us, treachery may cheat us of it; miſchance may ſeize thereon, a ſecret moth may devour it; the wiſdom of providence for our tryal, or its juſtice for our puniſhment, may bereave us thereof; its own light and fluid nature (if no other accountable cauſes were apparent) might eaſily ſerve to waft it from us; for, *Riches* (ſaith the wiſe man) *make themſelves wings*, (they it ſeems do need no help for that) *and fly away like as an eagle toward heaven*; that is, of their own accord they do ſwiftly convey themſelves away, out of our ſight, and beyond our reach: they are but wind; *What profit* (ſays the preacher) *hath he that laboureth for the wind?* For wind, that is, for a thing which can no-wiſe be fixed or ſettled in one corner; which therefore 'tis a vanity to conceive, that we can ſurely appropriate, or long retain. How then can we think to ſtand firm, upon a place ſo ſlippery? How can we build any confidence on a bottom ſo looſe and brittle? How can we ſuffer our minds to be ſwell'd up, like bubbles, with vain conceit, by the breath of ſuch things, more fleeting and vertiginous than any air? Againſt the precepts of the wiſeſt and beſt men: *If riches increaſe*, ſaith the pſalmiſt, *ſet not your heart* on them: *Wilt thou ſet thine eyes upon that which is not?* ſaith the wiſe man: (that is, wilt thou regard that which is ſo tranſitory and evanid, that it hardly may be deemed real; which we can ſcarce look on, before it is gone?) And, *Charge them* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor truſt in uncertain riches:* (ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλότητι, in the obſcurity, or inevidence of riches; things which we can never plainly diſcern how long we ſhall keep them, how much we can enjoy them) what ſhould make us unwilling with certain advantages to our ſelves, freely to let that go, which preſently without our leave may forſake us? How can we reaſonably judge our caſe much different from that of the pooreſt body, whenas in a trice we may perhaps change places and perſons; whence the ſcene turning, he may be advanced unto our wealth, we may be depreſſed into his want? Since every age yieldeth inſtances of ſome *Cræſus*, ſome *Polycrates*, ſome *Pompey*, ſome *Job*, ſome *Nebuchodonoſor*, who within a ſmall compaſs of time doth appear to all men the object both of admiration and pity, is to the leſs-wiſe the mark both of envy and ſcorn; ſeeing every day preſenteth unexpected viciſſitudes, the ſea of humane affairs continually ebbing and flowing, now rolling on this, now on the other ſhore its reſtleſs waves of profit and credit; ſince eſpecially there is a God, who arbitrarily diſpoſeth things, and with a turn of his hand changeth the ſtate of men; who, as the ſcripture ſaith, *Maketh rich and poor, bringeth low and lifteth up; poureth contempt upon princes; raiſeth the poor out of the duſt, and lifteth the beggar from the dunghil, to ſet them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory:* ſeeing, I ſay, apparently ſuch is the condition of things here, that we may ſoon need

Ὅμως δ' ἔστι τῶν τὸ σκηπτροῖς τασσειν ἅ τὸ περίοσοπα μὴ ζῶντι πλέι. Soph. in Trachi.

Prov. 23. 5.

Ecclef. 5. 21.

Pſal. 62. 10.

Prov. 23. 5.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐχθρὸς οἰκίας ἂν εἴη ἂν ἡ ἔκοσμος ἐξισασθῆ μέλλουσι ἐτέρους, τότων μὴ μεταδόναι ἐκόντας τοῖς δεομένοις. Chryſ. Tom. 5. Orat. 55.

Sejanus—*quo die illum Senatus deduxerat, populus in fruſta diviſit.* Sen. de tranq. 2.

1 Sam. 2. 7. Job 12. 21. Pſal. 107. 41. 113. 7.

need his pity and help, who now requeſteth ours, why ſhould we not be very ready to afford them to him? Why ſhould we not gladly embrace our opportunity, and
Eccleſ. 11. 1. uſe our turn well; becoming aforehand with others, and preventing their reciprocal contempt or neglect of us hereafter; *Caſt thy bread upon the waters, for thou ſhalt find it after many days; give a portion to ſeven, and alſo unto eight, for thou knoweſt not what evil ſhall be upon the earth:* that is, conſidering the inconſtancy and uncertainty of affairs here, and what adverſity may befal thee, be liberal upon all occaſions, and thou ſhalt (even a good while after) find returns of thy liberality upon thee: ſo the wiſe man adviſes, and ſo wiſdom certainly dictates that we ſhould do.

5. And equity doth exact no leſs: for were any of us in the needy man's plight, (as eaſily we may be reduced thereto) we ſhould believe our caſe deſerved commiſeration; we ſhould importunately demand relief, we ſhould be grievouſly diſpleaſed at a repulſe; we ſhould apprehend our ſelves very hardly dealt with, and ſadly we ſhould complain of inhumanity and cruelty, if ſuccour were refuſed to us.
Beneficium qui dare veſcit, injuſte petit. Laber. Mim. In all equity therefore we ſhould be apt to miniſter the ſame to others; for nothing can be more unreaſonable or unjuſt, than to require or expect that from another, which in a like caſe we are unwilling to render unto him; it is a plain deviation from that fundamental rule, which is the baſe of all juſtice; and virtually the ſum
Matt. 7. 12. (as our Saviour telleth us) of whatever is preſcribed us: *All things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the law and the prophets.* I add, that upon theſe conſiderations, by unmerciful dealing, we put our ſelves into a very bad and tickliſh condition; wholly depending upon the conſtancy of that which is moſt inconſtant; ſo that if our fortune do fail, we can neither reaſonably hope for, nor juſtly pretend to any relief or comfort from others.
Eccleſ. 3. 31. *He that doeth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter, and when he falleth he ſhall find a ſtay.*

6. We ſhould alſo remember concerning our ſelves, that we are mortal and frail. Were we immortal, or could we probably retain our poſſeſſions for ever in our hands; yea, could we foreſee ſome definite ſpace of time, conſiderably long, in which we might aſſuredly enjoy our ſtores, it might ſeem ſomewhat excuſable to ſcrape hard, and to hold faſt; to do ſo might look like rational providence: but
Prov. 27. 24. ſince *Riches are not for ever, nor doth the crown endure to all generations,* (as the wiſe man ſpeaketh) ſince they muſt infallibly be ſoon left, and there is no certainty of keeping them for any time; 'tis very unaccountable why we ſhould ſo
James 1. 10, 11. greedily ſeek them, and hug them ſo fondly. *The rich man* (ſaith St. *James*) *as the flower of the graſs, ſhall paſs away:* it is his ſpecial doom *to fade away* ſuddenly; it is obvious why in many reſpects he is ſomewhat more than others obnoxious to the fatal ſtroke, and upon ſpecial accounts of juſtice he may be farther
Luke 12. 20. more expoſed thereto; conſidering the caſe of the rich fool in the goſpel, we may eaſily diſcern them; we ſhould reckon, that it may happen to us, as it did there to
1 Tim. 6. 7. him; that after we have reared great barns, and *ſtored up much goods for many*
Eccleſ. 5. 15. *years,* our *ſoul this very night* may be *required of us*; however, if it be uncer-
Job 1. 21. tain when, it is moſt certain, that after a very ſhort time our thread will be ſpun out; then ſhall we be rifled, and quite ſtript of all; becoming ſtark naked, as when we came into the world: we ſhall not carry with us one grain of our gliſtering metals, or one rag of our gaudy ſtuff; our ſtately houſes, our fine gardens, and our ſpacious walks, muſt all be exchanged for a cloſe hole under-ground; we muſt for
Iſa. 14. 11. ever bid farewel to our pomps and magnificences, to our feaſts and jollities, to our ſports and paſtimes; not one of all our numerous and ſplendid retinue; no companion of our pleaſure, no admirer of our fortune, no flatterer of our vices can wait upon us; deſolate and unattended we muſt go down to the chambers of darkneſs; then ſhall we find, that to die rich (as men are wont improperly to ſpeak) is really to die moſt poor; that to have carefully kept our money, is to have loſt it utterly; that by leaving much, we do indeed leave worſe than nothing: To have been wealthy, if we have been illiberal and unmerciful, will be no advantage or ſatisfaction to us after we are gone hence; yea, it will be the cauſe of huge damage, and bitter regret unto us. All our treaſures will not procure us any favour, or purchaſe one advocate for us in that impartial world; yea, it ſhall be they
James 5. 3. Luke 16. 25. which will there proſecute us with clamorous accuſations, will bear ſore teſtimony
6. 24. againſt us, (*The ruſt of them,* ſaith St. *James, ſhall be a witneſs againſt us,* ſigni-
12. 21. fying our unjuſt or uncharitable detention of them) will obtain a moſt heavy ſen-
Matt. 25. 30. James 5. 5. tence

tence upon us; they will render our audit more difficult, and enflame our reckoning; they will aggravate the guilt of our ſins with imputations of unfaithfulneſs and ingratitude; ſo with their load they will preſs us deeper into perdition: to omit, that having ſo ill managed them, we ſhall leave them behind us as marks of obloquy, and monuments of infamy upon our memories; for ordinarily of ſuch a rich perſon it is true, that *Job* ſays of him, *Men ſhall clap their hands at him, and ſhall hiſs him out of his place*; like one, who departs from off this ſtage, after having very ill acted his part. Is it not therefore infinitely better to prevent this being neceſſarily and unprofitably deprived of our goods, by ſeaſonably diſpoſing them ſo, as may conduce to our benefit, and our comfort, and our honour; being very indifferent and unconcerned in our affection toward them; modeſt and humble in our conceits about them; moderate and ſober in our enjoyments of them; contented upon any reaſonable occaſion to loſe or leave them; and eſpecially moſt ready to diſpenſe them in that beſt way, which God hath preſcribed, according to the exigencies of humanity and charity? By thus ordering our riches, we ſhall render them benefits and bleſſings to us; we ſhall by them procure ſure friendſhip and favour, great worſhip and reſpect in the other world; having ſo lived (in the exerciſe of bounty and mercy) we ſhall truly die rich, and in effect carry all our goods along with us, or rather we have thereby ſent them before us; having, like wiſe merchants, tranſmitted and drawn them by a moſt ſafe conveyance into our countrey and home; where infallibly we ſhall find them, and with everlaſting content enjoy them. So conſidering our ſelves, and our ſtate, will diſpoſe us to the practice of theſe duties.

1 Tim. 6. 9.

Job 27. 19, 23.

Τὸς γὰρ ἰσχάτης ἀνοίας ἐστὶν ἀφεῖναί τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀναπομπεῖναι ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖνα μικρὸν ὕστερον μελλόντων ἀπολέσθαι δεσπόται· ὃ γὰρ ὅπως ἂν πλουτήσῃ ζημία γίνεται· πάντα πέμπω ἐκεῖ πρεπεμπόδω, ἵνα κἀμὲ ἐκεῖ ἀπολάβω λοιπόν. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 34.

Furthermore, if we contemplate our wealth it ſelf, we may therein deſcry great motives to bounty.

V. Head of diſcourſe.

1. Thus to employ our riches, is really the beſt uſe they are capable of; not only the moſt innocent, moſt worthy, moſt plauſible; but the moſt ſafe, moſt pleaſant, moſt advantageous, and conſequently in all reſpects moſt prudent way of diſpoſing them. To keep them cloſe without uſing or enjoying them at all, is a moſt ſottiſh extravagance, or a ſtrange kind of madneſs; a man thence affecting to be rich, quite impoveriſheth himſelf, diſpoſſeſſeth himſelf of all, and alienateth from himſelf his eſtate: his gold is no more his, than when it was in the *Indies*, or lay hid in the mines; his corn is no more his, than if it ſtood growing in *Arabia* or *China*; he is no more owner of his lands, than he is maſter of *Jeruſalem*, or *Grand-Cairo*: for what difference is there, whether diſtance of place or baſeneſs of mind ſever things from him? Whether his own heart, or another man's hand detain them from his uſe? Whether he hath them not at all, or hath them to no purpoſe? Whether one is a beggar out of neceſſity, or by choice? Is preſſed to want, or a volunteer thereto? Such a one may fancy himſelf rich, and others, as wiſe as himſelf, may repute him ſo; but ſo diſtracted perſons to themſelves and to one another do ſeem great princes, and ſtyle themſelves ſuch; with as much reaſon almoſt he might pretend to be wiſe, or to be good. Riches are χρήματα, things whoſe nature conſiſts in uſefulneſs; abſtract that, they become nothing, things of no conſideration or value; he that hath them, is no more concerned in them than he that hath them not: it is the art and skill to uſe affluence of things wiſely and nobly, which makes it wealth, and conſtitutes him rich that hath it; otherwiſe the cheſts may be cramm'd, and the barns ſtuffed full, while the man is miſerably poor and beggarly; 'tis in this ſenſe true, which the wiſe man ſays, *There is that maketh himſelf rich, yet hath nothing*. But the very having riches (will ſuch a man ſay) is matter of reputation; men do eſteem and honour him that hath them: true, if he knows how, and hath the mind to uſe them well, otherwiſe all the credit they yield conſiſts in making their maſter ridiculous to wiſe men, and infamous among all men: but, putting caſe that any ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to reſpect us merely for ſeeming rich, why ſhould we accommodate our practice to their vain opinion, or be baſe our ſelves becauſe others are not wiſe? But however, (may he ſay again) it is a pleaſant thing to ſee them; a heap of gold is the moſt lovely ſpectacle that one can behold; it does a man's heart good to view an abundance of good things about him. For this plea indeed he

Καὶ γὰρ χρήματα λέγεται, οὐχ ἵνα καταργήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς δέον αὐτοῖς χρησώμεθα. Chryſ. *in Mat. Orat.* 49.

Σχοπιζόμενος ὁ πλούσιος πίφυκε πόσα μέρη, ζωοτρόφα ἀλλαχοῦ. Baſil. *M. Tam deeſt avaro quod habet, quàm quod non habet.*

Deſunt inopi multa, avaro omnia. Sen. *Epiſt.* 108.

Prov. 13. 7.

he hath a good author; this it ſhould ſeem was all the benefit the wiſe man obſer-
Eccleſ. 5. 11. ved in them, accruing to ſuch perſons: *What good*, ſaith he, *is there to the owners thereof, ſaving the beholding of them with their eyes*? But if this be all they are good for, it is, one would think, a very ſlim benefit they afford, little able to balance the pain and care requiſite to the acquiſt and cuſtody of them; a benefit indeed not proper to the poſſeſſor, for any one may look on them as well as he, or on the like; any one at pleaſure may enjoy better ſights; all the riches and ornaments of nature, the glorious ſplendours of heaven, and the ſweet beauties of the field, are expoſed to common view; the choiceſt magnificences and gallantries of the world, do ſtudiouſly preſent themſelves to every man's eye; theſe in part every man truly may appropriate to himſelf; and by imagination any man can as well take all that he ſees for his own, as the tenacious miſer doth fancy his dear pelf to be his.

But mine heir (perhaps he will farther ſay) will thank me, will praiſe me, will bleſs me for my great care and providence: If he doth, what is that to thee? Nothing of that will concern thee, or can reach thee; thou ſhalt not hear what he ſays, or feel any good from what he does: And moſt probably thou art miſtaken
Pſal. 39. 6. in thy opinion concerning him; as thou *knoweſt not who* he ſhall be, *that ſhall*
Eccleſ. 2. 19. *gather all thou heapeſt up*, or *ſhall rule over all thy labour*, (*whether he ſhall be a wiſe man or a fool*, a kinſman or a ſtranger, a friend or a foe) ſo thou canſt as little gueſs what he will think or ſay: If he hath wit, he may ſweetly laugh at thee for thy fond wiſdom; if he hath none, his commendations will little adorn thy memory; he will to thy diſgrace ſpend what thou leaveſt, as vainly as thou didſt get or keep it. But (this to be ſure he will in the end ſay for himſelf) money is a good reſerve againſt neceſſary occaſions, or bad times that may come; againſt the time of old age, of ſickneſs, of adverſity; 'tis the ſureſt friend a man can have in
Prov. 10. 15. ſuch caſes, which, when all fails, will be ready to help him: *The rich man's wealth is his ſtrong city*; the wiſe man he thinks never ſpake more wiſely; he therefore will not diſmantle this fortreſs, but will keep it well ſtored, letting therefore his wealth lie dead and uſeleſs by him; but, (to let paſs now the prophane infidelity of this plea, excluding all hope in God, and ſubſtituting our providence in the room of his) what a folly is it, thus to anticipate evil, and to create to our ſelves a preſent adverſity from a ſuſpicion of one future; to pinch our ſelves now, leſt we ſhould ſuffer hereafter; to pine to day, becauſe we can imagine it poſſible that we may ſtarve to morrow; to forego certain occaſions of enjoying our goods, for that perchance the like occaſions may happen one day, we know not when; not to uſe things now, when reaſon bids us, becauſe they may be uſeful at another time? Not conſidering alſo, that many intervenient accidents, more probably than a moderate and handſome uſe of our wealth, may crop the excreſcencies thereof.

2. But ſetting aſide theſe abſurd excuſes of penuriouſneſs, we may conſider, that ſecluding the good uſe of them in beneficence, riches are very impertinent, very cumberſome, very dangerous, very miſchievous things; either ſuperfluous toys, or troubleſome clogs, or treacherous ſnares, or rather all theſe in combination, productive of trouble, ſorrow and ſin. A ſmall pittance will, and muſt ſuffice to all reaſonable purpoſes, to ſatisfy our neceſſities, to procure conveniences, to yield innocent delight and eaſe: our nature doth not require, nor cannot bear much: (*Take heed and beware of covetouſneſs*, ſaith our Lord, *for a man's life conſiſteth not in the abundance of the things which he poſſeſſeth*; that is, a man may live well without it:) all the reſt, ſetting beneficence apart, can only ſerve vanity or vice, will make us really fools or ſlaves. (*They that will be rich*, (ſaith the apoſtle) *fall into temptations and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition.*) They puff up our minds with vain and falſe conceits; making us, as if we were in a dream or frenzy, to take our ſelves for other perſons, more great, more wiſe, more good, more happy than we are; for
Prov. 18. 11. conſtantly, as the wiſe man obſerved, *The rich man is wiſe in his own conceit*;
Job 32. 9. *Great men are not always wiſe.* And *Agar* thus intimates in his prayer, *Remove*
Prov. 30. 8. *far from me vanity and lies, give me neither poverty nor riches.* They render us inſenſible and forgetful of God, of our ſelves, of piety and virtue, of all that is
Prov. 30. 9. good and worthy of us: (*Leſt I be full*, ſaid that good man again, aſſigning a

Luke 12. 15. 1 Tim. 6. 8.
Corporis exigua deſideria ſunt; frigus ſubmovere vult, alimentis famem ac ſitim extinguere; quicquid extra concupiſcitur, vitiis, non uſibus laboratur. Sen. *Conſ. ad Helv.* 9.
1 Tim. 6. 9.

reaſon why he deprecated being rich, *and deny thee, and ſay, who is the Lord?*) they ſwallow up our thoughts, our affections, our endeavours, our time and leiſure, poſſeſſing our hearts with a doting love unto them, (excluding other good affections) diſtracting our minds with anxious cares about them, (choaking other good thoughts) encumbring all our life with buſineſs about them, (inconſiſtent with due attention to our other more weighty and neceſſary concernments) filling our heads with ſuſpicions, and fears, piercing our hearts with troubles and ſorrows; they immerſe our ſouls in all the follies of pride, in all the filths of luxury, in all the miſchiefs emergent from ſloth and ſtupidity; they are *the root of all evils* unto us, and the greateſt obſtructions of our true happineſs, rendring ſalvation almoſt impoſſible, and heaven in a manner inacceſſible to us: ſo that to be rich, (if ſevered from a ſober mind, and a free heart) is a great diſeaſe, and the ſource of many grievous diſtempers both of body and mind, from which we cannot well otherwiſe ſecure or reſcue our ſelves, than by liberally ſpending them in works of bounty and mercy: ſo ſhall we eaſe our ſelves of the burthens, ſo ſhall we elude the temptations, ſo ſhall we abandon the vices, and ſo ſhall we eſcape all the ſad miſchiefs incident to them: Thus to uſe wealth, ſhall turn it into a convenience, and an ornament of our lives, into a conſiderable bleſſing, and a ground of much comfort to us. Excluding this uſe of wealth, or abſtracting a capacity of doing good therewith, nothing is more pitiful and deſpicable than it; it is but like the load, or the trappings of an aſs; a wiſe man on that condition would not chuſe it, or endure to be peſtered with it; but would ſerve it, as thoſe philoſophers did, who flung it away, that it might not diſturb their contemplations: 'tis the power it affords of benefiting men, which only can ſeaſon, and ingratiate it to the reliſh of ſuch a perſon; otherwiſe it is evidently true, which the wiſe man affirms, *Prov.* 15. 16. *Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treaſure, and trouble therewith.*

Matt. 6. 24. Eccleſ. 31. 1. Matt. 13. 22. Luke 10. 41. 2 Tim. 2. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 10. Jam. 5. 5. Luke 16. 19. 1 Tim. 6. 10. Matt. 19. 23, 24.

Ἀποθώμεθά τι τὰ ὄψη, ἵνα πέλας καθέζεσθον. Naz. Or. 27.

3. Again, we may conſider, that to diſpenſe our wealth liberally, is the beſt way to preſerve it, and to continue maſters thereof; what we give, is not thrown away, but ſaved from danger: * while we detain it at home (as it ſeems to us) it really is abroad, and at adventures; it is out at ſea, ſailing perilouſly in ſtorms, near rocks and ſhelves; amongſt pirates; nor can it ever be ſafe, till it is brought into this port, or enſured this way; † when we have beſtowed it on the poor, then we have lodged it in unqueſtionable ſafety; in a place where no rapine, no deceit, no miſhap, no corruption can ever by any means come at it. All our doors and bars, all our forces and guards, all the circumſpection and vigilancy we can uſe, are no defence or ſecurity at all in compariſon to this diſpoſal thereof: The poor man's ſtomach is a granary for our corn, which never can be exhauſted; the poor man's back is a wardrobe for our cloaths, which never can be pillaged, the poor man's pocket is a bank for our money, which never can diſappoint or deceive us; all the rich traders in the world may decay and break, but the poor man can never fail, except God himſelf turn bankrupt; for what we give to the poor, we deliver and entruſt in his hands, out of which no force can wring it, no craft can filch it; it is laid up in heaven, whither no thief can climb, where no moth or ruſt do abide. In deſpight of all the fortune, of all the might, of all the malice in the world, the liberal man will ever be rich; for God's providence is his eſtate; God's wiſdom and power are his defence; God's love and favour are his reward; God's word is his aſſurance; who hath ſaid it, that *He which giveth to the poor, ſhall not lack*; no viciſſitude therefore of things can ſurprize him, or find him unfurniſhed; no diſaſter can impoveriſh him, no adverſity can overwhelm him; he hath a certain reſerve againſt all times and occaſions: He that *deviſeth liberal things, by liberal things ſhall he ſtand*, (ſaith the prophet.) But on the other hand, being niggardly is the likelieſt courſe we can take to loſe our wealth and eſtate; we thereby expoſe them to danger, and leave them defenceleſs; we ſubject them to the envious eye, to the ſlanderous tongue, to the ravenous and inſidious hand; we deprive them of divine protection, which if it be away, *The watch-man waketh but in vain*: We provoke God irrecoverably to take it from us, as he did the talent

Prov. 28. 27. Iſa. 32. 8. Pſal. 127. 1.

* Μηδὲ νόμιζε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ἀνάλυμα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πρόβολον, μηδὲ δαπάνην, ἀλλὰ περιμάχητον, μᾶλλον δὲ λαμπάδιον, ἢ δίδως, &c. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 208.

† Μὴ πίστευε φειδώμενα χρημάτων, μᾶλλον δὲ φειδώμενα τῶν χρημάτων· ὁ γὰρ φειδόμενος τῶν ἄγαν εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας, ταῦτα ἐναποτίθησι εἰς τὰ ἄτυλον θησαυρὸν καὶ ληστῶν καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ συκοφάντου κακύργου, καὶ πάσης ἐφόδου ἀνάλωτον. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 55.

Multi Sancti, & Sancta omnimodo caventes ipſas velut matres deliciarum divitias diſpergendo pauperibus abjecerunt, & tali modo in cœleſtibus theſauros tutius condiderunt. Aug. *Ep.* 121.

talent from that unprofitable ſervant, who did not uſe it well. We do indeed thereby yield God juſt cauſe of war, and enmity againſt us; which being, *Omnia dat qui juſta negat*; we do forfeit all to divine juſtice, by denying that portion which belongs to him, and which he claims. Can we hope to live in quiet poſſeſſion of any thing, if we refuſe to pay our due tributes and taxes impoſed upon us by our almighty Sovereign; if we live in ſuch rebellion againſt his authority, ſuch violation of his right, ſuch diffidence to his word? No: *He that truſteth in his riches, ſhall fall, but the righteous ſhall flouriſh as a branch:* Such is the difference between the covetous and the liberal in point of ſecurity and ſucceſs concerning their eſtate.

Prov. 11. 28.

Even according to the human and ordinary way of eſteeming things, (abſtracting from the ſpecial providence of God) the liberal perſon hath in conſequence of his bounty, more real ſecurity for his wealth, than this world hath any other: He thereby gets an intereſt in the gratitude and affection of thoſe whom he obligeth, together with the good-will and reſpect of all men, who are ſpectators of his virtuous and generous dealing: The hearts and memories of men are repoſitories to him of a treaſure, which nothing can extort from him, or defraud him of. If any miſchance ſhould arrive, or any want come near him, all men would be ready to commiſerate him, every man would haſten to his ſuccour. As when a haughty, a greedy, or a gripple man do fall into calamity or diſgrace, ſcarce any one regardeth or pitieth him: Fortune deſerting ſuch a perſon, carries all with it, few or none ſtick to him, his moſt zealous flatterers are commonly the firſt that forſake him, contempt and neglect are the only adherents to his condition; that of the wiſe man appears verified, *He that hideth his eyes from the poor, ſhall have many a curſe:* So the courteous and bountiful perſon, when fortune ſeems to frown on him, hath a ſure refuge in the good-will and eſteem of men; all men, upon the accounts of honour and honeſty, take themſelves to be concerned in his caſe, and engaged to favour him; even thoſe, who before were ſtrangers, become then his friends, and in effect diſcover their affection to him; it, in the common judgment of people, appears an indignity and a diſgrace to mankind, that ſuch a man ſhould want or ſuffer.

Miraris cum tu argento poſt omnia ponas, Si nemo præſtet quem non mereare amerem. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 1.

Prov. 28. 27.

4. Nay farther we may conſider, that exerciſing bounty is the moſt advantageous method of improving and increaſing an eſtate; but that being tenacious and illiberal, doth tend to the diminution and decay thereof. The way to obtain a great encreaſe, is to ſow much: He that ſows little, how can he expect a good crop? It is as true in ſpiritual husbandry, as in the others; that *what a man ſoweth that he ſhall reap*, both in kind, and according to proportion: So that great husbandman St. *Paul* aſſureth us, *He that ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly; but he that ſoweth bountifully, ſhall alſo reap bountifully:* And *Solomon* means the ſame, when he ſaith, *To him that ſoweth righteouſneſs, ſhall be a ſure reward.* The way to gain abundantly is, you know well, to trade boldly; he that will not adventure any thing conſiderable, how can he think of a large return? *Honour the Lord with thy ſubſtance, ſo ſhall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy preſſes ſhall burſt out with new wine*, Prov. 3. 9, 10. 'Tis ſo likewiſe in the evangelical negotiations; if we put out much upon ſcore of conſcience or charity, we ſhall be ſure to profit much. Liberality is the moſt beneficial traffick that can be; it is bringing our wares to the beſt market; it is letting out our money into the beſt hands; we thereby lend our money to God, who repays with vaſt uſury; an hundred to one is the rate he allows at preſent, and above a hundred millions to one he will render hereafter; ſo that if you will be merchants this way, you ſhall be ſure to thrive, you cannot fail to grow rich moſt eaſily and ſpeedily: *The liberal ſoul ſhall be made fat, and he that watereth ſhall be watered himſelf:* This is that which St. *Paul* again argues upon, when commending the *Philippians* free kindneſs toward him, he ſays, *Not becauſe I deſire a gift, but I deſire fruit that may abound to your account.* Bounty yields καρπὸν πολυτοκοῦντα, a fruit that multiplies and abundantly turns to good account; it indeed procuring God's benediction, the fountain of all deſirable plenty and proſperity: for, *The bleſſing of the Lord it maketh rich, and he addeth no ſorrow with it.* It is therefore the greateſt want of policy, the worſt ill-husbandry and unthriftineſs that can be, to be ſparing this way; he that uſeth it, cannot be thriving; he muſt ſpend upon the main ſtock, and may be ſure to get nothing conſiderable. God ordinarily ſo proceeds, as to recompence and retaliate men in the ſame kind, wherein they endeavour to pleaſe him,

Gal. 6. 7, 8.

2 Cor. 9. 6, 10.

Prov. 11. 18.

Prov. 11. 25.

Phil. 4. 17.

Prov. 10. 22.

him, or presume to offend him; so that for them who freely offer him their goods, he in regard thereto will prosper their dealings, and bless their estates: (*For this very thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto*, says *Moses*) but they who will not lay out any thing for him, he will not concern himself in their success otherwise than to cross it, or (which is worse) to curse it: For if he seem to favour them for a time with some prosperity in their affairs, their condition is much worse thereby, their account will be more grievous, and their fate more disastrous in the end. Deut. 15. 10. Psal. 73. 17.

5. Farther, the contributing part of our goods to the poor, will qualify us to enjoy the rest with satisfaction and comfort. The oblation of these first-fruits, as it will sanctify the whole lump of our estate, so it will sweeten it; having offered this well-pleasing sacrifice of piety, having discharged this debt of justice, having paid this tribute of gratitude, our hearts being at rest, and our conscience well satisfied, we shall, like those good people in the acts, *eat our meat with gladness, and singleness of heart*; to see the poor man by our means accommodated, eased and refreshed, will give a delicious relish to all our enjoyments. But withholding his portion from the poor, as it will pollute and prophane all our estate, so it will render the fruition thereof sowre or unsavory to us: For can we with any content taste our dainties, or view our plenties, while the poor man stands in sight pining with hunger? Can we without great regret see our walls cloathed with tapestry, our horses deckt with golden trappings, our attendants strutting in wanton gaiety, while our honest poor brother appears half naked, and trembling with cold? Can we carry on one finger enough to furnish ten poor people with necessaries, and have the heart within us, without shame and displeasure, to see them want? No; the sense of our impiety and ingratitude toward God, of our inhumanity and unworthiness toward our neighbour, will not fail (if ever we considerately reflect on our behaviour) to sting us with cruel remorse and self-condemnation; the clamours of want and misery surrounding us, will pierce our ears, and wound our hearts; the frequent objects of pity and mercy, do what we can to banish them from our prospect or regard, will so assail, and so pursue us, as to disturb the freedom of our enjoyments, to quash the briskness of our mirth, to allay the sweetness of our pleasure; yea rather, if stupidity and obduration have not seized on us, to imbitter all unto us, we shall feel that true, which *Zophar* speaks of the cruel and covetous oppressor, *Surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly,——he shall not rejoyce in his substance,——in the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straights.* Job. 20. 18, 20, 22.

Ἐγγὺς ἀγίνει, εἰς τοῦτο ἀπερδεῖν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τι καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ἀνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀτὸν πένητα, καὶ τὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα καὶ ἀτὸν ἀποθνήσκοντα, καὶ τὸν κλαίοντα βλέπειν, καὶ ἀτὸν ἀπεσκηνωμένον ἐᾶν; Nazian. Orat. 27.

6. I shall touch but one consideration more, persuasive of this practice; it is this: The peculiar nature of our religion specially requires it, and the honour thereof exacts it from us; nothing better suits christianity, nothing more graces it, than liberality; nothing is more inconsistent therewith, or more disparageth it, than being miserable and sordid. A christian niggard is the veriest nonsense that can be; for, What is a christian? What but a man, who adores God alone, who loves God above all things, who reposes all his trust and confidence in God? What is he, but one who undertaketh to imitate the most good and bountiful God, to follow, as the best pattern of his practice, the most benign and charitable *JESUS*, the son of God; to obey the laws of God, and his *Christ*, the sum and substance of which is charity; half whose religion doth consist in loving his neighbour as himself? What is he farther, but one who hath renounced this world, with all the vain pomps and pleasures of it; who professes himself in disposition and affection of mind to forsake all things for *Christ*'s sake; who pretends little to value, affect, or care for any thing under heaven; having all his main concernments and treasures, his heart, his hopes, and his happiness in another world? Such is a christian; And what is a niggard? All things quite contrary: One whose practice manifestly shews him to worship another thing beside, and before God; to love mammon above God, and more to confide in it, than in him; one who bears small good-will, kindness or pity toward his brother; who is little affected or concerned with things future or celestial; whose mind and heart are rivetted to this world; whose hopes and happinesses are settled here below; whose soul is deeply immersed and buried in earth; one who, according to constant habit, notoriously breaketh the two great heads of christian duty, *Loving God with all*

his heart, and his neighbour as himſelf: It is therefore, by comparing thoſe things, very plain, that we pretend to reconcile groſs contradictions and inconſiſtences, if we profeſs our ſelves to be chriſtians, and are illiberal. It is indeed the ſpecial grace and glory of our religion, that it conſiſteth not in barren ſpeculations, or empty formalities, or forward profeſſions; not in fancying curiouſly, or ſpeaking zealouſly, or looking demurely; but in really producing ſenſible fruits of
Tit. 3. 8. goodneſs; in doing (as St. *Paul* ſignifies) *things good and profitable unto men*, ſuch as thoſe chiefly are of which we ſpeak. The moſt gracious wiſdom of God hath ſo modelled our religion, that according to it piety and charity are the ſame thing; that we can never expreſs our ſelves more dutiful toward him, or better pleaſe him, or more truly glorify him, than when we are kind and good to our poor brother. We groſſly miſtake, if we take giving of alms to be a Jewiſh or Popiſh practice, ſuitable to children and dullards in religion, beneath ſo refined, ſo improved, ſo loftily ſpiritual gallants as we: No, 'tis a duty moſt properly, and moſt highly chriſtian, as none more, a moſt goodly fruit of grace, and a moſt faithful
2 Cor. 9. 13. mark thereof: *By the experiment of this miniſtration, we* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *glorify God for our profeſſed ſubjection unto the goſpel of Chriſt, and for our liberal diſtribution unto our brethren and unto all men:* Without it our faith is dead and ſenſeleſs; our high attainments are fond preſumptions; our fine notions and delicate ſpiritualities are in truth but ſilly dreams, the iſſues of a proud and ignorant fancy: He that appears hard-hearted and cloſe-fiſted towards his needy brother, let him think or call himſelf what he pleaſeth, he plainly is no chriſtian, but a blemiſh, a reproach, and a ſcandal to that honourable name.

7. To all theſe conſiderations and reaſons inducing to the practice of this kind of charity, I might ſubjoin examples, and ſet before you the faireſt copies that can be imagined thereof. We have for it the pattern of God himſelf, who is in-
Jam. 1. 5, 17. Acts 17. 25. 2 Cor. 8. 9. finitely munificent and merciful; *from whom every good and perfect gift deſcendeth; who giveth life and breath, and all things unto all*; who *giveth liberally and upbraideth not*. We have the example of the ſon of God, who out of pure charity did freely part with the riches and glories of eternity, voluntarily embracing extreme poverty and want for our ſake, that we who were poor, might be
Acts 10. 38. enriched; we that were miſerable might become happy; who *went about doing good*; ſpent all his life in painful diſpenſation of beneficence, and relieving the needs of men in every kind. We have the bleſſed patriarchs to follow, who at God's pleaſure and call did readily leave their country, their friends, their goods,
Mat. 19. 27. and all they had. We have the practice of the holy apoſtles, who freely *let go all to follow their Lord*; who chearfully ſuſtained all ſorts of loſſes, diſgraces and pains, for promoting the honour of God, and procuring good unto men: We have to move and encourage us hereto the firſt and beſt chriſtians, moſt full of grace
Acts 4. 34, 35. and holy zeal, who *ſo many as were poſſeſſors of lands and houſes, did ſell them*, and did impart the price of them to the community, *ſo that there was none poor among them*, and that *diſtribution was made to every one as he had need*. We have all the ſaints and eminent ſervants of God in all times, who have been high and wonderful in the performance of theſe duties. I could tell you of the bleſſed Mar-
Pontius *in vit.* Cypr. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 40. Sulp. Sever. tyr St. *Cyprian*, who was liberal by wholeſale, beſtowing all at once, a fair eſtate, on God and the poor; of the renowned biſhop St. *Baſil*, who conſtantly waited on the ſick, and kiſſed their ſores; of the moſt pious confeſſor St. *Martin*, who having but one coat left, and ſeeing a poor man that wanted cloaths, tore it in two pieces, and gave one to that *poor man*; and many like inſtances out of authentick hiſtory, might be produced, apt to provoke our imitation: I might alſo, to beget emulation and ſhame in us, repreſent exemplary practices of humanity and charity even in Jews, Mahometans and Pagans, (ſuch as in theſe cold days might paſs for more than ordinary among us) but I ſhall only propound one preſent and ſenſible example, that of this noble city, whoſe publick bounty and charity in all kinds, (in education of orphans, in curing the diſeaſed both in body and mind, in proviſion for the poor, in relieving all ſorts of neceſſities and miſeries) let me earneſtly entreat and exhort us all for God's ſake, as we are able, by our private charity to imitate, to encourage, and to aſſiſt; let us do this ſo much the more willingly and freely, as the ſad circumſtances of things, by God's judgments brought upon us, do plainly require, that the publick charity it ſelf (lying under ſo great impediments, diſcouragements and diſtreſſes) ſhould be ſupported, ſup-

plied,

plied, and relieved by particular liberality. No words that I can deviſe will be ſo apt to affect and move you, as the caſe it ſelf, if you pleaſe to conſider it: Hear it therefore ſpeaking, and, I pray, with a pious and charitable diſpoſition of mind attend thereto:

A true Report, &c.

For this excellent pattern of pious bounty and mercy, let us heartily thank almighty God: Let us humbly implore God's bleſſing on the future management of it; let us pay due reſpects to the worthy promoters thereof, and pray for rewards upon them anſwerable to their charitable care and induſtry employed therein; let us alſo according to our ability perform our duty in following and furthering it: For encouragement to which practice, give me leave briefly to reflect upon the latter part of my text; which repreſents ſome inſtances of the felicity proper to a bountiful perſon, or ſome rewards peculiar to the exerciſing the duties of bounty and mercy.

The firſt is, *His righteouſneſs endureth for ever*. Theſe words are capable of various ſenſes, or of divers reſpects; they may import that the fame and remembrance of his bounty is very durable, or that the effects thereof do laſtingly continue, or that eternal rewards are deſigned thereto; they may reſpect the bountiful man himſelf, or his poſterity here; they may ſimply relate to an endurance in God's regard and care; or they may with that alſo comprehend a continuance in the good memory, and honourable mention of men. Now in truth, according to all theſe interpretations, the bountiful man's righteouſneſs doth endure for ever, that is, very laſtingly, (or ſo long as the ſpecial nature of the caſe doth bear) in any ſenſe; or for an abſolute perpetuity in ſome ſenſe: The words in their plenitude do naturally and without ſtraining involve ſo many truths; none of which therefore we think fit to exclude, but ſhall briefly touch them all.

1. As for future reputation and fame, (which that it in part is intended here, that which precedes, *The righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance*, doth argue) it is evident, that it peculiarly attends upon this practice: The bountiful perſon is eſpecially that *juſt* man, whoſe *memory is bleſſed*, (is μετ' ἐυφημίων, as Prov. 10. 7. the greek renders it; that is, is proſecuted with commendations and praiſes.) No ſpices can ſo embalm a man, no monument can ſo preſerve his name and memory, as works of beneficence; no other fame is comparably ſo precious, or truly glorious, as that which grows from thence: The renown of power and proweſs, of wit or learning, of any wiſdom or skill, may dwell in the fancies of men with ſome admiration; but the remembrance of bounty reigns in their hearts with cordial eſteem and affection; there erecting immoveable trophies over death and oblivion, and thence ſpreading it ſelf through the tongues of men with ſincere and ſprightly commendations. The bountiful man's very duſt is fragrant, and his grave venerable; his name is never mentioned without reſpect; his actions have always theſe beſt echoes, with innumerable iterations reſounding after them: *His goods ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and the congregation ſhall declare his alms*, Eccluſ. 32. 11. This was a true friend to mankind; this was a real benefactor to the world; this was a man good in earneſt, and pious to good purpoſe.

2. The effects of his righteouſneſs are likewiſe very durable: When he is departed hence, and in perſon is no more ſeen, he remains viſible and ſenſible in the footſteps and fruits of his goodneſs; the poor ſtill beholds him preſent in the ſubſiſtence of himſelf, and his family; the ſick man feels him in the refreſhment, which he yet enjoys by his proviſion; he ſupervives in the heart of the afflicted, which ſtill reſents the comfort, and rejoyces in the eaſe which he procured him; all the world derives benefit from him by the edification it receiveth from his example; religion obtaineth profit and ornament, God himſelf enjoyeth glory and praiſe from his righteouſneſs.

3. His righteouſneſs alſo endureth in reſpect to his poſterity. It is an uſual plea for tenacity and parſimony, that care muſt be had of poſterity, that enough muſt be provided and laid up for the family: But in truth this is a very abſurd excuſe, and doing according thereto, is a very prepoſterous method of proceeding toward that end; it is really the greateſt improvidence in that reſpect, and the trueſt neglect that can be of our children: For ſo doing together with a ſeeming eſtate, we entail a real curſe upon them; we diveſt them of God's protection and benediction; (the only ſure preſervatives of an eſtate) we leave them heirs of nothing ſo much

as of punishments due to our ingratitude, our infidelity, our impiety and injustice both toward God and man: Whereas by liberally bestowing on the poor, we demise unto them God's blessing, which is the best inheritance; we recommend them to God's special care, which is the best tuition; we leave them God's protection and providence, which are a wealth indefectible and inexhaustible; we constitute God their guardian, who will most faithfully manage, and most wisely improve their substance, both that which we leave to them, and that which we gave for them to the poor; we thereby in good part entitle them to the rewards appropriate to our pious charity, our faith, our gratitude, our self-denial, our justice, to whatever of good is virtually contained in our acts of bounty; to omit the honour and good-will of men, which constantly adhere to the bountiful man's house and family. *Prov.* 13. 22. *A good man leaveth an inheritance to his childrens children.* It is therefore expressly mentioned in scripture as a recompence peculiar to this virtue, that security from want, and all happiness do attend the
Psal. 37. 25, 26. posterity of the bountiful person: *He is ever merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed*, saith *David* of him generally; and *David* also particularly observed, that in all the course of his long life, he could find no exception to the rule: *I*
Psal. 112. 2, 3. *have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.*

4. His righteousness also endureth for ever in the perpetual favour of God, and in the eternal rewards which God will confer upon him, who out of conscience and reverence toward God, out of good-will and kindness toward his brother
Heb. 6. 10. hath dispersed, and given to the poor. *God will not* (as the apostle saith) *be unjust to forget his labour of charity in ministring* to his poor brother: From the
Gal. 6. 8. seed which he *hath sown to the spirit*, he shall assuredly reap a most plentiful crop
1 Tim. 6. 19. of blessings spiritual; he shall effectually enjoy *the good foundation* that he hath *stored up*: For the goods he hath sold and delivered, he shall *bonâ fide* receive his
Matt. 13. 46. bargain, *the hidden treasure*, and *precious pearl* of eternal life; for this best im-
Matt. 25. 21, 26. provement of his talent of worldly riches, he shall hear the *Euge bone serve, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into thy master's joy*: He shall at last find God infinitely more bountiful to him, than he hath been unto the poor.

Thus when all the flashes of sensual pleasure are quite extinct; when all the flowers of secular glory are withered away; when all earthly treasures are buried in darkness; when this world, and all the fashion of it, are utterly vanished and gone, the bountiful man's state will be still firm and flourishing, and *His righteousness shall endure for ever.*

It follows, *His horn shall be exalted with honour*: A horn is an emblem of power; for in it the beasts strength, offensive and defensive, doth consist; and of plenty, for it hath within it a capacity apt to contain what is put into it; and of
1 Sam. 16. 13. sanctity, for that in it was put the holy oil, with which kings were consecrated;
1 King. 1. 39. and of dignity, both in consequence upon the reasons mentioned, (as denoting might, and influence, and sacredness accompanying sovereign dignity) and because also it is an especial beauty and ornament to the creature which hath it; so that this expression (*His horn shall be exalted with honour*) may be supposed to import, that an abundance of high, and holy, of firm and solid honour shall attend upon the bountiful person. And that so it truly shall, may from many considerations appear.

1. Honour is inseparably annexed thereto as its natural companion and shadow. God hath impressed upon all virtue a majesty and a beauty, which do command respect, and with a kindly violence extort veneration from men; such is the natural constitution of our souls, that as our sense necessarily liketh what is fair and sweet, so our mind unavoidably will esteem what is virtuous and worthy; all good actions as such, are honourable, but of all virtues beneficence doth with most unquestionable right claim honour, and with irresistible force procures it; as it is indeed the most divine of virtues, so men are most apt to venerate them,
Φιλῶν γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὠφίλιμοι δέ. Arist. Matt. 6. 1. whom they observe eminently to practise it. Other virtues men see, and approve as goodly to the sight, but this they taste and feel; this by most sensible experience they find to be pleasant and profitable, and cannot therefore but highly prize it. They, who *do their alms before men*, although out of an unworthy vain-glorious design, *have* yet, as our saviour intimates, *their reward*; they fail not to get honour thereby; and even so have no bad pennyworth: For, in the wise man's

judgment, *A good name is rather to be choſen than great riches*, they receive at leaſt fine air for groſs earth; and things very ſpiritual, for things moſt material; they obtain that which every man doth naturally deſire and prize, for that which only faſhion in ſome places endeareth, and commendeth: they get the end for the means, for ſcarce any man ſeeketh wealth for it ſelf, but either for honour, or for virtues ſake, that he may live creditably, or may do good therewith: neceſſity is ſerved with a little, pleaſure may be ſatisfied with a competence; abundance is required only to ſupport honour or promote good; and honour by a natural connexion adhereth to bounty. *He that followeth after righteouſneſs and mercy, findeth life, righteouſneſs and honour.* Prov. 21. 21. Prov. 21. 21. Αἱ γὲ δυναμεις ἐχ ὁ πλουτος ἀλλὰ τιμὴ ἐστι. Ariſt.

2. But farther, an acceſſion of honour according to gracious promiſe, (grounded upon ſomewhat of ſpecial reaſon, of equity and decency in the thing it ſelf) is due from God unto the bountiful perſon, and is by ſpecial providence ſurely conferred on him. There is no kind of piety, or inſtance of obedience, whereby God himſelf is more ſignally honoured, than by this. Theſe are chiefly thoſe *good works*, the which *men ſeeing*, are apt to *glorify our father which is in heaven.* Phil. 1. 11. *Being filled with the fruits of righteouſneſs, which are by Chriſt Jeſus, to the glory, and praiſe of God.* To theſe fruits that is moſt applicable, which our Lord ſaith, *Hereby is my father glorified, if you bear much fruit:* for, as, *He that oppreſſeth the poor, reproacheth his maker*; ſo *he honoureth him, that hath mercy on the poor.* The comfortable experience of good in this ſort of actions, will moſt readily diſpoſe men to admire and commend the excellency, the wiſdom, the goodneſs of the divine laws, will therefore procure God hearty praiſe, and thanks for them: For, as St. *Paul* teacheth us, *The adminiſtration of this ſervice not only ſupplyeth the want of the ſaints, but is abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto God; whilſt by experiment of this miniſtration, they glorify God for your profeſſed ſubjection unto the goſpel of Chriſt, and for your liberal diſtribution unto them, and unto all men.* Since then God is ſo peculiarly honoured by this practice, it is but equal and fit, that God ſhould remunerate it with honour: God's noble goodneſs will not let him ſeem defective in any ſort of beneficial correſpondence toward us; we ſhall never be able to yield him any kind of good thing in duty, which he will not be more apt to render us in grace; they who (as *Solomon* ſpeaketh) *honour God with their ſubſtance*, ſhall by God certainly be honoured with his bleſſing: reaſon intimates ſo much, and we beſide have God's expreſs word for it: *Them* (ſaith he) *who honour me, I will honour.* He that abſolutely and independently is the fountain of all honour, *from whom* (as good king *David* ſaith) *riches and honour cometh*, for that *he reigneth over all*, he will aſſuredly prefer and dignify thoſe, who have been at ſpecial care and coſt to advance his honour. He that hath the *hearts of all men in his hands*, and *faſhioneth them* as he pleaſeth, will raiſe the bountiful man in the judgments and affections of men. He that ordereth all the events of things, and diſpoſeth ſucceſs as he thinks fit, will cauſe the bountiful perſon's enterprizes to proſper, and come off with credit. He will not ſuffer the reputation of ſo real an honourer of himſelf to be extremely ſlurr'd by diſaſter, to be blaſted by ſlander, to be ſupplanted by envy or malice; but will *bring forth his righteouſneſs as the light, and his judgment as the noon-day.* Matt. 5. 16. John 15. 8. Prov. 14. 31. 2 Cor. 9. 12, 12, 13. Prov. 3. 9. 1 Sam. 2. 30. 1 Chron. 29. 12. Prov. 21. 1. Pſal. 33. 15. Pſal. 37. 6.

3. God will thus exalt the bountiful man's horn even here in this world, and to an infinitely higher pitch he will advance it in the future ſtate: He ſhall there be ſet at the right hand, in a moſt honourable place and rank; among the chief friends and favourites of the heavenly king: in happy conſortſhip with the holy angels, and bleſſed ſaints; where, in recompence of his pious bounty, he ſhall from the bountiful hands of his moſt gracious Lord receive *an incorruptible crown of righteouſneſs*, and *an unfading crown of glory*. The which God of his infinite mercy grant unto us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord; to whom for ever be all praiſe. *Amen.*

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jeſus, that great ſhepherd of the ſheep, through the blood of the everlaſting covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt: To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. Heb. 13. 20.

SERMON

SERMON XXXII.

A Sermon upon the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

PHIL. II. 8.

And being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſs.

Cyril. c. Jul. 8. *p.* 278. 9. *p.* 303.

John 3. 36.

Col. 3. 6.

Iren. 3. 33, 34. Iſa. 26. 13. Iren. 3. 8.

Gen. 4. 7. 2. 17. Iren. 5. 16.

[a] Rom. 3. 19. ὑπόδικον τῷ Θεῷ.
[b] Rom. 3. 9.
[c] Rom. 5. 16, 18.
[d] Gal. 3. 10.
[e] Rom. 11. 32. εἰς ἀπείθειαν.
[f] Gal. 3. 22.
[g] Rom. 3. 23.
[h] Rom. 5. 12.

[a] Rom. 6. 12, 14, 20, 22.
[b] Rom. 7. 18, 25. Rom. 7. 23.
[c] Rom. 6. 6. Coloſſ. 3. 9. Epheſ. 4. 22.
[d] Rom. 8. 7. οὐ γὰρ δύναται.
[e] Epheſ. 4. 18. Coloſſ. 1. 21. Rom. 5. 10.
[f] Epheſ. 2. 5. (Rom. 6. 13, 11.)

Pſal. 143. 2. Exod. 34. 7.

Ezek. 16. 6.

HEN, in conſequence of the original apoſtacy from God, which did baniſh us from paradiſe, and by continued rebellions againſt him, inevitable to our corrupt and impotent nature, mankind had forfeited the amity of God, (the chief of all goods, the fountain of all happineſs) and had incurred his diſpleaſure, (the greateſt of all evils, the foundation of all miſery:)

When poor man having deſerted his natural lord and protector, *other lords had got dominion over him*, ſo that he was captivated by the foul, malicious, cruel ſpirits, and enſlaved to his own vain mind, to vile luſts, to wild paſſions:

When, according to an eternal rule of juſtice, that ſin deſerveth puniſhment, and by an expreſs law, wherein death was enacted to the tranſgreſſors of God's command, the root of our ſtock, and conſequently all its branches ſtood adjudged to utter deſtruction:

When, according to St. *Paul's* expreſſions, *all the world was become guilty before God*, (or [a] ſubjected to God's judgment:) [b] *all men* (*Jews* and *Gentiles*) *were under ſin*, [c] *under condemnation*, [d] *under the curſe*; [e] *all men were concluded into diſobedience*, and [f] *ſhut up together* (as cloſe priſoners) *under ſin*; [g] *all men had ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God*: [h] *Death had paſſed over all, becauſe all had ſinned*:

When, for us, being plunged into ſo wretched a condition, no viſible remedy did appear, no poſſible redreſs could be obtained here below: (For, what means could we have of recovering God's favour, who were apt perpetually to contract new debts and guilts, but not able to diſcharge any old ſcores? What capacity of mind or will had we to entertain mercy, who were no leſs ſtubbornly perverſe and obdurate in our crimes, than ignorant or infirm? How could we be reconciled unto heaven, who had an innate antipathy to God and goodneſs? [[a] *Sin* (according to our natural ſtate, and ſecluding evangelical grace) *reigning in our mortal bodies*, [b] *no good thing dwelling in us*; there being a predominant *law in our members, warring againſt the law of our mind, and bringing us into captivity to the law of ſin*; a main ingredient of our [c] *old man* being a [d] *carnal mind*, which is *enmity to God*, and *cannot ſubmit to his law*; we being [e] *alienated from the life of God by the blindneſs of our hearts*, and *enemies in our minds by wicked works*?] How could we revive to any good hope, who were [f] *dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*, God having withdrawn his quickning ſpirit? How at leaſt could we for one moment ſtand upright in God's ſight, upon the natural terms, excluding all ſin, and exacting perfect obedience?)

When this, I ſay, was our forlorn and deſperate caſe, then almighty God, out of his infinite goodneſs, was pleaſed to look upon us (as he ſometime did upon *Jeruſalem, lying polluted in her blood*) with an eye of pity and mercy, ſo as graciouſly to deſign a redemption for us out of all that woful diſtreſs: And no ſooner

by

by his incomprehenſible wiſdom did he foreſee we ſhould loſe our ſelves, than by his immenſe grace he did conclude to reſtore us.

But how could this happy deſign well be compaſſed? How in conſiſtence with the glory, with the juſtice, with the truth of God, could ſuch enemies be reconciled, ſuch offenders be pardoned, ſuch wretches be ſaved? Would the omnipotent majeſty, ſo affronted, deſign to treat with his rebels immediately, without an interceſſor or advocate? Would the ſovereign governour of the world ſuffer thus notoriouſly his right to be violated, his authority to be ſlighted, his honour to be trampled on, without ſome notable vindication or ſatisfaction? Would the great patron of juſtice relax the terms of it, or ever permit a groſs breach thereof to paſs with impunity? Would the immutable God of truth expoſe his veracity or his conſtancy to ſuſpicion, by ſo reverſing that peremptory ſentence of death upon ſinners, that it ſhould not in a ſort eminently be accompliſhed? Would the moſt righteous and moſt holy God let ſlip an opportunity ſo advantageous for demonſtrating his perfect love of innocence, and abhorrence of iniquity? Could we therefore well be cleared from our guilt without an expiation, or re-inſtated in freedom without a ranſom, or exempted from condemnation without ſome puniſhment?

Eph. 1. 4, 9, 11, & 3. 11. 2 Tim. 1. 9. 1 Pet. 1. 20. Rev. 13. 8. Rom. 16. 25. Tit. 1. 2.

Athan. *de Incarn.* Gen. 2. 17.

No: God was ſo pleaſed to proſecute his deſigns of goodneſs and mercy, as thereby no-wiſe to impair or obſcure, but rather to advance and illuſtrate the glories of his ſovereign dignity, of his ſevere juſtice, of his immaculate holineſs, of his unchangeable ſteddineſs in word and purpoſe. He accordingly would be ſued to for peace and mercy: nor would he grant them abſolutely, without due compenſations for the wrongs he had ſuſtained; yet ſo, that his goodneſs did find us a mediator, and furniſh us with means to ſatisfy him. He would not condeſcend to a ſimple remiſſion of our debts; yet ſo, that, ſaving his right and honour, he did ſtoop lower for an effectual abolition of them. He would make good his word, not to let our treſpaſſes go unpuniſhed; yet ſo, that by our puniſhment we might receive advantage. He would manifeſt his deteſtation of wickedneſs in a way more illuſtrious; than if he had perſecuted it down to hell, and irreverſibly doomed it to endleſs torment.

But how might theſe things be effected? Where was there a mediator proper and worthy to intercede for us? Who could preſume to ſolicit and plead in our behalf? Who ſhould dare to put himſelf between God and us, or offer to ſkreen mankind from the divine wrath and vengeance? Who had ſo great an intereſt in the court of heaven, as to ingratiate ſuch a brood of apoſtate enemies thereto? Who could aſſume the confidence to propoſe terms of reconciliation, or to agitate a new covenant, wherewith God might be ſatisfied, and whereby we might be ſaved? Where, in heaven or earth, could there be found a prieſt fit to atone for ſins ſo vaſtly numerous, ſo extremely hainous? And whence ſhould a ſacrifice be taken, of value ſufficient to expiate for ſo manifold enormities, committed againſt the infinite majeſty of heaven? Who could *find out the everlaſting redemption* of innumerable ſouls, or lay down a competent ranſom for them all? Not to ſay, could alſo purchaſe for them eternal life and bliſs?

αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος. Heb. 9. 12.

Theſe are queſtions which would puzzle all the wit of man, yea, would gravel all the wiſdom of angels to reſolve: for plain it is, that no creature on earth, none in heaven, could well undertake or perform this work.

Where on earth, among the degenerate ſons of *Adam*, could be found *ſuch an high prieſt as became us, holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeparate from ſinners?* And how could a man, however innocent and pure as a ſeraphim, ſo perform his duty, as to do more than merit or ſatisfie for himſelf? How many lives could the life of one man ſerve to ranſom; ſeeing that it is aſſerted of the greateſt and richeſt among men, that *None of them can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ranſom for him.*

Heb. 7. 26.

Pſal. 49. 7.

And how could available help in this caſe be expected from any of the angelical hoſt; ſeeing (beſide their being in nature different from us, and thence improper to merit or ſatisfie for us; beſide their comparative meanneſs, and infinite diſtance from the majeſty of God) they are but our fellow-ſervants, and have obligations to diſcharge for themſelves, and cannot be ſolvent for more than for their own debts of gratitude and ſervice to their infinitely-bountiful creator; they alſo themſelves needing a favour, to preſerve them by his grace in their happy ſtate?

Indeed,

Indeed, no creature might aſpire to ſo auguſt an honour, none could atchieve ſo marvellous a work, as to redeem from infinite guilt and miſery the nobleſt part of all the viſible creation: none could preſume to invade that high prerogative of God, or attempt to infringe the truth of that reiterated proclamation, *I, even I am the Lord, and beſide me there is no Saviour.*

Iſa. 43. 11. 45. 21. Hoſ. 13. 4.

Wherefore, ſeeing that a ſupereminent dignity of perſon was required in our mediator, and that an immenſe value was to be preſented for our ranſom; ſeeing that *God ſaw there was no man, and wondred* (or took ſpecial notice) *that there was no interceſſor*; it muſt be *his arm* alone that could *bring ſalvation*; none beſide God himſelf could intermeddle therein.

Iſa. 59. 16. παρεσχετο, lxx.

But how could God undertake the buſineſs? Could he become a ſuitor or interceſſor to his offended ſelf? Could he preſent a ſacrifice, or diſburſe a ſatisfaction to his own juſtice? Could God alone contract and ſtipulate with God in our behalf? No; ſurely man alſo muſt concur in the tranſaction: ſome amends muſt iſſue from him, ſomewhat muſt be paid out of our ſtock: humane will and conſent muſt be interpoſed, to ratify a firm covenant with us, inducing obligation on our part. It was decent and expedient, that as man, by wilful tranſgreſſion and preſumptuous ſelf-pleaſing, had ſo highly offended, injured and diſhonoured his maker; ſo man alſo, by willing obedience, and patient ſubmiſſion to God's pleaſure, ſhould greatly content, right and glorify him.

Ephes. 1. 8. Luke 1. 78. Ephes. 1. 5. Tit. 3. 4. Rom. 5. 8. Gal. 4. 4. John 6. 38. Heb. 10. 7. John 1. 14. Heb. 5. 2. 4. 15. Ephes. 1. 6. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8. 12. 1 Tim. 2. 6. Tit. 2. 14. Heb. 9. 15. 2. 9. Col. 1. 22. 1 Tim. 3. 16.

Here then did lie the ſtreſs; this was the knot which only divine wiſdom could looſe. And ſo indeed it did in a moſt effectual and admirable way; for in correſpondence to all the exigencies of the caſe, (that God and man both might act their parts in ſaving us) the bleſſed eternal word, the only Son of God, by the good-will of his Father, did vouchſafe to intercede for us, and to undertake our redemption; in order thereto voluntarily being ſent down from heaven, aſſuming humane fleſh, ſubjecting himſelf to all the infirmities of our frail nature, and to the worſt inconveniencies of our low condition; therein meriting God's favour to us, by a perfect obedience to the law, and ſatisfying God's juſtice by a moſt patient endurance of pains in our behalf; in completion of all, willingly laying down his life for the ranſom of our ſouls, and pouring forth his blood in ſacrifice for our ſins.

This is that great and wonderful *myſtery of godlineſs*, (or of our holy religion) the which St. *Paul* here doth expreſs, in theſe words concerning our bleſſed Saviour; *Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men: And being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the croſs.*

In which words are contained divers points very obſervable. But ſeeing the time will not allow me to treat on them in any meaſure as they deſerve; I ſhall (waving all the reſt) inſiſt but upon one particular, couched in the laſt words, *Even the death of the croſs*; which by a ſpecial emphaſis do excite us to conſider the manner of that holy paſſion, which we now commemorate: the contemplation whereof, as it is moſt ſeaſonable, ſo it is ever very profitable.

Θανατῳ δε σταυρου.

Now then in this kind of paſſion we may conſider divers notable adjuncts; namely theſe: 1. Its being in appearance criminal. 2. Its being moſt bitter and painful. 3. Its being moſt ignominious and ſhameful. 4. Its peculiar advantageouſneſs to the deſigns of our Lord in ſuffering. 5. Its practical efficacy.

I. We may conſider our Lord's ſuffering as criminal: or as in ſemblance being an execution of juſtice upon him. *He* (as the prophet foretold of him) *was numbred among the tranſgreſſors*; and God (ſaith St. *Paul*) *made him ſin for us who knew no ſin*: that is, God ordered him to be treated as a moſt ſinful or criminous perſon, who in himſelf was perfectly innocent, and void of the leaſt inclination to offend.

Iſa. 53. 12. 2 Cor. 5. 21.

So in effect it was, that he was impeached of the higheſt crimes; as a violator of the divine laws in divers inſtances; as a deſigner to ſubvert their religion and temple; as an impoſtor, deluding and ſeducing the people; as a blaſphemer, aſſuming to himſelf the properties and prerogatives of God; as a ſeditious and rebellious perſon, *perverting the nation*, inhibiting payments of tribute to *Cæſar*, uſurping royal authority, and ſtyling himſelf *Chriſt a king*: in a word, as a malefactor, or one guilty of enormous offences; ſo his perſecutors avowed to *Pilate*,

John 5. 18. 10. 30, &c. 7. 12. Matt. 26. 61. 27. 40. Luke 23. 2. Matt. 27. 63. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 5. 14. κακοποιος.

If,

If, ſaid they, *he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.* As ſuch he was repreſented and arraigned; as ſuch, although by a ſentence wreſted by malicious importunity, againſt the will and conſcience of the judge, he was condemned, and accordingly ſuffered death. John 18. 30.

Now whereas any death or paſſion of our Lord, as being in it ſelf immenſely valuable, and moſt precious in the ſight of God, might have been ſufficient toward the accompliſhment of his general deſigns, (the appeaſing God's wrath, the ſatisfaction of divine juſtice, the expiation of our guilt;) it may be enquired, why God ſhould thus expoſe him, or why he ſhould chuſe to ſuffer under this odious and ugly character? Which enquiry is the more conſiderable, becauſe it is eſpecially this circumſtance which croſſeth the fleſhly ſenſe, and worldly prejudices of men, ſo as to have rendred the goſpel offenſive to the ſuperſtitious *Jews*, and deſpicable to conceited *Gentiles*. For ſo *Tryphon* in *Juſtin Martyr*, although, from conviction by teſtimonies of ſcripture, he did admit the *Meſſias* was to ſuffer *hardly*, yet that it ſhould be in this *accurſed* manner, he could not digeſt. So the great adverſaries of chriſtianity (*Celſus*, *Porphyrie*, *Julian*) did with moſt contempt urge this exception againſt it. So St. *Paul* did obſerve, that *Chriſt crucified was unto the Jews a ſtumbling-block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs.* Wherefore to avoid thoſe ſcandals, and that we may better admire the wiſdom of God in this diſpenſation, it may be fit to aſſign ſome reaſons intimated in holy ſcripture, or bearing conformity to its doctrine, why it was thus ordered. Such are theſe.

Cur ſi Deus fuit, & mori voluit, non ſaltem honeſto aliquo mortis genere affectus eſt? &c. Lact. 4. 26. Juſt. M. *Dial. p.* 317. Orig. c. Celſ. 2. p. 83. 7. p. 368. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 10. 28. Cyril. *c.* Jul. 6. *p.* 194. 1 Cor. 1. 23.

1. As our Saviour freely did undertake a life of greateſt meanneſs and hardſhip, ſo upon the like accounts he might be pleaſed to undergo a death moſt loathſome and uncomfortable. There is nothing to man's nature (eſpecially to the beſt natures, in which modeſty and ingenuity do ſurvive) more abominable than ſuch a death. God for good purpoſes hath planted in our conſtitution a quick ſenſe of diſgrace; and of all diſgraces that which proceedeth from an imputation of crimes is moſt pungent; and being conſcious of our innocence doth heighten the ſmart; and to reflect upon our ſelves dying under it, leaving the world with an indeleble ſtain upon our name and memory, is yet more grievous. Even to languiſh by degrees, enduring the torments of a long, however ſharp diſeaſe, would to an honeſt mind ſeem more eligible, than in this manner, being reputed and handled as a villain, to find a quick and eaſie diſpatch.

Of which humane reſentment may we not obſerve a touch in that expoſtulation, *Be ye come out as againſt a thief with ſwords and ſtaves?* If as a man he did not like to be proſecuted as a thief; yet willingly did he chuſe it, as he did other moſt diſtaſtful things, pertaining to our nature, (*the likeneſs of man*) and incident to that low condition, (*the form of a ſervant*) into which he did put himſelf: ſuch as were, to endure penury, and to fare hardly, to be ſlighted, envied, hated, reproached through all his courſe of life. Luke 22. 52. Matt. 26. 55.

It is well ſaid by a pagan philoſopher, that *No man doth expreſs ſuch a reſpect and devotion to virtue, as doth he who forfeiteth the repute of being a good man, that he may not loſe the conſcience of being ſuch.* This our Lord willingly made his caſe, being content not only to expoſe his life, but to proſtitute his fame, for the intereſts of goodneſs. *Nemo mihi videtur pluris æſtimare virtutem, nemo illi magis eſſe devotus, quàm qui boni viri famam perdidit, nè conſcientiam perderet.* Sen. *Ep.* 81.

Had he died otherwiſe, he might have ſeemed to purchaſe our welfare at a ſomewhat eaſier rate; he had not been ſo complete a ſufferer; he had not taſted the worſt that man is liable to endure: there had been a comfort in ſeeming innocent, detracting from the perfection of his ſufferance.

Whereas therefore he often was in hazard of death, both from the clandeſtine machinations, and the outrageous violences of thoſe who maligned him, he did induſtriouſly ſhun a death ſo plauſible, and honourable, if I may ſo ſpeak; it being not ſo diſgraceful to fall by private malice, or by ſudden rage, as by the ſolemn deliberate proceeding of men in publick authority and principal credit. John 5. 18. 8. 37, 40, 59. 7, 1, 19, 25. 10. 32, 39.

Accordingly this kind of death did not fall upon him by ſurprize, or by chance; but he did *from the beginning* foreſee it; he plainly with ſatisfaction did aim at it: He (as it is related in the goſpels) did *ſhew* his diſciples, that it was incumbent on him by God's appointment and his own choice; that *he ought* ('tis ſaid) *to ſuffer many things, to be rejected by the chief prieſts, elders and ſcribes, to be vilified by them, to be delivered up to the Gentiles, to be mocked and ſcourged,* John 6. 64. Matt. 16. 21. Luke 9. 22. 18. 32. Mark 9. 31.

and crucified, as a flagitious ſlave. Thus would our bleſſed Saviour, in conformity to the reſt of his voluntary afflictions, and for a conſummation of them, not only ſuffer in his body by ſore wounds and bruiſes, and in his ſoul by doleful agonies, but in his name alſo and reputation by the fouleſt ſcandals; undergoing as well all the infamy as the infirmity which did belong to us, or might befal us: Thus meaning by all means throughly to expreſs his charity, and exerciſe his compaſſion towards us; thus advancing his merit, and diſcharging the utmoſt ſatisfaction in our behalf.

2. Death paſſing on him as a malefactor by publick ſentence, did beſt ſuit to the nature of his undertaking, was moſt congruous to his intent, did moſt aptly repreſent what he was doing, and imply the reaſon of his performance. For we all are guilty in a moſt high degree, and in a manner very notorious; the fouleſt ſhame together with the ſharpeſt pain is due to us for affronting our glorious maker, we deſerve an open condemnation and exemplary puniſhment: Wherefore he, undertaking in our ſtead to bear all, and fully to ſatisfie for us, was pleaſed to undergo the like judgment and uſage; being termed, being treated as we ſhould have been, in quality of an hainous malefactor, as we in truth are. What we had really acted in diſhonouring and uſurping upon God, in diſordering the world, in perverting others, that was imputed to him; and the puniſhment due to that guilt
Iſa. 53. 6. was inflicted on him. *All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all.* He therefore did not only ſuſtain an equivalent pain for us, but in a ſort did bear an equal blame with us, before God and man.

Acts 2. 23. 3. Seeing *by the determinate counſel of God*, it was appointed that our Lord ſhould die for us, and that not in a natural, but violent way, ſo as perfectly to ſatisfy God's juſtice, to vindicate his honour, to evidence both his indignation againſt ſin, and willingneſs to be appeaſed; it was moſt fit that affair ſhould be tranſacted in a way, wherein God's right is moſt nearly concerned, and his providence moſt plainly diſcernible; wherein it ſhould be moſt apparent that God did exact and inflict the puniſhment, that our Lord did freely yield to it, and ſubmiſſively undergo
Deut. 1. 17. it, upon thoſe very accounts. All *judgment* (as *Moſes* of old did ſay) *is God's*, or is adminiſtred by authority derived from him, in his name, for his intereſt; all magiſtrates being his officers, and inſtruments, whereby he governeth and ordereth the world, his natural kingdom: Whence that which is acted in way of formal judgment by perſons in authority, God himſelf may be deemed in a more ſpecial and immediate manner to execute it, as being done by his commiſſion, in his ſtead, on his behalf, with his peculiar ſuperintendence. It was therefore in our Lord a ſignal act of deference to God's authority and juſtice, becoming the perſon ſuſtained by him of our mediator and proxy, to undergo ſuch a judgment, and ſuch a puniſhment; whereby he received a doom as it were from God's own mouth, uttered by his miniſters, and bare the ſtroke of juſtice from God's hand, repreſented by his inſtruments. Whence very ſeaſonably and patiently
Joh. 19. 11. did he reply to *Pilate*, *Thou hadſt no power over me*, (or *againſt me*,) *except it were given thee from above*: Implying that it was in regard to the originally ſupreme authority of God his father, and to his particular appointment upon this occaſion, that our ſaviour did then frankly ſubject himſelf to thoſe inferior powers, as to the proper miniſters of divine juſtice. Had he ſuffered in any other way, by the private malice or paſſion of men, God's ſpecial providence in that caſe had been leſs viſible, and our Lord's obedience not ſo remarkable. And if he muſt die by publick hands, it muſt be as a criminal, under a pretence of guilt and demerit; there muſt be a formal proceſs, how full ſoever of mockery and outrage; there muſt be teſtimonies produced, how void ſoever of truth or probability; there muſt be a ſentence pronounced, although moſt corrupt and injurious; For no man is in this way perſecuted, without colour of deſert: Otherwiſe it would ceaſe to be publick authority, and become lawleſs violence; the perſecutor then would put off the face of a magiſtrate, and appear as a cut-throat, or a robber.

4. In fine, our Saviour hardly with ſuch advantage, in any other way, could have diſplayed all kinds of virtue and goodneſs, to the honour of God, to the edification of men, to the furtherance of our ſalvation.

The

The judgment hall, with all the paſſages leading him thither, and thence to execution, attended with guards of ſoldiers, amidſt the crouds and clamours of people, were as ſo many theatres, on which he had opportune convenience, in the full eye of the world, to act divers parts of ſublimeſt virtue: To expreſs his inſuperable conſtancy, in atteſting truth, and maintaining a good conſcience; his meekneſs, in calmly bearing the greateſt wrongs; his patience, in contentedly enduring the ſaddeſt adverſities; his intire reſignation to the will and providence of God; his peaceable ſubmiſſion to the law and power of man; his admirable charity, in pitying, in excuſing, in obliging thoſe by his good wiſhes, and earneſt prayers for their pardon, who in a manner ſo injurious, ſo deſpiteful, ſo cruel, did perſecute him, yea, in gladly ſuffering all this from their hands for their ſalvation; his unſhakeable faith in God, and unalterable love toward him, under ſo fierce a trial, ſo dreadful a temptation. All theſe excellent virtues and graces, by the matter being thus ordered, in a degree moſt eminent, and in a manner very conſpicuous, were demonſtrated to the praiſe of God's name, and the commendation of his truth; for the ſettlement of our faith and hope, for an inſtruction and an encouragement to us of good practice in thoſe higheſt inſtances of virtue. John 18. 37. 1 Tim. 6. 13.

It is a paſſable notion among the moſt eminent Pagan ſages, that no very exemplary virtue can well appear otherwiſe than in notable misfortune. Whence 'tis ſaid in *Plato*, that to approve a man heartily *righteous*, *he muſt be ſcourged, tortured, bound, have his two eyes burnt out, and in the cloſe, having ſuffered all evils, muſt be impaled*, or crucified. And, * *It was* (ſaith *Seneca*) *the cup of poyſon which made* Socrates *a great man*, and *which out of priſon did tranſfer him to heaven*, or did procure to him that lofty eſteem; affording him opportunity, to ſignalize his conſtancy, his equanimity, his unconcernedneſs for this world and life. And, *The virtue* (ſaith he again) *and the innocence of* Rutilius *would have lain hid, if it had not* (by condemnation and exile) *received injury; while it was violated, it brightly ſhone forth.* And he that ſaid this of others, was himſelf in nothing ſo illuſtrious, as in handſomly entertaining that death to which he was by the bloody tyrant adjudged. And generally, the moſt honourable perſons in the judgment of poſterity for gallant worth, to this very end (as ſuch philoſophers teach) were by divine providence delivered up to ſuffer opprobrious condemnations and puniſhments, by the ingrateful malignity of their times. So that the *Greeks*, in conſiſtence with their own wiſdom and experience, could not reaſonably ſcorn that croſs which our good Lord (did not only, as did their beſt worthies, by forcible accidental conſtraint undergo, but) adviſedly by free choice did undertake, to recommend the moſt excellent virtues to imitation, and to promote the moſt noble deſigns that could be, by its influence.

Magnum exemplum niſi mala fortuna non invenit. Sen. *de Prov.* c. 3.

Ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγούμενος, στρεβλούμενος, δεδεόμενος, ἐκκαυθήσεται τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀναπαλωθήσεται. Plat. *de Rep.* 2.

* *Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit.* Sen. *Ep.* 13.

Calix venenatus, qui Socratem tranſtulit e carcere in cœlum. Sen. *Ep.* 67.

Æqualis fuit in tanta inæqualitate fortunæ, &c. Sen. *Ep.* 104.

Rutilii innocentia ac virtus lateret, niſi accepiſſet injuriam; dum violatur, effulſit. Sen. *Ep.* 79

So great reaſon there was, that our Lord ſhould thus ſuffer as a criminal.

II. We may conſider, that in that kind his ſuffering was moſt bitter and painful. Eaſily we may imagine what acerbity of pain muſt be endured by our Lord, in his tender limbs being ſtretched forth, racked, and tentered, and continuing for a good time in ſuch a poſture; by the *piercing his hands and his feet*, parts very nervous and exquiſitely ſenſible, with ſharp nails, (ſo that, as it is ſaid of *Joſeph, the iron entered into his ſoul*;) by abiding expoſed to the injuries of the ſun ſcorching, the wind beating, the weather ſearching his grievous wounds and ſores. Such a pain it was; and that no ſtupifying, no tranſient pain, but one both very acute and lingring: For we ſee, that he together with his fellow-ſufferers had both preſence of mind, and time to diſcourſe. Even ſix long hours did he remain under ſuch torture, ſuſtaining in each moment of them beyond the pangs of an ordinary death. But as the caſe was ſo hard and ſad, ſo the reaſon of it was great, and the fruit anſwerably good. Our Saviour did embrace ſuch a paſſion, that in being thus content to endure the moſt intolerable ſmarts for us, he might demonſtrate the vehemence of his love; that he might ſignifie the hainouſneſs of our ſins, which deſerved that from ſuch a perſon ſo heavy puniſhment ſhould be Sen. *de Prov.* 2, 3, *&c.* *Plut. de Stoic. Contr. Ep.* 193. Pſal. 22. 16. Pſal. 105. 18. Matt. 25. 25, 34.

exacted; that he might appear to yield a valuable compenſation for thoſe pains which we ſhould have ſuffered; that he throughly might exemplifie the hardeſt duties of obedience and patience.

III. This manner of ſuffering was (as moſt ſharp and afflictive, ſo) moſt vile and ſhameful; being proper to the baſeſt condition of the worſt men, and unworthy of a freeman, however nocent and guilty. It was *ſervile ſupplicium*, a puniſhment never by the *Romans*, under whoſe law our Lord ſuffered, legally inflicted upon freemen, but upon ſlaves only; that is, upon people ſcarcely regarded as men, having in a ſort forfeited or loſt themſelves. And among the *Jews* that execution which moſt approached thereto, and in part agreed with it, (for their law did not allow any ſo inhuman puniſhment,) hanging up the dead bodies of ſome that had been put to death, was held moſt infamous and execrable: For, *curſed*, ſaid the law, *is every one that hangeth upon a tree*; curſed, that is, devoted to reproach and malediction: *Accurſed by God*, ſaith the *Hebrew*, that is, ſeeming to be rejected by God, and by his ſpecial order expoſed to affliction.

Quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum. Lact. 4. 26.

Deut. 21. 23. Gal. 3. 13.

Τὸ γὰρ μέσον ἐν τελειότητι τῆς ἀθυμίας ἔχει. Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Or.* 61.

Indeed, according to the courſe of things, to be ſet on high, and for continuance of time to be objected to the view of all that paſs by, in that calamitous poſture, doth infuſe bad ſuſpicion, doth provoke cenſure, doth invite contempt and ſcorn, doth naturally draw forth language of deriſion, deſpight and deteſtation; eſpecially from the inconſiderate, hard-hearted and rude vulgar, which commonly doth think, ſpeak and deal according to event and appearance: (—*Sequitur fortunam ſemper, & odit damnatos*—) Whence δειγματίζεσθαι, *to be made a gazing-ſtock*, or an object of reproach to the multitude, is by the apoſtle mentioned as an aggravation of the hardſhips endured by the primitive Chriſtians. And thus in extremity did it befal our Lord: For we read, that the people did in that condition mock, jear and revile him, drawing up their noſes, abuſing him by ſcurrilous geſtures, letting out their virulent and wanton tongues againſt him; ſo as to verifie that prediction, *I am a reproach of men, and deſpiſed of the people: All they that ſee me laugh me to ſcorn; they ſhoot out the lip, they ſhake the head, ſaying, He truſted in the Lord, let him deliver him, ſeeing he delighted in him.*

Heb. 10. 33.

ἐξεμυκτήριζον· ἐβίαζον· ἐλοιδόρουν. Luke 23. 35, 36. Matt. 27. 39. Pſal. 22. 6, 7, 8.

The ſame perſons who formerly had admired his glorious works, who had been raviſhed with his excellent diſcourſes, who had followed and favoured him ſo earneſtly, who had bleſſed and magnified him, (*for he*, ſaith St. *Luke*, *taught in the ſynagogues, being glorified by all.*) even thoſe very perſons did then behold him with pitileſs contempt and deſpight. In correſpondence to that prophecy, *they look and ſtare upon me*, εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν, *the people ſtood gazing* on him, in a moſt ſcornful manner, venting contemptuous and ſpiteful reproaches; as we ſee reported in the evangelical ſtory.

Matth. 9. 33. 21. 9. 12. 23. Luke 4. 15. Pſal. 22. 17. Luke 23. 35.

Thus did our bleſſed Saviour *endure the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame. Deſpiſing the ſhame*, that is, not ſimply diſregarding it, or (with a ſtoical haughtineſs, with a cynical immodeſty, with a ſtupid careleſſneſs) ſlighting it as no evil; but not eſchewing it, or not rating it for ſo great an evil, that to decline it he would neglect the proſecution of his great and glorious deſigns.

Heb. 12. 2.

There is innate to man an averſation and abhorrency from diſgraceful abuſe, no leſs ſtrong than are the like antipathies to pain: Whence *cruel mockings and ſcourgings* are coupled as ingredients of the ſore perſecutions ſuſtained by God's faithful martyrs. And generally men with more readineſs will embrace, with more contentedneſs will endure the cruelty of the latter, than of the former; pain not ſo ſmartly affecting the lower ſenſe, as being inſolently contemned doth grate upon the fancy, and wound even the mind it ſelf. For, *the wounds* of infamy *do* (as the wiſe man telleth us) *go down into the innermoſt parts of the belly*, reaching the very heart, and touching the ſoul to the quick.

Heb. 11. 36.

Prov. 18. 8. 12. 18.

We therefore need not doubt, but that our Saviour as a man, endowed with human paſſions, was ſenſible of this natural evil; and that ſuch indignities did add ſomewhat of loathſomneſs to his cup of affliction; eſpecially conſidering, that his great charity diſpoſed him to grieve, obſerving men to act ſo indecently, ſo unworthily, ſo unjuſtly toward him: Yet in conſideration of the glory that would thence accrue to God, of the benefit that would redound to us, of the *joy that was ſet before him*, when *he ſhould ſee of the travel of his ſoul, and be ſatisfied*, he moſt willingly did accept, and moſt gladly did comport with it. He *became a curſe*

Heb. 12. 2. Iſa. 53. 11.

for

for us, expoſed to malediction and reviling; He *endured the contradiction* (or obloquy) *of ſinful men:* He was *deſpiſed, rejected and diſeſteemed of men:* He in common apprehenſion was deſerted by God, according to that of the prophet, *We did eſteem him ſtricken, ſmitten of God, and afflicted*; himſelf even ſeeming to concur in that opinion. So was he *made a curſe for us*, that *we*, as the apoſtle teacheth, might *be redeemed from the curſe of the law*; that is, that we might be freed from the exemplary puniſhment due to our tranſgreſſions of the law, with the diſpleaſure of God appearing therein, and the diſgrace before the world attending it. He choſe thus to *make himſelf of no reputation*, vouchſafing to be dealt with as a wretched ſlave, and a wicked miſcreant, that we might be exempted, not only from the torment, but alſo from the ignominy which we had merited; that together with our life, our ſafety, our liberty, we might even recover that honour which we had forfeited and imbezzled.

Gal. 3. 13. Heb. 12. 3. Iſa. 53. 3. Iſa. 53. 4. Gal. 3. 13. Phil. 2. 7.

But leſt any ſhould be tempted not ſufficiently to value theſe ſufferances of our Lord, as not ſo rare, but that other men have taſted the like; leſt any ſhould preſume to compare them with afflictions incident to other perſons, as *Celſus* did compare them with thoſe of *Anaxarchus* and *Epictetus*; it is requiſite to conſider ſome remarkable particulars about them.

Orig. c. Celſ. 7. p. 368.

We may then conſider, that not only the infinite dignity of his perſon, and the perfect innocency of his life did inhance the price of his ſufferings; but ſome endowments peculiar to him, and ſome circumſtances adhering to his deſign, did much augment their force.

He was not only, according to the frame and temper of human nature, ſenſibly touched with the pain, the ſhame, the whole combination of diſaſters apparently waiting on his paſſion; as God (when he did inſert ſenſe and paſſion into our nature, ordering objects to affect them) did intend we ſhould be, and as other men in like circumſtances would have been; but in many reſpects beyond that ordinary rate: So that no man, we may ſuppoſe, could have felt ſuch grief from them as he did, no man ever hath been ſenſible of any thing comparable to what he did endure; that paſſage being truly applicable to him, *Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like to my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger*; as that unparallel'd *ſweating out great lumps of blood* may argue; and as the terms expreſſing his reſentments do intimate. For, in reſpect of preſent evils, he ſaid of himſelf, *My ſoul is exceeding ſorrowful to death*; he is ſaid ἀδημονεῖν, *to be in great anguiſh* and anxiety, to be in *an agony* or pang of ſorrow. In regard to miſchiefs which he ſaw coming on, he is ſaid to be *diſturb'd in ſpirit*, and to be *ſore amazed*, or diſmayed at them. To ſuch an exceeding height did the ſenſe of incumbent evils, and the proſpect of impendent calamities, the apprehenſion of his caſe, together with a reflexion on our condition, ſkrew up his affections.

Lam. 1. 12. Luke 22. 44. Matt. 26. 37, 38. Luke 22. 44. Joh. 13. 21. 12. 27. Mark 14. 33.

And no wonder that ſuch a burthen, even the weight of all the ſins (the numberleſs moſt hainous ſins and abominations) that ever were committed by mankind, by appropriation of them to himſelf, lying on his ſhoulders, he ſhould feel it heavy, or ſeem to crouch and groan under it; that in the myſtical pſalm, applied by the apoſtle to him, he ſhould cry out, *Innumerable evils have compaſſed me about, mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, ſo that I am not able to look up: They are more than the hairs of my head, and my heart faileth me.* The ſight of God's indignation ſo dreadfully flaming out againſt ſin, might well aſtoniſh and terrify him: To ſtand, as it were, before the mouth of hell belching fire and brimſtone in his face; to lie down in the hotteſt furnace of divine vengeance; to quench with his own heart blood the wrath of heaven, and the infernal fire, (as he did in regard to thoſe who will not rekindle them to themſelves,) might well in the heart of a man beget unconceivable and unexpreſſible preſſures of affliction. When ſuch a father (ſo infinitely good and kind to him, whom he ſo dearly and perfectly loved) did hide his face from him, did frown on him, how could he otherwiſe than be mightily troubled? Is it ſtrange that ſo hearty a love, ſo tender a pity, contemplating our ſinfulneſs, and experimenting our wretchedneſs, ſhould be deeply touched? To ſee, I ſay, ſo plainly, to feel ſo throughly the horrible blindneſs, the folly, the infidelity, the imbecillity, the ingratitude, the incorrigibility, the ſtrange perverſeneſs, perfidiouſneſs, malice and cruelty of mankind in ſo many inſtances, (in the treaſon of *Judas*, in the denial of *Peter*, in the deſertion

Heb. 10. 5. Pſal. 40. 12.

ſertion of all the apoſtles, in the ſpite and rage of the perſecutors, in the falſhood of the witneſſes, in the abuſes of the people, in the compliance of *Pilate*, in a general conſpiracy of friends and foes to ſin) all theſe ſurrounding him, all invading him, all diſcharging themſelves upon him; would it not aſtone a mind ſo pure? Would it not wound a heart ſo tender and full of charity?

Surely, any of thoſe perſons who fondly do pretend unto, or vainly do glory in a ſullen apathy; or a ſtubborn contempt of the evils incident to our nature and ſtate, would in ſuch a caſe have been utterly dejected: The moſt reſolved philoſopher would have been daſhed into confuſion at the ſight, would have been cruſhed into deſperation under the ſenſe of thoſe evils which did aſſault him.

With the greatneſs of the cauſes, the goodneſs of his conſtitution did conſpire to increaſe his ſufferings. For ſurely, as his complexion was moſt pure and delicate, his ſpirit moſt vivid and apprehenſive, his affections moſt pliant and tractable; ſo accordingly would the impreſſions upon him be moſt ſenſible, and conſequently the pains which he felt (in body or ſoul) moſt afflictive.

That we in like caſes are not alike moved; that we do not tremble at the apprehenſions of God's diſpleaſure, that we are not affrighted with the ſenſe of our ſins, that we do not with ſad horror reſent our danger and our miſery, doth ariſe from that we have very glimmering and faint conceptions of thoſe matters; or that they do not in ſo clear and lively a manner ſtrike our fancy; (not appearing in their true nature and proper ſhape, ſo hainous and ſo hideous as they really are in themſelves and in their conſequences;) or becauſe we have but weak perſuaſions about them; or becauſe we do but ſlightly conſider them; or from that our hearts are very hard and callous, our affections very cold and dull, ſo that nothing of this nature (nothing beſide groſs material affairs) can mollify or melt them; or for that we have in us ſmall love to God, and a ſlender regard to our own welfare; in fine, for that in ſpiritual matters we are neither ſo wiſe, ſo ſober, ſo ſerious, nor ſo good or ingenuous, in any reaſonable meaſure, as we ſhould be. But our Saviour in all thoſe reſpects was otherwiſe diſpoſed. He moſt evidently diſcerned the wrath of God, the grievouſneſs of ſin, the wretchedneſs of man, moſt truly, moſt fully, moſt ſtrongly repreſented to his mind: He moſt firmly believed, yea moſt certainly knew, whatever God's law had declared about them: He did exactly conſider and weigh them: His heart was moſt ſoft and ſenſible, his affections were moſt quick and excitable by their due objects: He was full of dutiful love to God, and moſt ardently deſirous of our good, bearing a more than fraternal good-will towards us. Whence 'tis not ſo marvellous that as a man, as a tranſcendently-wiſe and good man, he was ſo vehemently affected by thoſe occurrences, that his imagination was ſo troubled, and his paſſions ſo ſtirred by them; ſo that he thence did ſuffer in a manner, and to a degree unconceivable; according to that ejaculation in the *Greek* Liturgies, Διὰ τ ἀγνώτων σε παθημάτων ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, *By thy unknown ſufferings, O Chriſt, have mercy on us.* But farther,

IV. We may conſider, that this way of ſuffering had in it ſome particular advantages, conducing to the accompliſhment of our Lord's principal deſigns.

Its being very notorious, and laſting a competent time, were good advantages. For if he had been privately made away, or ſuddenly diſpatched, no ſuch great notice would have been taken of it, nor would the matter of fact have been ſo fully proved, to the confirmation of our faith, and conviction of infidelity; nor had that his excellent deportment under ſuch bitter affliction (his moſt divine patience, meekneſs and charity) ſo illuſtriouſly ſhone forth. Wherefore to prevent all exceptions, and excuſes of unbelief, (together with other collateral good purpoſes) divine providence did ſo manage the buſineſs, that as the courſe of his life, ſo alſo the manner of his death, ſhould be moſt conſpicuouſly remarkable. *I*
John 18. 20. *ſpake freely to the world, and in ſecret have I done nothing*, ſaid he of himſelf;
Acts 26. 26. and, *Theſe things* (ſaid St. *Paul* to king *Agrippa*) *were not done in a corner.* Such were the proceedings of his life, not cloſe or clancular, but frank and open; not preſently huſhed up, but leiſurely carried on in the face of the world, that men might have the advantage to obſerve and examine them. And as he lived, ſo he died moſt publickly and viſibly; the world being witneſs of his death, and ſo prepared to believe his reſurrection, and thence diſpoſed to embrace his do-
John 12. 32. ctrine; according to what he did foretel, *I being lifted up from the earth, ſhall*

draw all men to me: for he drew all men by ſo obvious a death to take notice of it, he drew all well-diſpoſed perſons from the wondrous conſequences of it to believe on him. And, *As* (ſaid he again) *Moſes did exalt the ſerpent in the wilderneſs, ſo muſt the ſon of man be exalted.* As the elevation of that myſterious ſerpent did render it viſible, and did attract the eyes of people toward it; whereby, God's power inviſibly accompanying that ſacramental performance, they were cured of thoſe mortiferous ſtings which they had received: ſo our Lord, being mounted on the croſs, allured the eyes of men to behold him, and their hearts to cloſe with him; whereby, the heavenly virtue of God's Spirit co-operating, they became ſaved from thoſe deſtructive ſins, which from the devil's ſerpentine inſtigations they had incurred. (Iren. 2. 26.) John 3. 14. Iren. 4. 5.

Another advantage of this kind of ſuffering was, that by it the nature of that kingdom which he did intend to erect was evidently ſignified: that it was not ſuch as the carnal people did expect, an external, earthly, temporal kingdom, conſiſting in domination over the bodies and eſtates of men, dignified by outward wealth and ſplendour, managed by worldly power and policy, promoted by forcible compulſion and terror of arms, affording the advantages of ſafety, quiet and proſperity here; but a kingdom purely ſpiritual, celeſtial, eternal; conſiſting in the governance of mens hearts and minds; adorned with endowments of wiſdom and virtue; adminiſtred by the conduct and grace of God's holy ſpirit; upheld and propagated by meek inſtruction, by virtuous example, by hearty devotion, and humble patience; rewarding its loyal ſubjects with ſpiritual joys and conſolations now, with heavenly reſt and bliſs hereafter. No other kingdom could he preſume to deſign, who ſubmitted to this dolorous and diſgraceful way of ſuffering: No other exploits could he pretend to atchieve by expiring on a croſs: No other way could he rule, who gave himſelf to be managed by the will of his adverſaries: No other benefits would this forlorn caſe allow him to diſpenſe. So that well might he then aſſert, *My kingdom is not of this world*; when he was going in this ſignal way to demonſtrate that important truth. John 18. 36.

It was alſo a moſt convenient touchſtone to prove the genuine diſpoſition and worth of men; ſo as to diſcriminate thoſe wiſe, ſober, ingenuous, ſincere, generous ſouls, who could diſcern true goodneſs through ſo dark a cloud, who could love it though ſo ill-favouredly diſfigured, who could embrace and avow it notwithſtanding ſo terrible diſadvantages; it ſerved, I ſay, to diſtinguiſh thoſe *bleſſed* ones, who *would not be offended in him*; or by *the ſcandal of the croſs* be diſcouraged from adhering to him, from the crew of blind, vain, perverſe, haughty people, who, being ſcandalized at his adverſity, would contemn and reject him. Luke 2. 35. Matt. 11. 6. Gal. 5. 11. 1 Pet. 2. 7, 8. 1 Cor. 1. 23.

Another conſiderable advantage was this, that by it God's ſpecial providence was diſcovered, and his glory illuſtrated in the propagation of the goſpel. For how could it be, that a perſon of ſo low parentage, of ſo mean garb, of ſo poor condition, who underwent ſo lamentable and deſpicable a kind of death, falling under the pride, and ſpite of his enemies, ſo eaſily ſhould gain ſo general an opinion in the world (even among the beſt, the wiſeſt, the greateſt perſons) of being *the Lord of life and glory?* How, I ſay, could it happen, that ſuch a miracle could be effected without God's aid and ſpecial concurrence? That king *Herod*, who from a long reign in flouriſhing ſtate, with proſperous ſucceſs in his enterprizes, did attain the name of great; or that *Veſpaſian*, who triumphantly did aſcend the imperial throne, ſhould either of them, by a few admirers of worldly vanity, ſeriouſly be held, or in flattery be call'd the *Meſſias*, is not ſo ſtrange: but that one who was trampled on ſo miſerably, and treated as a wretched caitiff, ſhould inſtantly conquer innumerable hearts, and from ſuch a depth of extreme adverſity, ſhould be advanced to the ſublimeſt pitch of glory; that *the ſtone which the builders* with ſo much ſcorn *did refuſe*, ſhould *become the head ſtone of the corner*; *this* (with good aſſurance we may ſay) *was the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes.* Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Orat.* 61. 1 Cor. 2. 8. Jam. 2. 1. Pſal. 118. 22, 23.

Hereby indeed *the excellency of divine power* and wiſdom was much glorified; by ſo impotent, ſo improbable, ſo implauſible means accompliſhing ſo great effects; ſubduing the world to obedience of God, not by the active valour of an illuſtrious hero, but through the patient ſubmiſſion of a poor, abuſed and oppreſſed perſon; reſtoring mankind to life and happineſs by the ſorrowful death of a crucified Saviour. 2 Cor. 4. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 27.

V. Laſtly,

V. Laſtly, the conſideration of our Lord's ſuffering in this manner is very uſeful in application to our practice: No point is more fruitful of wholſome inſtruction, none is more forcible to kindle devout affections, none can afford more efficacious inducements and incentives to a pious life. For what virtue will not a ſerious meditation on the croſs be apt to breed and to cheriſh? To what duty will it not engage and excite us?

1. Are we not hence infinitely obliged, with moſt humble affection and hearty gratitude to adore each perſon of the bleſſed Trinity?

Rom. 8. 32. Col. 1. 13. That God the Father ſhould deſign ſuch a redemption for us; *not ſparing his own Son, (the Son of his love,* dear to him as himſelf) but *delivering him up for us,* to be thus dealt with for our ſake: That God would endure to ſee his Son in ſo pitiful a condition, to hear him groaning under ſo grievous preſſures, to let him be ſo horribly abuſed; and that for us, who deſerved nothing from him, who had demerited ſo much againſt him; for us, who were no friends to him, (for *even when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son*;) Rom. 5. 10. who were not any ways commendable for goodneſs or righteouſneſs: (for *Chriſt* 1 Pet. 3. 18. *did ſuffer for ſinners, the juſt for the unjuſt*; and * *God commended his love to* Rom. 5. 6. *us, that while we were ſinful, Chriſt died for us:*) That God thus ſhould *love* 2 Cor. 5. 19. *us, ſending his Son to be a propitiation for our ſins,* in ſo diſmal a way of ſuffer- * Rom. 5. 8 ing, how ſtupendious is that goodneſs? How vaſt an obligation doth it lay upon 1 John 4. 10 us to reciprocal affection? If we do owe all to God, as our maker, from whoſe undeſerved bounty we did receive all that we have; how much farther do we ſtand indebted to him as the author of our redemption, from whoſe ill-deſerved mercy we receive a new being, and better ſtate; and that in a way far more obliging? For God created us with a word, without more coſt or trouble: but to redeem us, ſtood him in huge expences and pains; no leſs than the debaſing his only Son to our frailty, the expoſing him to more than our miſery, the withdrawing his face, and reſtraining his bowels from his beſt beloved. If a *Jew* then were commanded by law, if a *Gentile* were obliged by nature, to *love God with all his heart and with all his ſoul*; what affection doth a chriſtian, under the law and duty of grace, owe unto him? By what computation can we reckon that debt? What faculties have we ſufficient to diſcharge it? What finite heart can hold an affection commenſurate to ſuch an obligation?

Eph. 3. 19. 5. 2, 25. Gal. 2. 20. Apoc. 1. 5. John 15. 13. μείζονα ταύτης οὐκ ἔχει, ἵνα τις —— And how can it otherwiſe than inflame our heart with love toward the bleſſed Son of God, our Saviour, to conſider that meerly out of charitable pity toward us, he purpoſely came down from heaven, and took our fleſh upon him, that he might therein undergo thoſe extreme acerbities of pain, and thoſe moſt ugly indignities of ſhame for us? *Greater love* (ſaid he) *hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends:* But that God ſhould lay down his life, ſhould pour forth his blood, ſhould be aſperſed with the worſt crimes, and cloathed with fouleſt ſhame, ſhould be executed on a croſs as a malefactor and a ſlave, for his enemies and rebellious traitors, what imagination can deviſe any expreſſion of charity or friendſhip comparable to this? Wherefore if love naturally be productive of love, if friendſhip juſtly meriteth a correſpondence in good-will, what effect ſhould the conſideration of ſo ineffable a love, of ſo unparallell'd friendſhip have upon us?

How can any ſerious reflection on this event fail to work hearty gratitude in us toward our good Lord? For put caſe any perſon for our ſake (that he might reſcue us from the greateſt miſchiefs, and purchaſe for us the higheſt benefits) willingly ſhould deprive himſelf of all his eſtate, (and that a very large one) of his honour, (and that a very high one) of his eaſe and pleaſure, (and thoſe the moſt perfect and aſſured that could be;) that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the greateſt hazards, ſhould endure the ſoreſt pains, and moſt diſgraceful ignominies; ſhould proſtitute his life, and in moſt hideous manner loſe it, merely for our ſake: Should we not then apprehend and confeſs our ſelves monſtrouſly ingrateful, if we did not moſt deeply reſent ſuch kindneſs; if upon all occaſions we did not expreſs our thankfulneſs for it; if we did not ever readily yield all the acknowledgment and all the requital we were able? The caſe in regard to our bleſſed Saviour is like in kind; but in degree, whatever we can ſuppoſe, doth infinitely fall below the performances of him for us, who ſtooped from the top of heaven, who laid aſide the majeſty and the felicity of God for the infamies and the dolours of a croſs, that he might redeem

deem us from the torments of hell, and inſtate us in the joys of paradiſe. So that our obligations of gratitude to him are unexpreſſibly great; and we cannot with any face deny our ſelves to be moſt baſely unworthy, if the effects in our heart and life be not anſwerable.

Nor ſhould we forget, that alſo upon this account we do owe great love and thanks to God the Holy Ghoſt, who, as he did originally conſpire in the wonderful project of our redemption, as he did executively by miraculous operation conduct our Saviour into his fleſhly tabernacle, as he did by unmeaſurable communications of divine virtue aſſiſt his humanity through all the courſe of his life; ſo in this juncture he did inſpire him with charity more than humane, and did ſupport him to undergo thoſe preſſures with invincible patience; and ſo did ſanctifie all this ſacerdotal performance, that our Lord, as the apoſtle doth affirm, *did through the eternal ſpirit offer himſelf without ſpot to God.*

John 3. 34.

Heb. 9. 14.

2. What ſurer ground can there be of faith in God, what ſtronger encouragement of hope, than is ſuggeſted by this conſideration? For if God ſtedfaſtly did hold his purpoſe, and faithfully did accompliſh his word in an inſtance ſo diſtaſtful to his own heart and bowels; how can we ever ſuſpect his conſtancy and fidelity in any caſe? How can we diſtruſt the completion of any divine promiſe?

1 Pet. 1. 20. Epheſ. 1. 4. — Luke 1. 70.

If God ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us, to the ſuffering of ſo contumelious affliction, how can we any ways be diffident of his bounty, or deſpair of his mercy; *how* (as the apoſtle doth argue) *ſhall he not alſo with him freely give us all things?*

Rom. 8. 32.

If ever we be tempted to doubt of God's goodneſs, will not this experiment thereof convince and ſatisfy us? For what higher kindneſs could God expreſs, what lower condeſcenſion could he vouchſafe, by what pledge could he more clearly or ſurely teſtify his willingneſs and his delight to do us good, than by thus ordering his deareſt Son to undergo ſuch miſeries for us?

If the greatneſs of our ſins diſcourageth us from entertaining comfortable hopes of mercy, will it not rear our hearts, to conſider that ſuch a puniſhment hath been inflicted to expiate them, which might content the moſt rigorous ſeverity: that ſuch a price is laid down to *redeem us from the curſe*, which richly may ſuffice to diſcharge it; that ſuch a ſacrifice hath been offered, which God hath avowed for moſt available, and acceptable to himſelf? So that now what can juſtice exact more from us? What have we farther to do, than with a penitent and thankful heart to embrace the mercy purchaſed for us? *Who is he that condemneth*, ſeeing *Chriſt hath died*, and *hath his own ſelf born our ſins in his own body on the tree*? Whatever the wounds of our conſcience be, is not *the blood of the croſs*, tempered with our hearty repentance, and applied by a lively faith, a ſovereign balſam, of virtue ſufficient to cure them? And may we not *by his ſtripes be healed?* Have we not abundant reaſon, with the holy apoſtle, to *joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; *by whom we have received the atonement?* Is it not to depreciate the worth, to diſparage the efficacy of our Lord's paſſion, any ways to deſpair of mercy, or to be diſconſolate for guilt: as if the croſs were not enough worthy to compenſate for our unworthineſs, or our Saviour's patience could not ballance our diſobedience?

Quis de ſe deſperet, pro quo tam humilis eſſe voluit Filius Dei? Aug. *de Ag. Chr. c.* 11. Gal. 3. 13. Epheſ. 5. 2. 1 Pet. 1. 19. Rom. 8. 34. 1 Pet. 2. 24. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Rom. 5. 11.

3. It indeed may yield great joy and ſprightly conſolation to us, to contemplate our Lord upon the croſs, exerciſing his immenſe charity toward us, tranſacting all the work of our redemption, defeating all the enemies, and evacuating all the obſtacles of our ſalvation.

May we not delectably conſider him as there ſtretching forth his arms of kindneſs, with them to embrace the world, and to receive all mankind under the wings of his protection? As there ſpreading out his hands, with them earneſtly inviting and intreating us to accept the overtures of grace, procured by him for us?

Extendit in paſſione manus ſuas, &c. Lact. 4. 26. Iſa. 65. 2.

Is it not ſweet and ſatisfactory, to view our great high prieſt on that high altar offering up his own pure fleſh, and pouring out his precious blood, as an univerſal complete ſacrifice, propitiatory for the ſins of mankind?

Lev. 9. 22. Chryſ. *Tom.* Or. 82. *Pope* Leo I.

Is it not a goodly object to behold humility and patience ſo glorioufly rearing themſelves above all worldly, all infernal pride and inſolence; by the croſs aſcending unto the celeſtial throne of dignity and majeſty ſuperlative?

Is it not pleaſant to contemplate our Lord there ſtanding erect, not only as a
Col. 2. 15. reſolute ſufferer, but as a noble conqueror, where *having ſpoiled principalities and powers, he made a ſolemn ſhew triumphing over them?* Did ever any conqueror, loftily ſeated in his triumphal chariot, yield a ſpectacle ſo gallant and magnificent? Was ever tree adorned with trophies ſo pompous and ſplendid?

To the exterior view and carnal ſenſe of men, our Lord was then indeed expoſed to ſcorn and ſhame; but to ſpiritual and ſincere diſcerning, all his and our enemies did there hang up as objects of contempt, utterly overthrown and undone.

Ὁ ἰσχυρός. Matt. 12. 29. Luke 11. 21, 22. Heb. 2. 14. There the devil, that *ſtrong* and ſturdy *one*, did hang up bound in chains, diſarmed and rifled, quite baffled and confounded, mankind being reſcued from his tyrannick power.

There the world, with its vain pomps, its counterfeit beauties, its bewitching pleaſures, its fondly admired excellencies did hang up all defaced and diſpa-
Gal. 6. 14. raged; as it appeared to St. *Paul:* For, *God* (ſaith he) *forbid that I ſhould glory ſave in the croſs of Chriſt, by which the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world.*

There, in a moſt lively repreſentation, and moſt admirable pattern, was exhibited *the mortification of our fleſh, with its affections and luſts*; and our *old man*
Gal. 2. 20. 5. 24. *was crucified, that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed.*
Col. 3. 5. Rom. 8. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 24. There our ſins, being (as St. *Peter* telleth us) *carried up by him unto the gibbet*, did hang as marks of his victorious proweſs, as malefactors by him *condemned in the fleſh*, as objects of our horror and hatred.
Rom. 8. 3. 1 Cor. 15. 54, 55. There death it ſelf hung gaſping, with its ſting pulled out, and all its terrors
2 Tim. 1. 10. quelled; his death having prevented ours, and induced immortality.
Heb. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 15, 16. Col. 1. 10. There all wrath, *enmity*, ſtrife, (the banes of comfortable life) did hang *abo-liſhed in his fleſh*, and *ſlain upon the croſs, by the blood whereof he made peace, and reconciled all things in heaven and earth.*

There manifold yokes of bondage, inſtruments of vexation, and principles of
Col. 2. 14. variance, even all *the hand-writing of ordinances that was againſt us*, did hang up *cancelled* and *nailed to the croſs.*

So much ſweet comfort by ſpecial conſideration may be extracted from this event, which in appearance was moſt doleful, but in effect the moſt happy that ever by providence was diſpenſed to the world. Farther,

4. This conſideration is moſt uſeful to render us very humble and ſenſible of our weakneſs, our vileneſs, our wretchedneſs. For how low was that our fall, from which we could not be raiſed without ſuch a depreſſion of God's only Son? How great is that impotency, which did need ſuch a ſuccour to relieve it? How abominable muſt be that iniquity, which might not be expiated without ſo coſtly a ſacrifice? How deplorable is that miſery, which could not be removed without commutation of ſo ſtrange a ſuffering? Would the Son of God have ſo
Ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε. Phil. 2. 7. *emptied*, and abaſed himſelf for nothing? Would he have endured ſuch pains and ignominies for a trifle? No ſurely; if our guilt had been ſlight, if our caſe had been tolerable, the divine wiſdom would have choſen a more cheap and eaſie remedy for us.

Is it not madneſs for us to be conceited of any worth in our ſelves, to confide in any merit of our works, to glory in any thing belonging to us, to fancy our ſelves brave, fine, happy perſons, worthy of great reſpect and eſteem; when as our unworthineſs, our demerit, our forlorn eſtate did extort from the moſt gracious God a diſpleaſure needing ſuch a reconciliation, did impoſe upon the moſt glorious Son of God a neceſſity to undergo ſuch a puniſhment in our behalf?

How can we reaſonably pretend to any honour, or juſtly aſſume any regard to
1 Cor. 1. 8. Phil. 2. 7. our ſelves, whenas the firſt-born of heaven, *the Lord of glory*, partaker of divine majeſty, was fain to *make himſelf of no reputation*, to put himſelf into *the garb of a ſervant*, and under the imputation of a malefactor, to bear ſuch diſgrace and infamy in our room, in lieu of the confuſion due to us?

What more palpable confutation can there be of humane vanity and arrogance,
1 Cor. 10. 5. of all lofty *imaginations*, all preſumptuous confidences, all turgid humours, all fond ſelf-pleaſings and ſelf-admirings, than is that tragical croſs, wherein, as in a glaſs, our foul deformity, our pitiful meanneſs, our helpleſs infirmity, our ſad wofulneſs are ſo plainly repreſented?

Well ſurely may we ſay with St. *Auſtin*, *Let man now at length bluſh to be proud, for whom God is made ſo humble.* [And ſince (as he doth add) *this great diſeaſe of ſoul did bring down the almighty phyſician from heaven, did humble him to the form of a ſervant, did ſubject him to contumelies, did ſuſpend him on a croſs, that this tumour by virtue of ſo great a medicine might be cured*;] may not he well be preſumed incurable, who is not cured of his pride by this medicine; in whom neither the reaſon of the caſe, nor the force of ſuch an example can work humility?

Jam tandem erubeſcat homo eſſe ſuperbus, propter quem factus eſt humilis Deus. Aug. *in* Pſ. 18.

Iſte ingens morbus omnipotentem medicum de cœlo deduxit, uſque ad formam ſervi humiliavit, contumeliis egit, ligno ſuſpendit, ut per ſalutem tanta medicina curetur hic tumor. Ibid.

Quæ ſuperbia ſanari poteſt, ſi humilitate Filii Dei non ſanatur? Aug. *de Agone Chr. cap.* 11.

5. But farther, while this contemplation doth breed ſober humility, it alſo ſhould preſerve us from baſe abjectneſs of mind: For it doth evidently demonſtrate, that according to God's infallible judgment, we are very conſiderable; that our ſouls are capable of high regard; that it is a great pity we ſhould be loſt and abandoned to ruine. For ſurely, had not God much eſteemed and reſpected us, he would not for our ſakes have ſo debaſed himſelf, or deigned to endure ſo much for our recovery; divine juſtice would not have exacted or accepted ſuch a ranſom for our ſouls, had they been of little worth. We ſhould not therefore ſlight our ſelves, nor demean our ſelves like ſorry contemptible wretches, as if we deſerved no conſideration, no pity from our ſelves; as if we thought our ſouls not worth ſaving, which yet our Lord thought good to purchaſe at ſo dear a rate. By ſo deſpiſing or diſregarding our ſelves, do we not condemn the ſentiments, do we not vilifie the ſufferings of our Lord; ſo with a pitiful meanneſs of ſpirit joyning the moſt unworthy injuſtice and ingratitude? Again,

Aut vero pro minimo habet Deus hominem, propter quem mori voluit Filium ſuum? Aug. *in* Pſal. 148.

Si vobis ex terrena fragilitate viles eſtis, ex pretio veſtro vos eſtimate. Aug. Acts 13. 46.

6. How can we reflect upon this event without extreme diſpleaſure againſt, and hearty deteſtation of our ſins? Thoſe ſins which indeed did bring ſuch tortures and ſuch diſgraces upon our bleſſed Redeemer? *Judas*, the wretch who betrayed him, the *jewiſh* prieſts who did accuſe and proſecute him, the wicked rout which did abuſively inſult over him, thoſe cruel hands that ſmote him, thoſe pitileſs hearts that ſcorned him, thoſe poiſonous tongues that mocked him and reviled him, all thoſe who were the inſtruments and abettors of his affliction, how do we loath and abhor them? How do we deteſt their names, and execrate their memories? But how much greater reaſon have we to abominate our ſins, which were the true, the principal actors of all that woful tragedy? *He was delivered for our offences:* Rom. 4. 25. They were indeed the traitors, which by the hands of *Judas* delivered him up. *He that knew no ſin, was made ſin for us*, that is, was accuſed, was condemned, was executed as a ſinner for us. It was therefore we, who by our ſins did impeach him; the ſpiteful prieſts were but our advocates: We by them did adjudge and ſentence him; *Pilate* was but drawn in againſt his will and conſcience, to be our ſpokeſman in that behalf: We by them did inflict that horrid puniſhment on him; the *Roman* executioners were but our repreſentatives therein. *He became curſe for us*; that is, all the mockery, deriſion and contumely he endured, did proceed from us; the ſilly people were but properties acting our parts. Our ſins were they that cried out, *Crucifige*, (*Crucify him, crucify him*) with clamours more loud and more importunate than did all the *jewiſh* rabble: It was they, which by the borrowed throats of that baſe people did ſo outrageouſly perſecute him. *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and bruiſed for our iniquities:* Iſa. 53. 5. It was they which by the hands of the fierce ſoldiers, and of the rude populacy, as by ſenſeleſs engines, did buffet and ſcourge him; they by the nails and thorns did pierce his fleſh, and rend his ſacred body. Upon them therefore it is moſt juſt and fit that we ſhould turn our hatred, that we ſhould diſcharge our indignation.

2 Cor. 5. 21. Gal. 3. 13.

7. And what in reaſon can be more powerful toward working penitential ſorrow and remorſe, than reflexion upon ſuch horrible effects, proceeding from our ſins? How can we forbear earneſtly to grieve, conſidering our ſelves by them to have been the perfidious betrayers, the unjuſt ſlanderers, the cruel perſecutors and barbarous murtherers of a perſon ſo innocent and lovely, ſo good and benign, ſo great and glorious; of God's own dear Son, of our beſt friend, of our moſt gracious Redeemer?

8. If ingenuity will not operate ſo far, and hereby melt us into contrition; yet ſurely this conſideration muſt needs affect us with a religious fear. For can Pſ. 119. 120.

we otherwiſe than tremble to think upon the hainous guilt of our ſins, upon the dreadful fierceneſs of God's wrath againſt them, upon the impartial ſeverity of divine judgment for them, all ſo manifeſtly diſcovered, all ſo livelily ſet forth in this diſmal ſpectacle? If the view of an ordinary execution is apt to beget in us ſome terror, ſome dread of the law, ſome reverence toward authority; what awful impreſſions ſhould this ſingular example of divine juſtice work upon us?

How greatly we ſhould be moved thereby, what affections it ſhould raiſe in us, we may even learn from the moſt inanimate creatures: For the whole world did ſeem affected thereat with horror and confuſion; the frame of things was diſcompoſed and diſturbed; all nature did feel a kind of compaſſion and compunction for it. The ſun (as from averſion and ſhame) did hide his face, leaving the world covered for three hours with mournful blackneſs; the bowels of the earth did yern and quake; the rocks did ſplit; the veil of the temple was rent; the graves did open themſelves, and the dead bodies were rouzed up. And can we then (who are moſt concerned in the event) be more ſtupid than the earth, more obdurate than rocks, more drowzy than interr'd carcaſes, the moſt inſenſible and immovable things in nature? But farther,

9. How can the meditation on this event do otherwiſe than hugely deterr us from all wilful diſobedience and commiſſion of ſin? For how thereby can we violate ſuch engagements, and thwart ſuch an example of obedience? How thereby can we abuſe ſo wonderful goodneſs, and diſoblige ſo tranſcendent charity? How thereby can we reject that gentle dominion over us, which our redeemer did ſo dearly purchaſe, or renounce *the Lord that bought us* at ſo high a rate? With what heart can we bring upon the ſtage, and act over that direful tragedy, renewing all that pain and all that diſgrace to our Saviour; as the apoſtle teacheth that we do by apoſtacy, *crucifying to our ſelves the ſon of God afreſh, and putting him to an open ſhame?* Can we without horror *tread under foot the Son of God, and count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing*; (as the ſame divine apoſtle ſaith all wilful tranſgreſſors do;) vilifying that moſt ſacred and precious blood, ſo freely ſhed for the demonſtration of God's mercy, and ratification of his gracious intentions towards us, as a thing of no ſpecial worth or conſideration; deſpiſing all his ſo kind and painful endeavours for our ſalvation; defeating his moſt charitable purpoſes, and earneſt deſires for our welfare; rendring all his ſo bitter and loathſome ſufferings in regard to us utterly vain and fruitleſs, yea indeed very hurtful and pernicious? For if the croſs do not ſave us from our ſins, it will much aggravate their guilt, and augment their puniſhment; bringing a ſeverer condemnation, and a ſadder ruine on us. Again,

Tit. 2. 14. 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. Rom. 14. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 15. 2 Pet. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 6. 20. Heb. 6. 6. ἀνασταυροῦντας. Heb. 10. 29. ἐκτόπως ἁγιάσαντο κοινὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ℣ 26. κοινὸν ἡγησάμενοι.

10. This conſideration affordeth very ſtrong engagements to the practice of charity towards our neighbour. For what heart can be ſo hard, that the blood of the croſs cannot mollifie into a charitable and compaſſionate ſenſe? Can we forbear to love thoſe, toward whom our Saviour did bear ſo tender affection, for whom he was pleaſed to ſuſtain ſo woful tortures and indignities? Shall we not, in obedience to his moſt urgent commands, in conformity to his moſt notable example, in grateful return to him for his benefits, who thus did gladly ſuffer for us, diſcharge this moſt ſweet and eaſie duty towards his beloved friends? Shall we not be willing, by parting with a little ſuperfluous ſtuff for the relief of our poor brother, to requite and gratifie him, who, to ſuccour us in our diſtreſs, moſt bountifully did part with his wealth, with his glory, with his pleaſure, with his life itſelf? Shall we not meekly comport with an infirmity, not bear a petty neglect, not forgive a ſmall injury to our brother, whenas our Lord did for us, and from us bear a croſs, to procure remiſſion for our innumerable moſt hainous affronts and offences againſt almighty God? Can a heart void of mercy and pity, with any reaſon or modeſty pretend to the mercies and compaſſions of the croſs? Can we hope, that God for *Chriſt*'s ſake will pardon us, if we for *Chriſt*'s ſake will not forgive our neighbour?

2 Cor. 8. 9. Eph. 4. 32. Coloſſ. 3. 13.

Can we hear our Lord ſaying to us, *This is my command, that ye love one another, as I have loved you*; and, *Hereby ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye love one another*? Can we hear St. *Paul* exhorting, *Walk in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us, an offering and a ſacrifice to God for a ſweet ſmelling ſavour*; and, *We that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak—For even Chriſt pleaſed not himſelf, but, as it*

Joh. 15. 12. Joh. 13. 35. Eph. 5. 2. Rom. 15. 1, 3.

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is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee, fell on me? Can we attend to St. *John's* arguing, *Beloved, if God ſo loved us, then ought we alſo to love one another. Hereby we perceive the love of God, becauſe he laid down his life for us: Wherefore we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren?* 1 Joh. 4. 11. 3. 16.

Can we, I ſay, conſider ſuch precepts, and ſuch diſcourſes, without effectually being diſpoſed to comply with them for the ſake of our crucified Saviour; all whoſe life was nothing elſe but one continual recommendation and enforcement of this duty; but his death eſpecially was a pattern moſt obliging, moſt incentive thereto? This uſe of the point is the more to be regarded, becauſe the apoſtle doth apply it hereto, our text coming in upon that occaſion; for having pathetically exhorted the *Philippians* to all kinds of charity and humble condeſcenſion, he ſubjoineth, *Let this mind be in you, which was in Chriſt Jeſus; who being in the form of God*, &c. Phil. 2. 5.

11. But furthermore, what can be more operative than this point toward breeding a diſregard of this world with all its deceitful vanities, and miſchievous delights; toward reconciling our minds to the worſt condition into which it can bring us; toward ſupporting our hearts under the heavieſt preſſures of affliction which it can lay upon us? For can we reaſonably expect, can we eagerly affect, can we ardently deſire great proſperity, whenas the Son of God, our Lord and Maſter, did only taſte ſuch adverſity? How can we refuſe, in ſubmiſſion to God's pleaſure, contentedly to bear a ſlight grievance, whenas our Saviour gladly did bear a croſs, infinitely more diſtaſteful to carnal will and ſenſe than any that can befal us? Who now can admire theſe ſplendid trifles, which our Lord never did regard in his life, and which at his death only did ſerve to mock and abuſe him? Who can reliſh thoſe ſordid pleaſures, of which he living did not vouchſafe to taſte, and the contraries whereof he dying choſe to feel in all extremity? Who can diſdain or deſpiſe a ſtate of ſorrow and diſgrace, which he, by voluntary ſuſception of it, hath ſo dignified and graced; by which we ſo near reſemble and become conformable to him; by which we concur and partake with him; yea, by which in ſome caſes we may promote, and after a ſort complete his deſigns, *filling up*, (as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh) *that which is behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in our fleſh?* Rom. 8. 17. Phil. 3. 10. Apoc. 1. 9. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Col. 1. 24.

Who now can hugely prefer being eſteemed, approved, favoured, commended by men, before infamy, reproach, deriſion, and perſecution from them; eſpecially when theſe do follow conſcientious adherence to righteouſneſs? Who can be very ambitious of worldly honour and repute, covetous of wealth, or greedy of pleaſure, who doth obſerve the Son of God chuſing rather to hang upon a croſs, than to ſit upon a throne; inviting the clamours of ſcorn and ſpite, rather than acclamations of bleſſing and praiſe; diveſting himſelf of all ſecular power, pomp, plenty, conveniencies and ſolaces: embracing the garb of a ſlave, and the repute of a malefactor, before the dignity and reſpect of a prince, which were his due, which he moſt eaſily could have obtained? *Cogitemus crucem ejus, & divitias luctum eſſe putabimus.* Hier. *ad* Nepot. *Epiſt.* 2.

Can we imagine it a very happy thing, to be high and proſperous in this world, to ſwim in affluence and pleaſure? Can we take it for a miſery, to be mean and low, to conflict with ſome wants and ſtraits here; ſeeing the fountain of all happineſs, did himſelf purpoſely condeſcend to ſo forlorn a ſtate, and was pleaſed to become ſo deep a ſufferer? If with devout eyes of our mind we do behold our Lord, hanging naked upon a gibbet, beſmeared all over with ſtreams of his own blood, groaning under ſmart anguiſh of pain, encompaſſed with all ſorts of diſgraceful abuſes, *yielding* (as it was foretold of him) *his back to the ſmiters, and his cheeks to them who plucked off the hair, hiding not his face from ſhame and ſpitting*: will not the imagination of ſuch a ſpectacle dim the luſtre of all earthly grandeurs and beauties, damp the ſenſe of all carnal delights and ſatisfactions, quaſh all that extravagant glee which we can find in any wild frolicks, or riotous merriments? Will it not ſtain all our pride, and check our wantonneſs? Will it not diſpoſe our minds to be ſober, placing our happineſs in things of another nature, ſeeking our content in matters of higher importance; preferring obedience to the will of God before compliance with the fancies and deſires of men; according to that precept of St. *Peter*, *Foraſmuch then as Chriſt hath ſuffered for us in the fleſh, arm your ſelves likewiſe with the ſame mind— ſo as no longer to live the remaining time in the fleſh, to the luſts of men, but to the will of God?* *Quis beatam vitam eſſe arbitretur in iis, quæ contemnenda eſſe docuit Filius Dei?* Aug. *de Ag. Chr. cap.* 11. Iſa. 56. 1 Pet. 4. 1, 2. *Græc.*

11. The

12. This indeed will inſtruct and incline us chearfully to ſubmit unto God's will, and gladly to accept from his hand whatever he diſpoſeth, however grievous and afflictive to our natural will; this point ſuggeſting great commendation of afflictions, and ſtrong conſolation under them. For if ſuch hardſhip was to our Lord himſelf a ſchool of duty, *he* (as the apoſtle ſaith) *learning obedience from what he ſuffered*; if it was to him a fit mean of perfection, as the apoſtle doth again imply when he ſaith, *that it became God to perfect the captain of our ſalvation by ſuffering*; if it was an attractive of the divine favour even to him, as thoſe words import, *Therefore the father loveth me, becauſe I lay down my life*; if it was to him a ſtep toward glory, according to that ſaying, *Was not Chriſt to ſuffer, and ſo to enter into his glory?* yea, if it was a ground of conferring on him a ſublime pitch of dignity above all creatures, *God for this obedience having exalted him, and given him a name above all names*; *We ſeeing Jeſus —— for the ſuffering of death, crowned with glory and honour*; the heavenly ſociety in the *Revelations* with one voice crying out, *Worthy is the lamb that was ſlain (who redeemed us to God by his blood) to receive power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing:* If affliction did miniſter ſuch advantages to him; and if by our conformity to him in undergoing it, (with like equanimity, humility, and patience) it may afford the like to us; what reaſon is there that we ſhould any wiſe be diſcompoſed at it, or diſconſolate under it? Much greater reaſon, ſurely, there is, that, with St. *Paul*, and all the holy apoſtles, we ſhould *rejoice, boaſt, and exult in our tribulations: Far more cauſe we have, with them, to eſteem it a favour, a privilege, an ornament, a felicity to us, than to be diſpleaſed and diſcontented therewith.

ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε. Heb. 5. 8.
Heb. 2. 10.
Joh. 10. 17.
Luke 24. 26.
Phil. 2. 9.
Heb. 2. 9.
Rev. 5. 12. 9.

* (Rom. 5. 3. Col. 1. 24. Matt. 5. 12. Luke 6. 23. Phil. 1. 29. Acts 5. 41. Jam. 1. 2. Heb. 10. 34. 1 Pet. 1. 7. Heb. 12. 2.— 1 Cor. 1. 4.—) 1 Theſ. 3. 3. Rom. 8. 29. Ac. 14. 22. 2 Tim. 3. 12.

To do thus is a duty incumbent on us as chriſtians. For, † *He*, ſaith our maſter, *that doth not take up his croſs, and follow me, is not worthy of me: He that doth not carry his croſs, and go after me cannot be my diſciple.* He that doth not willingly take the croſs when it is preſented to him by God's hand; he that doth not contentedly bear it when it is by providence impoſed on him, is no wiſe worthy of the honour to wait on *Chriſt*; he is not capable to be reckoned among the diſciples of our heavenly maſter. He is *not worthy of Chriſt*, as not having the courage, the conſtancy, the ſincerity of a chriſtian; or of one pretending to ſuch great benefits, ſuch high privileges, ſuch excellent rewards, as *Chriſt* our Lord and Saviour doth propoſe. He *cannot be Chriſt's diſciple*, ſhewing ſuch an incapacity to learn thoſe needful leſſons of humility and patience dictated by him; declaring ſuch an indiſpoſition to tranſcribe thoſe copies of ſubmiſſion to the divine will, ſelf-denial, and ſelf-reſignation, ſo fairly ſet him by the inſtruction and example of *Chriſt*: For *Chriſt* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps.*

†Matt. 10. 38. 16. 24. Luke 14. 27. 9. 23.
Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 38. *p.* 623.
ὑπογραμμὸν ὑπολιμπάνων. 1 Pet. 2. 21.

13. The willing ſuſception and the chearful ſuſtenance of the croſs, is indeed the expreſs condition, and the peculiar character of our chriſtianity; in ſignification whereof, it hath been from moſt ancient times a conſtant uſage to mark thoſe who enter into it with the figure of it. The croſs, as the inſtrument by which our peace with God was wrought, as the ſtage whereon our Lord did act the laſt part of his marvellous obedience, conſummating our redemption, as the field wherein the captain of our ſalvation did atchieve his noble victories, and erect his glorious trophies over all the enemies thereof, was well aſſumed to be the badge of our profeſſion, the enſign of our ſpiritual warfare, the pledge of our conſtant adherence to our crucified Saviour; in relation to whom our chief hope is grounded, our great joy and ſole glory doth conſiſt: For *God forbid*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *that I ſhould glory ſave in the croſs of Chriſt.*

τὸ τρόπαιον τῆς σωφρ. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8. 12.
Gal. 6. 14.

14. Let it be *to the Jews a ſcandal*, (or offenſive to their fancy, prepoſſeſſed with expectations of a *Meſſias* flouriſhing in ſecular pomp and proſperity,) let it be *folly to the Greeks*, (or ſeem abſurd to men puffed up and corrupted in mind with fleſhly notions and maxims of worldly craft, diſpoſing them to value nothing which is not grateful to preſent ſenſe or fancy) that God ſhould put his own moſt beloved Son into ſo very ſad and deſpicable a condition; that ſalvation from death and miſery ſhould be procured by ſo miſerable a death; that eternal joy, glory and happineſs ſhould iſſue from theſe fountains of ſorrow and ſhame; that a perſon in external

1 Cor. 1. 23.
Orig. *in* Celſ. 2. *p.* 79.

external ſemblance devoted to ſo opprobrious uſage, ſhould be the Lord and Redeemer of mankind, the king and judge of all the world: Let, I ſay, this doctrine be ſcandalous and diſtaſteful to ſome perſons tainted with prejudice; let it be ſtrange and incredible to others blinded with ſelf-conceit; let all the inconſiderate, all the proud, all the profane part of mankind openly with their mouth, or cloſely in heart, ſlight and reject it: yet to us it muſt appear grateful and joyous; to us it is πιστὸς λόγος, *a faithful* and moſt credible *propoſition worthy of all acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners*, in this way of ſuffering for them: To us, who diſcern by a clearer light, and are endowed with a purer ſenſe, kindled by the divine ſpirit; from whence we may with comfortable ſatisfaction of mind apprehend and taſte, that God could not in a higher meaſure, or fitter manner illuſtrate his glorious attributes of goodneſs and juſtice, his infinite grace and mercy toward his poor creatures, his holy diſpleaſure againſt wickedneſs, his impartial ſeverity in puniſhing iniquity and impiety, or in vindicating his own ſacred honour and authority, than by thus ordering his only Son, cloathed with our nature, to ſuffer for us; that alſo true virtue and goodneſs could not otherwiſe be taught, be exemplified, be commended and impreſſed with greater advantage. 1 Tim. 1. 15. 2 Tim. 2. 11.

Since thereby indeed a charity and humanity ſo unparallell'd, (far tranſcending theirs who have been celebrated for devoting their lives out of love to their countrey, or kindneſs to their friends) a meekneſs ſo incomparable, a reſolution ſo invincible, a patience ſo heroical, were manifeſted for the inſtruction and direction of men; ſince never were the vices and the vanities of the world (ſo prejudicial to the welfare of mankind) ſo remarkably diſcountenanced; ſince never any ſuffering could pretend to ſo worthy and beneficial effects, the expiation of the whole world's ſins, and reconciliation of mankind to God, the which no other performance, no other ſacrifice did ever aim to procure; ſince in fine, no virtue had ever ſo glorious rewards, as ſovereign dignity to him that exerciſed it, and eternal happineſs to thoſe that imitate it; ſince, I ſay, there be ſuch excellent uſes and fruits of the croſs born by our Saviour; we can have no reaſon to be offended at it, or aſhamed of it; but with all reaſon heartily ſhould approve, and humbly adore the deep wiſdom of God, together with all other his glorious attributes diſplayed therein. To whom therefore, as is moſt due, let us devoutly render all glory and praiſe. And, 1 John 2. 2. 2 Cor. 5. 19.

Unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his blood, and hath made us kings and prieſts unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Bleſſing and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb, for ever and ever. Apoc. 1. 5, 6. Apoc. 5. 13.

A Brief

A BRIEF

EXPOSITION

OF THE

CREED,

THE

*LORD'S PRAYER,

AND THE

DECALOGUE.

To which is added, The

DOCTRINE *of the* SACRAMENTS.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D. D

And late Master of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*.

Orat. Domin.

* *Si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras, quantum existimo nihil invenies, quod non ista Dominica contineat & concludat oratio: unde liberum est aliis atque aliis verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere, sed non debet esse liberum alia dicere.* Aug. *ad* Probam *Epist.* CXXI.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROUND in *Exchange-Alley*, J. TONSON in the *Strand*, and W. TAYLOR in *Pater-noster-Row*. MDCCXV.

AN EXPOSITION ON THE CREED.

THE Order prescribed to this Exercise directs us to treat upon, 1st, *The Creed.* 2dly, *The Lord's Prayer.* 3dly, *The Decalogue.* 4thly. *The Sacraments.* 5thly, *The Power of the Keys.*

The First comprehends the main Principles of our Religion, (I mean the Christian, as distinguished from all other Religions) with especial respect to which our Practice is also to be regulated. The Second directs us in the principal duty of our Religion, (and which procures grace and ability to perform the rest,) our devotion toward God, informing us concerning both the matter and manner thereof. The Third is a compendious (Body as it were) of Law, according to which we are bound to order our practice and conversation, both toward God and Man; containing the chief of those perpetual and immutable laws of God, to which our obedience is indispensibly due; and unto which all other rules of moral duty are well reducible. The next Place is fitly allotted to those positive ordinances, or mystical rites, instituted by God for the ornament, and advantage of our Religion; the which we are obliged with devotion and edification of our selves to observe, and therefore should understand the signification and use of them. Lastly, Because God hath ordered Christians (for mutual assistance and edification) to live in society together, and accordingly hath appointed differences of office and degree among them, assigning to each suitable privileges and duties; 'tis requisite we consider this point alſ, that we may know how to behave our selves towards each other, as duty requires, respectively according to our stations in the Church, or as Members of that Christian Society. Such, in brief, may be the reason of the method prescribed to these Discourses, the which, God willing, we propose to follow.

1. *Concerning the Creed.*

That, in the primitive Churches, those who being of Age (after previous instruction and some trial of their conversation) were received into entire Communion of the Church, and admitted to Baptism, were required to make open profession of their being persuaded of the truth of Christianity, and their being resolved to live according thereto; and that this Profession was made by way of answer to certain interrogatories propounded to them, is evident by frequent and obvious testimonies of the most ancient Ecclesiastical Writers; and St. *Peter* himself seems to allude to this Custom, when he saith that Baptism saves us (conduces to our salvation) as being ἐπερώτημα ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως, *the stipulation,* freely and sincerely, *bonâ fide,* or with a good conscience, made by us, then when we solemnly did yield our consent and promise to what the Church, in God's behalf, did demand of us to believe, and undertake. I conceive also, that the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* doth allude to the same practice when (*Ch.* 10. 22, 23) he thus exhorts to perseverance: *Having had our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our body washed with pure water* (that is, having received Baptism) *let us hold fast the profession of our faith* (that which we at our Baptism did make) *without wavering* (or declining from it) *for he that did promise is faithful;* God will be true to his part, and perform what he then promised, of mercy and grace to us. (Some resemblance of which practice we have in that passage, between *Philip* the Deacon, and the *Æthiopian* Eunuch: where, after *Philip* had instructed the Eunuch; the Eunuch 1 Pet. 3. 21.

Act 8. firſt ſpeaks: *Behold water; what hinders me from being baptized? Philip* anſwers: *If thou believeſt with all thy heart, it is lawfull.* The Eunuch replies: *I believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God*: Upon which ſhort confeſſion of his faith, he is Baptized.) Now that this profeſſion (take it either for the action, or the entire *res geſta*; or for the form, or for the matter thereof; to all which indifferently, by metonymical ſchemes of ſpeech, the ſame words are uſually in ſuch caſes applied) that this profeſſion I ſay, was very anciently (in the *Roman* eſpecially, and ſome other Churches) called *Symbolum*, appears by thoſe remarkable words of *Cyprian* (the moſt ancient perhaps wherein this word is found applied to this matter) in his 76th Epiſtle *ad Magnum*; arguing againſt the validity of baptiſm adminiſtred by Hereticks and Schiſmaticks (ſuch as were the *Novatians*:) *Quòd ſi aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quàm Catholica Eccleſia teneat, eodem ſymbolo quo & nos baptizare, eundem nóſſe Deum patrem, eundem filium Chriſtum, eundem Spiritum ſanctum, ac propter hoc uſurpare eam poteſtatem baptizandi poſſe, quòd videatur in interrogatione baptiſmi à nobis non diſcrepare, ſciat quiſquis hoc opponendum putat, primùm non eſſe unam nobis & ſchiſmaticis ſymboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem.* Where theſe Expreſſions, *Eodem ſymbolo baptizare*, and *in interrogatione baptizmi non diſcrepare*; as alſo, *Una ſymboli lex*, and *Eadem interrogatio*, do ſeem to mean the ſame thing: and in other later Writers the
12. de Trin. ſame manner of ſpeaking doth ſometimes occurr; as when *Hilary* thus prays: *Conſerva hanc conſcientia meæ vocem, ut quod in regenerationis meæ ſymbolo, baptizatus in Patre, & Filio, & Spiritu S. profeſſus ſum, ſemper obtineam*: where *regenerationis ſuæ ſymbolum* doth ſeem to import, that conteſtation of his faith, which he ſolemnly made at his baptiſm. Now the reaſon why this profeſſion was ſo called, may ſeem to be, for that it was a ſolemn ſignification of his embracing the Doctrine and Law of Chriſt; even as *Ariſtotle* calls words, σύμβολα τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων, the ſymbols or repreſentations of the conceptions that are in the mind; this ſeems to be the moſt ſimple reaſon of this term being ſo uſed: but if the ſimplicity of this notion doth not ſatisfie, there is another very agreeable to the nature of the thing, not wanting the countenance of ſome good authority. The word συμβαλλω
Plato, Demoſthenes, &c. doth in the beſt Greek *Writers not uncommonly ſignifie to tranſact commerce, to make contract, to agree about any Bargain or Buſineſs; and the word συμβόλαιον (thence derived) doth according to moſt common uſe denote any contract or covenant made between two Parties: Now, that the ſtipulation made between a Perſon by baptiſm initiated and received into Chriſtianity, and God Almighty (or the Church in his behalf) may moſt appoſitely be called a covenant or contract, none I ſuppoſe will doubt; wherein we confeſs faith and promiſe obedience; God vouchſafes preſent mercy, promiſes grace and future reward; and that the word σύμβολον ſhould hence import thus much, we cannot much wonder if we have obſerved how commonly words are wont to borrow ſignification from their kindred and neighSerm. 62. pag. 16, 2. bours: and thus *Chryſologus* plainly interprets the meaning of the word: *Placitum, vel pactum*, (ſaith he) *quod lucri ſpes venientis continet vel futuri, ſymbolum nuncupari etiam contractu docemur humano; quod tamen ſymbolum inter duos firmat ſemper geminata conſcriptio — inter Deum verò & homines ſymbolum fidei ſolâ fide firmatur*; and commmonly (in his Sermons upon this Creed) he ſtyles it, *pactum fidei*. *Ruffinus* indeed tells us (and divers after him) that the reaſon why this Creed was called *ſymbolum* or *indicium*, is, becauſe it was deviſed as a mark to diſtinguiſh the genuine Teachers of the Chriſtian Doctrine from ſuch falſe Teachers,
* *Cognizance.* as did adulterate or corrupt it; or becauſe it was a kind of military * token (a badge as it were, or a watch-word) by which the true Friends of Chriſtianity might be
Maximus Taurinenſis. diſcriminated and diſcerned from the Enemies thereof: *Symbolum teſſera eſt & ſignaculum, quo inter fideles perfidóſque ſecernitur.* But if we conſider the brevity and ſimplicity of the ancient forms, unſuitable to ſuch a deſign, it may ſeem more probable, that it was intended not ſo much to ſeparate Chriſtians from each other, as to diſtinguiſh them from all of other Religions; or more ſimply as we ſaid, to be a mark, whereby the Perſon converted to Chriſtianity did ſignifie, that he did ſincerely embrace it, conſenting to the capital doctrines thereof, and engaging obedience to its laws. Indeed afterward (when it was commonly obſerved, that almoſt any kind of Hereticks, without evident repugnance to their particular opinions, could conform to thoſe ſhort and general forms, to exclude, or prevent compliance with them) occaſion was taken to enlarge the ancient forms, or to frame new ones (more full and ex-

explicite,) to be uſed, as formerly, at baptiſm. But (to leave farther conſideration of the name, and to purſue what more concerns the thing) for the more ancient forms, wherein the fore-mentioned profeſſion was conceived, it ſeems that in ſeveral places, and times, they did ſomewhat vary, receiving alteration and encreaſe, according to the diſcretion of thoſe, who did preſide in each Church; the principal however and more ſubſtantial parts (which had eſpecial direction and authority from the words and practice of our Saviour and his Apoſtles) being everywhere and at all times retain'd (thoſe namely, which concerned the Perſons of the Holy Trinity, and the great promiſes of the Goſpel, remiſſion of ſins, to be miniſtred here by the Church, and eternal life to be conferr'd hereafter by God upon thoſe who had conſtantly believ'd and obey'd the Goſpel.) That in the more ancient times, there was no one form, generally fixed and agreed upon (to omit other arguments that perſuade it) is hence probable, for that the moſt learned, and generally knowing perſons of thoſe times, when in their Apologies againſt disbelievers for Chriſtianity, or in their aſſertions of its genuine principles and doctrines againſt misbelievers, they by the nature and ſequel of their diſcourſe are engag'd to ſumm up the principal doctrines of our Religion, they do not yet (as reaſon did require, and they could hardly have avoided doing, had there been any ſuch conſtantly and univerſally ſettled or avowed form) alledge any ſuch, but rather from their own obſervation of the common ſenſe agreed upon, and in their own expreſſion ſet down thoſe main doctrines, wherein the chief Churches did conſent, as may be ſeen by divers of them, eſpecially by *Tertullian* (the oldeſt of the Latines) if we compare ſeveral places, wherein he delivers the rule of faith, (as he conſtantly calls it, that is, ſuch a ſummary of Chriſtian principles, by which the truth of doctrines concerning matters therein touched, might be examined,) wherein, I ſay, he delivers ſuch rules of faith, to the ſame purpoſe in ſenſe, but in language ſomewhat different, yet never referring us to any ſtanding and more authentick form. Among theſe forms, that which now paſſes under the title of the Apoſtles Creed (about which we diſcourſe) ſeems to have been peculiar to the *Roman* Church, and that very anciently (as to the chief Articles thereof, for it appears, that in proceſs of time it hath been ſomewhat altered, eſpecially by addition,) and becauſe it had been uſed from ſuch antiquity, that its original compoſition and uſe were not known, was preſumed to have derived from the Apoſtles; the firſt planters of that Church (as it was then uſual, to repute all immemorable cuſtoms to be deduced from Apoſtolical tradition,) or poſſibly becauſe the *Roman* Church (as in common belief founded by the two great Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*) was by way of Excellency called *the Apoſtolical Church*; and the ſucceſſion of *Roman* Biſhops *ſedes Apoſtolica*; ſo whatever belonged to that Church, obtained the ſame denomination; and among the reſt, the *Roman* Symbol might for that reaſon be called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*; that is, *Symbolum Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ*. For that it was compiled by joint advice, or by particular contributions of all the Apoſtles, is a conceit, ſuſtained by very weak grounds, and, aſſailed by very ſtrong objections; As, that a matter of ſo illuſtrious remarkableneſs, and of ſo great concernment, ſhould be no where mentioned in the Apoſtolick Acts, nor by any authentick record atteſted, (and indeed had it been ſo teſtified, it muſt have attained canonical authority,) that it was not received by all Churches; and that thoſe which uſed the ſubſtance thereof, were ſo bold therewith, as to alter and enlarge it, are conſiderations ordinarily objected thereto, but that which moſt effectually, to my ſeeming, doth render ſuch original thereof altogether uncertain (and doth amount almoſt to a demonſtration againſt it; I mean againſt the truth, or which is all one in matters of this nature, its certainty of being compoſed by the Apoſtles) is that which I before intimated, *viz.* That the moſt ancient (and thoſe the moſt inquiſitive and beſt ſeen in ſuch matters) were either wholly ignorant that ſuch a form, pretending the Apoſtles for its authors, was extant, or did not accord to its pretence, or did not at all rely upon the authenticalneſs thereof; otherwiſe (as I before urged) it is hardly poſſible that they ſhould not have in moſt direct and expreſs manner alledged it, and uſed its authority againſt thoſe wild hereticks, who impugned ſome points thereof. Nothing can be more evident, than ſuch an argument (as it was more obvious than not to be taken notice of, ſo it) muſt needs carry a great ſtrength and efficacy with it; and would have much more ſerved their purpoſe, for convincing their adverſaries, than a rule (of the ſame ſenſe and import) collected

His additur *indiviſibilem* & *impaſſibilem*: Sciendum quòd duo illi termones in Eccleſiæ Romanæ ſymbolo non habentur, conſtat autem apud nos additos hæreſeos causâ Sabellii, &c. *Ruff. in Sym.*

De vel. Virg. Præſcript. adv. hæret. contra Praxeam.

collected from their own obſervation, and compoſed in their own expreſſion; and that argument, which they ſo much inſiſt upon, drawn from the common conſent of the Apoſtolick Churches, could not have been more ſtrongly enforced, (nor the ground thereof more clearly evidenced,) than by propounding the atteſtation of this form, if ſuch an one there had been commonly received and acknowledged: And if they were ignorant, or uncertain thereof, after-times could not be more skilfull or ſure in the point. I ſpeak not this with intent to derogate from the reputation of this Creed, or to invalidate that authority, whereof it hath ſo long time ſtood poſſeſſed: For, as for the parts thereof, which were undoubtedly moſt ancient, the matter of them is ſo manifeſtly contained in the Scripture, and ſuppoſing the truth of Chriſtianity itſelf, they are ſo certain, that they need no other authority to ſupport them, than what Chriſtianity itſelf ſubſiſts upon; and for other points afterwards added, they cannot by vertue of being inſerted there, pretend to Apoſtolick authority, but for their eſtabliſhment muſt inſiſt upon ſome other Baſe. It is, in general, ſufficient (that which we acknowledge) to beget a competent reverence thereto, that it was of ſo ancient uſe in the principal and for long time (till ambition and avarice, and the conſequences of general confuſion, ignorance, corruption, overſpreading the earth, did ſoil it) the faireſt perhaps and moſt ſober Church in the World; that it was, I ſay, in ſo illuſtrious a place, ſo near the Apoſtles time, made and uſed (and might thence ſeem probably to derive from ſome of them) may conciliate much reſpect thereto; but yet ſince it is not thoroughly certain that it was compoſed by any of them, nor hath obtained the ſame authority with their undoubted writings, what ever is therein contained muſt be explained according to, and be proved by them; and cannot otherwiſe conſtrain our faith; and indeed divers Anthors of great credit acknowledge it to be collected out of the Scriptures: *Illa verba* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *quæ audiviſtis* (ſpeaking of this Creed) *per Scripturas ſparſa ſunt, & inde collecta, & ad unum redacta.* And another ancient Writer: *De ſacris omnino voluminibus quæ ſunt credenda ſumamus; de quorum fonte ſymboli ipſius ſeries derivata conſiſtit.* Its authority therefore, will at the ſecond hand prove Apoſtolical; its matter being drawn from the fountains of Apoſtolical Scripture. But ſo much ſhall ſuffice, for Preface, concerning the title and other extrinſecal adjuncts of the Creed. As for the ſubject itſelf, 'tis a ſhort Syſtem of Chriſtian doctrine; comprizing the chief Principles of Chriſtianity, as diſtinct from all other Religions; in a form (or manner of ſpeech) ſuited for every ſingular perſon, thereby to declare his conſent to that Religion; which to do, as it is eſpecially befitting at Baptiſm (when the perſon is ſolemnly admitted to the participation of the benefits and priviledges of that Religion; and ſhould therefore reaſonably be required to profeſs that he believes the truth thereof, and willingly undertakes to perform the conditions and duties belonging thereto,) ſo it cannot but be very convenient and uſefull at other times, and deſerves to be a conſtant part of God's ſervice; as both much tending to the honour of God, and conducing to private and publick edification: We thereby glorifie God, frequently confeſſing his truth (the chief and higheſt points of his heavenly truth, by his goodneſs revealed unto us,) we remind our ſelves of our duties and engagements to God; we ſatisfie the Church of our perſeverance, and encourage our brethren to perſiſt in the faith of Chriſt.

Paſchaſius de Sp. S. cap. 1.

As for the interpretation thereof, I ſhall not otherwiſe determine or limit its ſenſe, than by endeavouring to declare what is true in itſelf, and agreeable to the meaning of the words, wherein each article is expreſſed; proving ſuch truth by any kind of ſuitable arguments, that offer themſelves; ſuch as either the reaſon of the thing, or plain teſtimony of Holy Scripture, or general conſent and tradition of the ancient Churches, founded by the Apoſtles, do afford. Proving I ſay; for the Creed itſelf (as we before diſcourſed) not being endewed with higheſt authority to enforce its doctrine, it muſt be confirmed by ſuch other grounds as may be proved more immediately valid, and efficacious to convince or produce faith in men's minds. For Faith itſelf is not an arbitrary act, nor an effect of blind neceſſity; (we cannot believe what we pleaſe; nor can be compelled to believe any thing,) 'tis a reſult of judgment and choice, grounded upon reaſon of ſome kind, after deliberation and debate concerning the matter. But more diſtinctly what the faith, we profeſs to have, is, I will immediately inquire; addreſſing my ſelf to the expoſition of the firſt word, *I believe*, or *I believe in*. Before we proceed, we muſt remove a rubb, which criticizing upon the phraſe, hath put in our way. They give us a diſtinction between *to believe a thing*, *to believe*

lieve a Perſon, and *to believe upon a thing or perſon*. For example, taking God for the Object, there is, they ſay, a difference between *Credere Deum, credere Deo*, and *credere in Deum*: *Credere Deum* doth import ſimply to believe God to be: *Credere Deo* is to believe God's word or promiſe (to eſteem him veracious:) *Credere in Deum*, is to have a confidence in God, as able and willing to do us good, (to rely upon his mercy and favour; to hope for help, comfort, or reward from him; the which after St. *Auguſtine* the Schoolmen account an act of charity or love toward God, as may be ſeen in that late excellent Expoſition of the Creed:) and in this laſt Senſe would ſome underſtand the faith here profeſſed, becauſe of the Phraſe *I believe in*: But I briefly anſwer; That this phraſe being derived immediately from the Greek of the New Teſtament; and the Greek therein imitating the Old Teſtament Hebrew, we muſt interpret the meaning thereof according to its uſe there, as that may beſt agree with the reaſon of the thing, and the Deſign of the Creed here. Now in the ſaid Greek and Hebrew πιστεύειν εἰς, (or πιστεύειν ἐν, or πιστεύειν ἐπί, which import the ſame,) and האמין ב (*heemin be*) are uſed to ſignifie all kinds of faith, and are promiſcuouſly applied to all kind of objects: It is required, to believe not only in *God* and *Chriſt*, but in *Men* alſo, in * *Moſes*, in the † *Prophets*; as likewiſe in the works of God; in God's Commandments; in the Goſpel. Whence in general it appears, that to *believe in*, hath not neceſſarily or conſtantly ſuch a determinate ſenſe, as the fore-mentioned diſtinguiſhers pretend, but is capable of various meanings, as the different matters to which it is applied do require: To believe in *Moſes* (for example) was not to confide in his power or goodneſs, but to believe him God's Prophet, and that his words were true; to believe in God's Works, was to believe they came from God's Power, and ſignified his Providence over them; to believe in the Commands of God, and the Goſpel of Chriſt, was to take them for rules of life, and to expect due reward according to the promiſes or threatnings in them reſpectively pronounced to obedience or diſobedience: In a word, we may obſerve (and there be inſtances innumerable to confirm the obſervation) that in the New Teſtament πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστὸν, εἰς Κύριον, εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου, and πιστεύειν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου, do indifferently bear the ſame Senſe, both ſignifying no more, than being perſuaded that *Jeſus was the Chriſt, the Son of God*, ſuch as he declared himſelf, and the Apoſtles preached him to be. Since therefore the phraſe in it ſelf may admit vatious ſenſes, we may (with moſt reaſon and probability) take it here, according to the nature and deſign of the Creed; which is to be a ſhort comprehenſion of ſuch verities, which we profeſs our aſſent unto: It hath (I ſay) been always taken (not directly for an exerciſe of our charity, or patience, or hope in God, or any other kind of devotion, but ſimply) for a confeſſion of Chriſtian principles and verities; and accordingly when I ſay, *I believe in God Almighty, the Maker of Heaven and Earth*; 'tis moſt proper ſo to underſtand my meaning, as if I had ſaid; *I believe there is one God; that he is Almighty; that he is Maker of Heaven and Earth*, and ſo of the reſt: To confirm which interpretation, I ſhall only add, That anciently πιστεύειν εἰς was commonly applied to the Church, to the reſurrection, to repentance and remiſſion of ſins: Many examples might be produced to that purpoſe; I ſhall only mention thoſe words of *Hierom*: *Solenne eſt in lavacro poſt Trinitatis confeſſionem interrogare, Credis in ſanctam Eccleſiam?* Which expreſſion, according to the Schoolmen's interpretation of *believing in*, were not allowable.

It comes from Auguſtine, the father of ſcholaſtick diſtinctions.

* Exod. 14. 31. 19. 9.
† 2 Chron. 20. 20. Pſal. 78. 32. Pſal. 119. 66. Mar. 1. 15.

Hieron. contra Lucif.

So much for the general notion of Belief; it is ſome kind of aſſent to the truths propounded in the Creed; but what kind particularly it is, that we may more clearly judge, we ſhall obſerve that *Belief* hath two acceptions moſt conſiderable; One more general and popular; the other more reſtrained and artificial: In its greateſt latitude, and according to moſt common uſe, (as alſo according to its origination, from πίπτειν, by which it ſhould import the effect of perſuaſion;) thus I ſay it ſignifies generally, being well perſuaded, or yielding a ſtrong aſſent unto the truth of any propoſition: ἡ σφοδρὰ ὑπόληψις, (ſo we have it defined, agreeably to common uſe, in *Ariſtotle*'s Topicks;) that is, a vehement or ſtrong opinion about a thing: and ſo it involves no formal reſpect to any particular kind of means or arguments productive of it; but may be begot by any means whatever. So we are ſaid to believe what our ſenſe repreſents, what good reaſon inferrs, what credible authority confirms unto us. Whence in Rhetorick all ſorts of Probation (from what Topick ſoever of Reaſon deduced, upon what-ever atteſtation grounded) are called πίστεις, by a metonymy, becauſe they are apt to beget a perſuaſion concerning the Cauſe main-

Top. IV. 5.

So Act. 17. 13. πίστιν παρεχων πᾶσιν.

tain'd,

tain'd, its being good or bad, true or falſe. But according to a more reſtrained and artificial acception (artificial I call it, becauſe it is peculiar to men of art, and invented by the ſchool, to the purpoſe of diſtinguiſhing ſuch aſſent or perſuaſion into ſeveral kinds, whereof they make Belief in one kind diſtinct from thoſe others, which are grounded upon experience or apparence to ſenſe; or upon rational inference, according to which acception Belief doth preciſely denote that kind of aſſent, which is grounded meerly upon the authority (the dictate or teſtimony of ſome perſon aſſerting, relating, or atteſting to the truth of any matter propounded; the authority I ſay of ſome Perſon, which implies two things. 1. That ſuch a Perſon hath, *de facto*, aſſerted or atteſted the matter. 2. That his qualifications be ſuch, that his affirmation ſhould in reaſon have an influence upon our minds, and incline them to conſent; for that he is both able to inform us rightly, and willing to do it; is ſo wiſe that he doth know, and ſo juſt that he will ſpeak according to his knowledge and no otherwiſe. And this authority (which by reaſon of the Author's qualities mentioned is called *credible*; that is, ſuch, as in ſome meaſure is apt in a well-diſpoſed underſtanding to beget ſuch an aſſent to the truth of what is depoſed) is one kind of argument (diſtinct from thoſe which are drawn from Experience, or from principles of reaſon, before known or admitted by us) whereby perſuaſion concerning the truth of any propoſition (concerning either matter of fact, or any doctrine) is produced in our minds: and according to the degrees of our aſſurance either concerning the fact, that the Author doth indeed aſſert the matter; or concerning the Perſon's qualifications (rendring his authority credible) are the degrees of our Belief proportioned; it is more ſtrong and intenſe, or weak and remiſs; we are confident or doubtful concerning the matter; if we plainly can perceive by our ſenſe, or have great rational inducements to think, that ſuch an aſſertion proceeds from ſuch an Author; and then by like evidence of experience or reaſon are moved to think him not liable himſelf to be deceived, nor diſpoſed to deceive us, then we become ſtrongly perſuaded; believe firmly, in proportion to the validity of the ſaid grounds.

'Tis now to be determined according to which of theſe two acceptions, the Belief we here profeſs is to be underſtood: and to my ſeeming, we ſhould adequately mean, according to the firſt, the more general and vulgar notion: That, I ſay, we profeſs, to be perſuaded in our minds, concerning the truth of the propoſitions annexed, not implying our perſuaſion to be grounded upon only one kind of reaſon, that drawn from authority; but rather involving all reaſons proper and effectual for the perſuaſion of all the Points jointly, or of each ſingly taken. In this notion I underſtand the word, for theſe reaſons.

The very nation of the Jews *no Logicians.*
* 1 Cor. 2. 4 σεσοφισμένοι μύθοι.
2 Pet. 1. 16.
Deviſed too after their times; for this ſcholaſtical acception is not ancient.

1. Upon a general conſideration, becauſe the ancient teachers of our Religion, both as being themſelves men not ſeen in ſubtlety of ſpeculation, nor verſed in niceties of ſpeech (uſed by men of art and ſtudy) and as deſigning chiefly to inſtruct the generality of Men (for the greateſt part being ſimple and groſs in concei) could not or would not uſe words otherwiſe, than according to their moſt common and familiar acception. They did not employ ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγες, terms * deviſed by humane wiſdom for extream accuracy and diſtinction; but expreſſed their conceptions in the moſt vulgar and beſt underſtood language.

2. Becauſe we find that *de facto* the word πιστεύειν is uſed by them (in Scripture I mean) according to this general notion, that is, ſo as to ſignify indifferently all kind of perſuaſion, having regard to the particular ground thereof. *Thomas* would not believe that our Saviour was riſen, except he diſcerned viſible marks, diſtinguiſhing his perſon from others: he did ſo, and then believes: whereupon our Saviour
Joh. 20. 29. ſaith, *Thou believeſt, becauſe thou haſt ſeen; bleſſed are they that have not ſeen,*
Joh. 10. 37. *and yet have believed:* We ſee that faith may be grounded upon ſenſe. And, *If I do not the works of my father* (ſaith our Saviour) *believe me not; but if I do, though you believe not me, believe the works.* Our Saviour requires them not to rely upon his bare teſtimony concerning himſelf, but to conſider rationally the quality of his works; and upon that to ground their faith: which kind of perſuaſion ſeems grounded rather upon principles of reaſon, than any authority. The De-
Jam. 2. 19. vils (St. *James* tells us) do believe *there is one God:* how-ſo? Becauſe they know it by experience, rather than upon any relation or teſtimony given to them. And
Heb. 11. 6. you know, *He that comes to God muſt believe that he is*; that is, muſt be perſuaded of God's exiſtence, by arguments proper to enforce ſuch aſſent. For I argue farther,

3dly, That

3dly, That the belief of the firſt and main Article of this Creed, that *there is a God*, cannot be grounded only upon authority; humane authority cannot alone ſuffice to prove ſo great a point; and divine authority doth pre-ſuppoſe it: for how can we believe that God doth this, or that; that he hath revealed his mind to us; that he teaches us ſo or ſo, before we believe that he is? The belief of the ſubject muſt precede the belief of any attribute or action belonging to it: the belief therefore of God's exiſtence is properly grounded upon other arguments, beſide authority. Yea farther,

4thly, The belief of other main points, not expreſſed indeed, but underſtood and ſuppoſed as the foundation of our believing all the other articles thereof, doth depend upon more than bare authority: As for inſtance, the belief of God's veracity (taken moſt largely, as including his infallible wiſdom, and his perfect ſincerity or fidelity) the truth of God's having actually revealed his mind to us by Jeſus and his Apoſtles; and by all the Prophets before: (or the truth of Chriſtianity itſelf in groſs, as alſo of ancient Judaiſm) the truth of the Holy Scriptures: the validity of general tradition, and common conſent of the Chriſtian Churches inſtructed by the Apoſtles, ſo far as they may conduce to the probation of any of theſe articles: theſe things, I ſay, we muſt be perſuaded of, as grounds of our believing all the other articles, not immediately deducible from principles of reaſon: and yet none of theſe points can properly be grounded upon meer authority: to prove God is veracious becauſe he ſaith ſo; or that revelation in general muſt be truſted from particular revelations, are *petitiones principii*, moſt inconcluſive and ineffectual diſcourſes. Spirits are to be tried, and revelations themſelves are to be examined, before we can upon their word believe any particular doctrine avouched by them: This muſt be performed by uſe of our ſenſes, and of our reaſons; and therefore virtually and mediately the belief of whatever relies upon ſuch foundations, doth depend upon them and not upon bare authority. 1 John. 4. 1. Mat. 7. 15, 16.

5thly, I will add laſtly, that if we conſider the manner how the faith of the firſt Chriſtians was produced, we may perhaps alſo perceive that even their faith was not meerly founded upon authority, but relied partly upon principles of reaſon taking in the aſſiſtance and atteſtation of ſenſe. They that beheld the ſincerity and innocency of our Saviour's converſation; the extraordinary wiſdom and majeſty of his diſcourſes; the excellent goodneſs and holineſs of his doctrine; the incomparably great and glorious power diſcovered in his miraculous works (withal comparing the ancient, prophecies concerning ſuch a perſon to come with the characters and circumſtances of his perſon) were by theſe conſiderations perſuaded, not meerly by his own teſtimony; that our Saviour himſelf did not ſo much inſiſt upon, but rather diſclaimed it, as inſufficient to beget faith: *If I witneſs of my ſelf, my witneſs is not true*, (not true, that is, not credible:) You were not obliged to accept my teſtimony as true, if it were not alſo accompanied with other convincing reaſons: It was by ſuch a ſyllogiſm as this, that believers did then argue themſelves into faith upon our Saviour: He that is ſo qualified (doth ſo live, ſo ſpeak, ſo work; ſo admirably in himſelf, ſo agreeably to prophecies foregoing) his pretences cannot reaſonably be deemed falſe; 'tis juſt that we aſſent to his words. But we plainly ſee and experience *Jeſus* to be ſo qualified (ſo to live, to ſpeak, to do,) therefore 'tis juſt and reaſonable we believe him. This kind of diſcourſe did *de facto*, and of right it ought to produce faith in thoſe, who came under the influence of it: the being convinced by it was the vertue of faith, ſhewing the ingenuity and diſcretion of thoſe ſo wrought upon; and the not being convinced ſo, was the fault for which unbelievers were liable to juſt condemnation. *If I had not come and ſpake to them, they had not had ſin*: and; *If I had not done the works among them, which never any other man did, they had not had ſin*: That is, If my doctrine had not been very good, and my diſcourſe very reaſonable; if my works had not diſcovered abundance of divine grace and power attending them; had not both my words and works been very open and manifeſt to them; they had been excuſable, as having no reaſons cogent enough to perſuade them; but now they deſerve to be condemned for their unreaſonable and perverſe incredulity. And give me leave by the way to obſerve, that by the like ſyllogiſm it is that faith may (and perhaps in duty ſhould) be produced even in us now: The major propoſition is altogether the ſame: A perſon ſo qualified is credible (this is a propoſition of perpetual truth, evident to common ſenſe, ſuch as by all men of reaſon and ingenuity ſhould be admitted: otherwiſe no meſſage from hea- John 15. 22, 24.

ven or teſtimony upon earth could be received.) The minor; Jeſus was a perſon ſo qualified, was indeed evident to the ſenſes of thoſe with whom he converſed (to ſuch as were not blinded with evil prejudice, and willfully diſpoſed to miſtake) and will now appear as true to thoſe, who ſhall with due care conſider the reaſons, by which it may be perſuaded: that it is atteſted by ſo many and in all reſpects ſo credible hiſtories, yet extant and legible by us; confirmed by ſo clear, ſo general, ſo conſtant a tradition; maintained by ſo wonderful circumſtances of providence; in a word, that it is evidenced by ſo many and ſo illuſtrious proofs, that no matter of fact had ever the like, none ever could have greater to aſſure it.

Upon theſe and ſuch like premiſes I embrace the more plain and ſimple notion of the word *Belief*; meaning when I ſay, *I believe*, that I am in my mind fully convinced and perſuaded of the truth of the propoſitions hereafter expreſſed (or implied;) not excluding any objects there contained under any formality (either of being apparent to ſenſe or demonſtrable by reaſon, or credible by any ſort of teſtimony) nor abſtracting from any kind of reaſons, perſuaſive of their truth. I believe there is a God, the Creatour of the World; that he is infallibly wiſe, and perfectly veracious; that he hath revealed his mind and will to mankind; as well for that good reaſon dictates theſe things unto me, as that the beſt authorities avow them. I believe that *Jeſus is the Chriſt and our Lord, and the Son of God*, becauſe the Holy Scriptures do plainly ſo teach, and Apoſtolical tradition thereto conſents: and in like manner of the reſt.

[I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.]

Primus eſt Deorum cultus Deos credere. *Sen. Ep.* 95. Deum colit qui novit. *Ib.*

Ἔοικε γὰρ βάσις ὑφιστῶσα κοινὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν. Plut.

WHat the phraſe *I believe in* doth moſt properly here import, I did endeavour (the laſt time) ſomewhat to explain: I would have deduced ſome corollaries, and added ſome conſiderations preventive of miſtake, and farther explicative of that matter, if my intention hereafter to endeavour greater brevity did permit: but for that cauſe I proceed to the objects of our belief: whereof in the firſt place, as is meet, and in the front, God is placed; the belief of whoſe exiſtence is the foundation of all religion; the ſupport of all virtue; the principal Article in all the Creeds of the World. He that comes to God (whoever applies himſelf to any religious performance) muſt firſt of all be perſuaded, that God is; as the object of his devotion, and the rewarder of his obedience. For the explication of which, we will conſider, 1, What it is that we are to believe. 2dly, Why and upon what grounds we ſhould believe it.

Φαμὲν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ζῶον ἀίδιον ἄριστον. Ariſt. Metaph. XII. 7.

Deus ſummum magnum, & forma & ratione, & vi, & poteſtate, &c. *Tertull. adverſ. Marc. l.* 3.

For the firſt: That in the world there are Beings, imperceptible to our ſenſes, much ſuperior to us in knowledge and power, that can perform works above, and contrary to, the courſe of nature, and concerning themſelves ſometime to do ſo for the intereſts of mankind; for theſe qualifications and performances deſerving extraordinary reſpect from us, hath been a conſtant opinion in all places and times; to which ſort of Beings ſome one general name hath been in all languages aſſigned, anſwering to that of God among us. Of ſuch Beings, that there is one, ſupreme and moſt excellent, imcomparably ſurpaſſing in all thoſe attributes of Wiſdom, and Power, and Goodneſs; from whom the reſt, and all things beſide, have derived their Beings, do depend upon, are ſuſtained and governed by; the author (I ſay) of all Being, and diſpenſer of all Good; to whom conſequently ſupreme love, reverence, and obedience is due; hath been alſo the general ſenſe of the moſt ancient, moſt wiſe, and moſt noble nations among men; to whom therefore in a peculiar and eminent manner the title of *God* (and thoſe which anſwer thereto) is appropriated: ſo that when the word is abſolutely put without any adjunct of limitation or diminution, he only is meant and underſtood: to which ſometimes, for fuller declaration, are added the epithets, of *Optimus*, *Maximus*, *Summus*, *Æternus*, *Omnipotens*, *Dominus*, and the like: the Beſt, the Greateſt, the moſt High, the Eternal, the Almighty, the Soveraign God. Thus, according to the common ſenſe of mankind is the word *God*, underſtood; the notion thereof including eſpecially theſe attributes and perfections of nature: Supreme and incomprehenſible Wiſdom, Power, Goodneſs, being the fountain and author, the upholder and governor of all things. And what is contracted with or is conſequent upon theſe; namely, the moſt excel-

lent

lent manner of being, and of activity, eternity and immortality, independency and immutability, immenſity and omnipreſence, ſpirituality and indiviſibility, inceſſant energy of the moſt excellent life, intuitive underſtanding, abſolute freedom of will, perfect holineſs and purity, juſtice, ſincerity, veracity: as alſo complete happineſs, (ſelf-enjoyment and ſelf-ſufficiency) glorious Majeſty, ſoveraign right of dominion; to which higheſt veneration and entire obedience is due. In ſhort, whatever our mind can conceive of good, excellent, and honourable, that in the moſt tranſcendent degree is, by the conſent of mankind, comprehended in the notion of God, abſolutely taken, or in the laſt ſenſe fore-mentioned.

Neither doth divine Revelation commend any other notion thereof to us, but explains, amplifies, and confirms this; expreſſing more clearly and diſtinctly theſe attributes and perfections; with the manner of their being exerted, eſpecially to our benefit; and determining our duty in relation to them.

Now that really ſuch a Being doth exiſt (that this main principle of Religion is not a meer *poſtulatum*, or precarious ſuppoſition, which we muſt be beholden to any reaſonable man for to grant us,) I ſhall endeavour to prove briefly by three or four arguments, which are indeed of all moſt obvious and ſuitable to every capacity, (for they be not grounded upon metaphyſical ſubtilty, nor need any depth of ſpeculation to apprehend them; common ſenſe and experience will ſuffice to diſcover their force,) and yet of all that have been produced, they ſeem to me moſt forcible. The firſt is drawn from natural effects obſervable by every man; A ſecond, from the common opinions and practices of Mankind from all antiquity; A third, from particular diſcoveries of ſuch a divine power atteſted by hiſtory; A fourth, from every man's particular experience concerning a divine providence. And,

1. I ſay, that natural effects do declare ſuch a Being, incomprehenſibly wiſe, powerful and good, from whence this viſible world did procede, and by which it ſubſiſts and is conſerv'd. That it is true, which the Prophet *Jeremy* ſaith, *That He hath made the Earth by his power, hath eſtabliſhed the World by his wiſdom, and ſtretched out the Heavens by his diſcretion*, Jer. 10. 12. It may be aſſumed for a principle, which common experience ſuggeſts to us; that matter of itſelf doth not run into any order, *&c.* if not now, then not yeſterday, nor from eternity: it muſt therefore by ſome counſel be digeſted. There is not indeed any kind of natural effect, which either ſingly taken, or as it ſtands related to the publick, may not reaſonably be ſuppoſed to contain ſome argument of this truth; we do not indeed diſcern the uſe and tendency of each particular effect; but of many, they are ſo plain and palpable, that we have reaſon to ſuppoſe them of the reſt: Even as of a Perſon, whom we do plainly perceive frequently to act very wiſely, at other times, when we cannot diſcern the drift of his proceeding, we cannot but ſuppoſe that he hath ſome latent reaſon, ſome reach of policy that we are not aware of: Or as in an engine, conſiſting of many parts curiouſly compacted together, whereof we do perceive the general uſe, and apprehend how ſome parts conduce thereto, we have reaſon, although we either do not ſee them all, or cannot comprehend the immediate ſerviceableneſs of each, to think they all are ſome way or other ſubſervient to the artiſts deſigns. Such an agent is God, ſuch an engine is this viſible world: we can often diſcover evident marks of God's wiſdom; ſome general uſes of the world are very diſcernible, and how that many parts thereof do contribute to them, we may eaſily obſerve: and ſeeing the whole is compacted in a decent, and conſtant order, we have reaſon to deem the like of the reſt. Our incapacity to diſcover all doth not argue defect, but exceſs of the maker's wiſdom; not too little in itſelf, but too great perfection in the work, in reſpect of our capacity. The moſt to us obſervable piece of the Univerſe is the Earth, upon which we dwell; which that it was deſigned for the accommodation of living creatures, that are upon it, and principally of man, we cannot be ignorant or doubtful, if we be not ſo negligent or ſtupid, as to let paſs unobſerved thoſe innumerable ſigns and arguments that ſhew it: if we look upon the frame of the animals themſelves, what a number of admirable contrivances in each of them do appear for the ſuſtenance, for the ſafety, for the pleaſure, for the propagation, for grace and ornament, for all imaginable convenience, ſuitable to the kind, and ſtation of each? If we look about them, what variety and abundance of convenient proviſions offer themſelves even to a careleſs view, anſwerable to all their needs, and all their deſires? Wholeſome and pleaſant food to maintain their Life; yea to gratify all their ſenſes; fit ſhelter from offence, and ſafe refuge from dangers: all theſe

things provided in ſufficient plenty and commodiouſly diſpoſed for ſuch a vaſt number of creatures; not the leaſt, moſt ſilly, weak or contemptible creature, but we may ſee ſome care hath been had for its nouriſhment and comfort: what wonderful inſtincts are they endued with for procuring and diſtinguiſhing of their food, for guarding themſelves and their young from Danger? But for man eſpecially, a moſt liberal proviſion hath been made to ſupply all his needs; to pleaſe all his appetites; to exerciſe, with profit and ſatisfaction, all his faculties; to content (I might ſay) his utmoſt curioſity*: All things about him do miniſter (or may do ſo, if he will uſe the natural powers and inſtruments given him) to his preſervation, eaſe, and delight. The bowels of the Earth yield him treaſures of metals and minerals; quarries of ſtone, and coal ſerviceable to him for various uſes. The vileſt and commoneſt ſtones he treadeth upon are not unprofitable, the ſurface of the earth, what variety of delicate fruits, herbs and grains doth it afford to nouriſh our bodies, and cheer our ſpirits, and pleaſe our taſtes, and remedy our diſeaſes? how many fragrant flowers, moſt beautiful and goodly in colour and ſhape, for the comfort of our ſmell and delight of our eyes? neither can our ears complain, ſince every wood hath a quire of natural muſicians to entertain them with their ſprightful melody? Every wood, did I ſay? yes too, the woods adorned with ſtately trees yield pleaſant ſpectacles to our ſight, ſhelter from offences of weather and ſun, fewel for our fires, materials for our buildings (our houſes and ſhipping) and other needful utenſils. Even the barren mountains ſend us down freſh ſtreams of water, ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of our lives, ſo profitable for the fructification of our grounds, ſo commodious for conveyance and maintaining of entercourſe among us. Even the wide Seas themſelves ſerve us many ways: they are commodious for our traffick and commerce: they ſupply the bottles of heaven with water to refreſh the earth: they are inexhauſtible ciſterns, from whence our ſprings and rivers are derived: they yield ſtores of good fiſh, and other conveniencies of life. The very rude and diſorderly winds do us no little ſervice in bruſhing and cleanſing the air for our health; in driving forward our ſhips; in ſcattering and ſpreading about the clouds, thoſe clouds which drop fat-
Pſal. 65. neſs upon our grounds. As for our ſubjects the animals, 'tis not poſſible to reckon the manifold utilities we receive from them: How many ways they ſupply our needs, with pleaſant food and convenient cloathing: how they eaſe our labour; and how they promote even our ſport and recreation. And are we not, not only very ſtupid, but very ungrateful, if we do not diſcern abundance of wiſdom and goodneſs in the contrivance and ordering of all theſe things, ſo as thus to conſpire for
Pſal. 104. 24. our good? Is it not reaſonable, that we devoutly cry out with the Pſalmiſt: *O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wiſdom haſt thou made them all; the earth is full*
Pſal. 145. 15. *of thy riches: ſo is the wide and great Sea*, &c. To ſay this grace with him: *The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon; Thou openeſt thine hand, and ſatisfieſt the deſire of every living thing:* Eſpecially to ſay
Pſal. 8. farther: *Lord, what is man that thou art ſo mindful of him, and the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him: Thou haſt made him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all things under his feet.*

Can any man, endued with common ſenſe, imagine that ſuch a body as any of us doth bear about him, ſo neatly compoſed, fitted to ſo many purpoſes of action; furniſhed with ſo many goodly and proper organs; that eye by which we reach the ſtars, and in a moment have, as it were, all the world preſent to us; that ear by which we ſo ſubtly diſtinguiſh the differences of ſound, are ſenſible of ſo various harmony, have conveyed unto our minds the words and thoughts each of other; that tongue by which we ſo readily imitate thoſe vaſt diverſities of voice and tune, by which we communicate our minds with ſuch eaſe and advantage; that hand by which we perform ſo many admirable works, and which ſerves inſtead of a thouſand inſtruments and weapons unto us; to omit thoſe inward ſprings of motion, life, ſenſe, imagination, memory, paſſion; with ſo ſtupendous curioſity contrived: Can any reaſonable man, I ſay, conceive that ſo rare a piece, conſiſting of ſuch parts, unexpreſſibly various, unconceivably curious, the want of any of which would diſcompoſe or deſtroy us; ſubſervient to ſuch excellent operations, incomparably ſurpaſſing all the works of the moſt exquiſite art, that we could ever obſerve or conceive, be the product of blind chance; ariſe from fortuitous jumblings of matter; be effect-

ed

* Neque enim neceſſitatibus tantummodo noſtris proviſum eſt, uſque in delicias amamur. *Sen. de Benef. IV. 5.* Vide locum optimum.

—— Ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum aliquod nobis conferret. *Ibid.*

ed without exceeding great wiſdom, without moſt deep counſel and deſign? Might not the moſt excellent pieces of humane artifice, the faireſt ſtructures, the fineſt pictures, the moſt uſeful engines, ſuch as we are wont ſo much to admire and praiſe, much more eaſily happen to be without any skill or contrivance? If we cannot allow theſe rude and groſs imitations of nature to come of themſelves, but will preſently, ſo ſoon as we ſee them, acknowledge them the products of art, though we know not the artiſt, nor did ſee him work; how much more reaſonable is it that we believe the works of nature, ſo much more fine and accurate, to proceed from the like cauſe, though inviſible to us, and performing its workmanſhip by a ſecret hand? I am ſure, the moſt diligent contemplatours of nature, and thoſe of the moſt incredulous temper, and freeſt from any prejudice favourable to religion, have not been able to deny, that abundance of counſel and wiſdom diſcovers itſelf in the works of nature: *Ariſtotle* (whom no man ſurely takes for ſuperſtitious or partial to the intereſts of religion) hath a whole chapter in his Phyſicks to prove that nature works with deſign and for an end: and otherwhere he affirms, ἡ φύσις ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖ: Nature doeth all things for ſome end: Yea farther: Μᾶλλον δ' ὅτι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα, καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆ φύσεως ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῆς τέχνης: Tending to an end, and endeavouring what is beſt is more obſervable in the works of nature, than in thoſe of art: This he ſpeaketh in his books *de partibus Animalium*, the conſideration of which extorted this confeſſion from him; and if nature works ſo much for an End, there muſt be an underſtanding that intends it, and orders fit means for attaining it. *Galen* is obſerved in ſome places of his Writings to ſpeak ſomewhat irreligiouſly, yet in his Books *de Uſu partium*, he cannot forbear admiring the wiſdom, that ſhines forth in the ſtructure of our bodies, breaking forth ſometimes into hymns of praiſe and thankfulneſs to him that made it. The like expreſſions hath *Cardan*, ſuch another not overdevout Philoſopher; and even our own Countryman Mr. *Hobbs*; how little a friend he otherwiſe ſeems to religion, and how ready ſoever to deride thoſe that by reaſon endeavour to prove *there is a God*; yet being overcome by the evidence of the thing, hath ſomewhere let fall theſe words: *Itaque* (ſaith he) *ad ſenſus procedo: ſatis habens ſi hujuſmodi res attigero tantùm, plenius autem tractandas aliis reliquero, qui ſi machinas omnes tum generationis tum nutritionis ſatis perſpexerint, nec tamen eas à mente aliqua conditas, ordinatáſque ad ſua quaſque officia viderint, ipſi profectò ſine mente eſſe cenſendi ſunt.*

Archimedem arbitrantur plus valuiſſe in imitandis ſphæræ converſionibus, quàm naturam in efficiendis, &c. Pag. 86.

Si ergò meliora ſunt ea, quæ natura, quàm illa quæ arte perfecta ſunt, nec ars efficit quicquam ſine ratione: ne natura quidem rationis expers eſt habenda. *Cic. de Nat. D. II. p.* 86. Quod ſi mundum efficere poteſt concurſus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur urbem non poteſt, quæ ſunt minùs operoſa, & multo quidem faciliora? *Ib.* 89.

2 Phyſ. cap. 3.

De part. Animal. II.

Ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἀλόγως, οὐδὲ μάτην ποιεῖ: de cœlo, II. 11.

Οὐδὲν οὕτω καλῶν εἰκῇ οὐδὲ ἔτυχε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος τέχνης δημιουργούσης. Plut. de placitis, ph. I. 6.

Cujus (naturæ) ſolertiam nulla ars, nulla manus, nemo opifex conſequi poſſit imitando, *Cic. de N. D. p.* 83.

De Homine, cap. 1.

Neither doth the force of this argument ſubſiſt here, but, as we intimated, the correſpondence and relation of outward things to our needs, appetites and capacities doth mightily confirm it: if we had organs of nutrition and nothing to feed them; ſenſes and nothing to prove or pleaſe them; hands and feet without means or cauſe to uſe them, we might have ſome reaſon to think theſe things made cauſeleſly and vainly; but it is, we ſee, altogether otherwiſe; all things are accommodated for us, ſo that we could not wiſh, or conceive better. Which to them, who will not perverſely dote, cannot but argue not a wiſdom only, but an exceeding benignity, careful and tender of our good.

Quis hunc hominem dixerit, qui cùm tam certos cœli motus, tam ratos aſtrorum ordines, támque inter ſe connexa & apta viderit, neget in his ullam ineſſe rationem, eáque caſu fieri dicat, quæ quanto conſilio gerantur, nullo conſilio aſſequi poſſumus? *Cic.* 2. *De Nat. D. p.* 90. *Who will call him a man, &c.* εἰ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην τὸ βέλτιστον. Αὐτε γὰρ ἥλιος, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀέρων ἢ ὑπογείων φορᾶς ἐνεχθέντα, ὅμοια μὲν ἀπετέλει τοῖς χρώμασιν, ἴσα δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ κατὰ τόπους καὶ κατὰ χρόνους τοὺς αὐτούς. Plut. de Plac. Phil. I. 6.

Thus much the moſt common and obvious effects of nature here below, within us and about us, do ſignifie to us: thus (as St. *Paul* preached) *God hath not left himſelf unatteſted*, doing good, ſending us from heaven rains, and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts with food and gladneſs: Nor do the heavens leſs declare the glory of God, and the firmament his handy-work; He that ſhall conſider with what regularity, and what conſtancy, thoſe vaſt bodies perform their rapid motions; what pleaſure, comfort and advantage their goodly light doth yield us, how neceſſary and profitable to us the viciſſitudes of time and recourſes of ſeaſons

οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν. Act. 14. 17.

An cum machinatione quâdam motum cœli admirabili cum celeritate moveri, verſique videamus, conſtantiſſimè conficientem viciſſitudines anniverſarias cum ſumma ſalute, & conſervatione rerum omnium, dubitamus quin ea non ſolùm ratione fiant, ſed etiam excellenti quâdam divinâque ratione? *Cic. II. de N. D.* 90.

veri aliquid videmus, ut ſphæram, ut foras, ut alia permulta, non dubitamus quin illa opera ſint rationis; cùm autem

are,

Quid poteſt eſſe tam apertum, támque perſpicuum, cùm cœlum ſuſpeximus, cœleſtiáque contemplati ſumus, quàm aliquod eſſe numen præſtantiſſimæ mentis, quo hæc regantur? *Id. p.* 53.

are, which they make; how their influences conduce to the general welfare and preſervation of things even here below, cannot but wonder, and wondering adore that beneficent wiſdom, and power, that hath diſpoſed and ſtill preſerves them in ſuch order? Could they without a wiſe hand, by a caſual running together of Atoms, or whatever ſenſleſs matter, be ſo ordered, as for ſix thouſand years together to perſiſt in the ſame places, and retain the ſame periods of time, in their motion, without any ſenſible alteration? he that can think it, may think any thing, and it were in vain to endeavour to confute him: how much more reaſonable is that Heathen Philoſopher, who thus ſpeaks: *Eſſe præſtantem aliquam, æternámque naturam & eam ſuſpiciendam, adorandámque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordóque rerum cœleſtium cogit confiteri.*

Cic. 2. de Divin. Quòd ſi omnes mundi partes ità conſtituæ ſunt, ut neque ad uſum meliores potuerint eſſe, neque ad ſpeciem pulchriores, &c. 2. *de N. D. p.* 85. Καλὸν τοίχιλμα τέχνον & σοφῦ. Eurip. de mundo, apud Plut. de plac. I. 6.

But this argument is infinite and inexhauſtible; as full and pregnant as is the world of creatures; each of which is a wonder, and proclaims the incomprehenſible wiſdom, power, and goodneſs of its Maker to us: We cannot without ſtopping our eyes exclude that light of divine glory which fills and illuſtrates the world; without ſtopping our ears we cannot but hear that univerſal ſhout (that real harmony of the ſpheres) which all creatures in heaven and earth conſent in utterance to his praiſe. Every Star in heaven, every beaſt upon earth, every plant, every mineral, yea every ſtone; ſome in a language very loud and expreſs proclaim, others in a more ſtill and low (yet to an attentive ear ſufficiently audible, and ſignificant) ſtrain do ſpeak thoſe moſt glorious properties of God: *There is no ſpeech or language, where their voice is not heard; their accent is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world*, as the Pſalmiſt ſings. The τὸ γνωϛὸν τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) the cognoſcibility of God is manifeſt in and by them: and the inviſible things of God, even his eternal power and divinity are perceived by obſerving the makes or conſtitutions of the creatures in the world; as St. *Paul*'s words may be rendred, with which I conclude this argument.

Vid. Tertull. adv. Marc. I. 13.

Quocunque te flexeris, ibi i'lum videbis occurrentem tibi, &c. *Senec. Benef. IV.* 8.

Pſal. 19.

Rom. 1.

2dly, That *there is a God*, is proved by the general conſent of mankind concerning it; by that *teſtimonium* (as *Lactantius* ſpeaks) *populorum atque gentium in una hâc re non diſſidentium*; that unanimous teſtimony of all people and nations not diſagreeing in this only point. If the authority of ſome particular men, agreeing in vote, of one city, of one nation doth paſs for an argument, and ſhews the thing probable, how can we decline or contemn the common ſuffrage of mankind? He had need have a very clear and ſtrong reaſon for it, who will dare to diſſent from all the world. Hear *Seneca* thus diſcourſing: *Multum dare ſolemus præſumptioni omnium hominum; apud nos veritatis argumentum eſt, aliquid omnibus videri; tanquam Deos eſſe ſic colligimus, quòd omnibus de Diis opinio inſita eſt; nec ulla gens uſquam eſt adeò extra leges moréſque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat: Cùm de animarum æternitate diſſerimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet conſenſus hominum, aut timentium inferos, aut colentium.* That is: We are wont to attribute much to what all men preſume; 'tis an argument with us of truth, that any thing ſeems true to all: as that there be Gods, we hence collect, that all men have implanted in them an opinion concerning the Gods; neither is there any nation ſo deſtitute of laws or manners, that it doth not believe there be ſome Gods.

Lact. I. 2.

Epiſt. 117.

Vid. Gr. de V. R. p. 37. De Jure B. ac P. II. 20. 45.

In like manner *Cicero: Itaque inter omnes omnium gentium ſententia conſtat: omnibus enim innatum eſt, & in animo quaſi inſculptum, eſſe Deos: quales ſint varium eſt, eſſe nemo negat:* It is therefore an opinion manifeſt among all men of all nations, and as it were engraven in their minds, that there be Gods: how qualified they are, there is a difference; that they are, none denies.

De Nat. D. II. p. 57. vid. p. 53.

Even *Nelleius*, the Epicurean, in his diſputation againſt Creation and Providence; yet acknowledges there are Gods, being compelled, as he ſaith, by this argument: *Cùm enim non inſtituto aliquo, aut more, aut lege ſit opinio conſtituta, maneátque ad unum omnium firme conſentio, intelligi neceſſe eſt eſſe Deos, quoniam inſitas eorum, vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus. De quo autem omnium natura conſentit, id verum eſſe neceſſe eſt; eſſe igitur Deos confitendum eſt, &c.* For ſince (ſaith he) not by any inſtitution or cuſtom, or law this opinion is eſtabliſhed, and among all (not excepting one) a firm conſent doth abide; it is neceſſary there ſhould be Gods; becauſe we have implanted, or rather in-bred opinions of them: But about whatever thing all men naturally agree, that muſt needs be true; therefore we muſt confeſs there be Gods.

I. de N. D. p. 22.

Vid. Tuſcul. Q. I. p. 299.

Ariſtotle

Ariſtotle: Πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες τὸν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θείου τόπον ἀποδιδόασι καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ ἕλληνες: That is, All men have an opinion concerning the Gods, and all men (both *Barbarians* and *Greeks*) do aſſign to the divinity, the higheſt place in the world, (*viz.* they believe his habitation to be in heaven.) De cœlo, I. 3.

The Author of the book *de Mundo* (attributed to *Ariſtotle*, and dedicated to *Alexander* the Great) ἀρχαῖός μέν ἔν τις λόγος καὶ πάτριος ἐστι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκεν. There is then indeed a certain ancient ſaying, and familiar to all men, *That from God all things, and by God all things ſubſiſt unto us.* Cap. 6.

I alledge theſe authorities, ſelected from many others producible to the ſame purpoſe, from the wiſeſt Heathens (that is, from witneſſes in this cauſe moſt impartial and unſuſpected,) not only to ſtrengthen the Argument, but to evidence the matter of fact, upon which it is grounded; to whoſe teſtimony all hiſtories both ancient and modern do conſent.

Nor doth the force of this diſcourſe rely meerly upon the authority of mankind, thus conſenting in opinion, (though that, as I ſaid, is not contemptible) but upon a much more ſolid foundation: and that is upon the manner of this opinion its being produced in men and propagated. That men ſhould ſo conſpire, muſt neceſſarily proceed either from that ſuch an opinion was put into them by nature (by way of natural notion or inſtinct; as the firſt moſt evident principles of ſcience, and the moſt powerful inſtincts (after what is good) are ſuppoſed innate) at leaſt a very near diſpoſition to entertain and embrace it; or that ſome very manifeſt and prevalent reaſon (obvious to all, even the moſt rude and barbarous) did beget this agreement in them; or that it was derived from ſome common tradition, ſome one common fountain of inſtruction to them: be it which of theſe ways it will, that this opinion became ſo univerſally inſtilled into men's minds, the argument carries great weight and validity: if nature either plainly forces men, or ſtrongly inclines them to this perſuaſion; 'tis a vain extravagancy to oppoſe it; but if it came (as moſt probably to my ſeeming it did) from primitive tradition, it argues mankind to have proceeded from one ſtock; from ſome one or few men at firſt gathered together; of whoſe original who could be more credible witneſſes than themſelves? if they did teſtify and teach their poſterity, that they came from God, why ſhould we diſbelieve them? eſpecially ſeeing whence elſe ſhould they come; who ſhould form their bodies; who ſhould infuſe their reaſons; who ſhould inſtil this very notion into them, we cannot well imagine: of themſelves they could not be (what ſuch thing as a man did we ever obſerve, or can we conceive to ſpring up of it ſelf?) nor is there any other cauſe here, to which (without great fondneſs) we can attribute their original. 'Tis true, that orignal tradition did by degrees over the world (by the Devil's malice and man's infirmity or wickedneſs) degenerate into many ſhapes of Polytheiſm and Idolatry: but ſo was Judaiſm depraved by the Scribes; and Chriſtianity it ſelf hath been much debaſed by a long courſe of bad times; yet who doubts but they both derived from one pure inſtruction (that of *Moſes*, and this of Chriſt, our Lord?) It is very obſervable what *Ariſtotle* hath concerning this matter, being ſpoken with ſo much judgment: It was delivered by our anceſtors (ſaith he) and the ancients, being left in a fabulous dreſs to poſterity; that theſe are Gods, and that a divinity contains all nature: but other things concerning religion were fictitiouſly ſuperinduced; for the inveagling of the vulgar, and for accommodation of laws and the publick utility. Hence they ſpeak of them as of having humane ſhape, or being like to other animals; and other things ſuitable to theſe, and agreeable to what is ſpoken: of which things, if we making a ſeparation, take only what was firſt delivered, that they thought the Gods the firſt ſubſtances, he may ſuppoſe it divinely ſpoken: ſeeing it is probable, every art and philoſophy being invented, (as things would bear) and afterward decayed, that ſuch opinions as reliques ſhould be preſerved even until now. The opinion of our Fathers, and that which was derived from the firſt man, is therefore only thus far manifeſt unto us: So *Ariſtotle* expreſly. Vid. Plat. Tim. pag. 1053. ἀδύνατον θεῶν πάσιν δι' πίστεων, &c. Metaph. XII. 8.

To confirm which diſcourſe, (and to prevent farther objections againſt it) we may conſider, that (however perhaps among ſome very barbarous nations this tradition may have been almoſt worn out by time, and men's ſtupid negligence) yet the moſt ancient hiſtories (that of *Moſes* eſpecially, the far moſt ancient of all, and in this matter to no man incredible) do atteſt that this opinion was moſt univerſal, running

running in a moſt ſtrong and clear current, among the Eaſtern people, the *Chaldæans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*; who that they were moſt ancient people, from whom the reſt were propagated, the multitude of people, the antiquity of dominion, the uſe of letters, the riſe of arts, the greater progreſs in all kind of civil culture (all which things argue longer continuance in one place and ſtate) do plainly enough ſhew; whoſe conſent therefore doth involve that of all men beſide; and confirms this general opinion to ariſe from the clear ſpring of our firſt Parents inſtruction. I might add the ſame manner of worſhipping God (by invocation, by conſulting him in way of oracle, by conſecrating temples and altars, by vows and dedications, by ſacrifices and oblations) which likewiſe men did anciently agree in, doth alſo argue that all religion did proceed from one ſimple original inſtitution, or inſtruction common to all mankind. But I cannot inſiſt upon and purſue every particularity.

Vid. Cic. de Nat. p. 54.

A third argument of God's exiſtence is from the diſcoveries of a divine power, in works that cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe viſible or natural: Such are the prediction and preſignification of future events (eſpecially ſuch as are contingent and depend upon man's free choice;) curing the ſick of great chronical diſtempers without any medicinal applications; reſtoring limbs to perſons maimed; ſight to the blind; and raiſing the dead to life (a thing which * *Pliny* deems impoſſible to God himſelf:) theſe and ſuch like things all men will confeſs do ſurpaſs the power of any natural agent to effect, and are performable only by a Cauſe, whoſe power exceeds our comprehenſion: Now that ſuch effects have been performed, we cannot deny without belying the moſt credible records of hiſtory that are extant; without accuſing all ages not only of extreme folly and weak credulity, but of notorious forgery and impoſture; without derogating from the common credit of mankind, and rendring all teſtimony, that can be yielded to matter of fact, ineffectual and inſignificant, *Vetus opinio eſt* (ſaith *Tully* concerning prediction of future events) *jam uſque ab heroicis ducta temporibus, eáque & populi Romani, & omnium gentium firmata conſenſu, verſari quandam inter homines divinationem, quàm Græci μαντικὴν appellant, id eſt præſentionem, & ſcientiam rerum futurarum:* There is an ancient opinion until now drawn even from the heroical times (that is, from utmoſt antiquity) that there is among men a certain divination, which the *Greeks* call *prophecy* (or *inſpiration*) that is, a preſention and knowledge of future things: of which even the heathen ſtory doth afford many inſtances, but the holy Scriptures moſt evident and eminent ones: ſuch as that to *Abraham*, concerning his children's ſojourning and being afflicted four hundred years in *Egypt*: of the Prophet (ſome hundred years before) concerning *Joſias*; of *Iſaiah* concerning *Cyrus*; of *Jeremy* concerning the duration of the Captivity; of *Daniel* concerning the revolutions of Empire in the world; wherein the atchievements of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſours are ſo expreſly deſcribed: And for miraculous works; although all nations have had ſo many of them performed among them, as to beget a common opinion, that God did frequently interpoſe ſo as to alter the courſe of nature; yet the holy Scriptures do moſt fully teſtify concerning them, in great number, performed for the confirmation of divine truth, and diſcovery of God's will to men; for the relief and encouragement of Good; the diſcouragement and chaſtiſement of Bad-men; which are the proper cauſes in all reaſon, why they ſhould be performed: and why that teſtimony ſhould not be received, there can no good reaſon be aſſigned; why it ſhould, there is very great reaſon; upon which I did formerly touch, and cannot now ſtand to enlarge thereupon: and indeed, God's pateHeb. 1. faction of himſelf to mankind (his ſpeaking to the fathers in many ways, and laſtly to all the world by his Son, ſent on purpoſe from heaven to reveal his Deſigns of mercy and favour to mankind) accompanied with ſo many prodigious miracles, and ſo many glorious circumſtances of providence, viſible to all the world, and ſo accommodated as in the firſt place to beget this belief in us, is an argument that cannot but in all honeſt and well-diſpoſed minds obtain effect. To this head belong thoſe opinions, and teſtimonies of mankind, concerning apparitions, of which the ancient World (their Poets and Hiſtorians) ſpake ſo much, all which probably could not be deviſed without Ground concerning the power of enchantment, to which

*Ne Deum quidem poſſe omnia: námque nec ſibi poteſt mortem conſciſcere quod homini dedit optimum in tantis vitæ pœnis; nec mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos. Lib. II. cap. 7.

1. De divin. init.

De Nat. II. pag. 54.

Gen. 15. 13.
1 Kings 13. 2.
Iſai. 44. & 45.
Jer. 25. 12. 29. 10.
Dan. 8. 21.

That the prediction of future events did belong only to the ſupreme God, even the Heathens ſeemed to know and acknowledge. The wiſe Poet, Æn. 3.

Accipite ergo animis, atque hæc mea figite dicta,
Quid Phœbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phœbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.

Serv. Notandum Apollinem quæ dicit à Jove cognoſcere.

which ſome inviſible power muſt co-operate: concerning conjuration, witchery, all entercourſe and confederacy with bad ſpirits; which he that ſuppoſes to be all meer deluſion, muſt ſomewhat over-rudely and immodeſtly ſuſpect the world of exceeding vanity and credulity; many worthy hiſtorians of inconſiderateneſs, *&c.* moſt law-makers of great raſhneſs and folly; moſt judicatories of indiſcretion or cruelty; and too great a number of witneſſes of extreme malice or madneſs: the truth and reality of which things being admitted, inferring the exiſtence of inviſible powers, (though inferiour ones) doth by conſequence inferr (at leaſt conferr much to) the belief of the divine exiſtence, removing the chief obſtacles of incredulity. But I cannot farther inſiſt upon this point. *Preſignification by dreams.* Vid. Grot. de Ver. I. 18. Tert. de An. 46.

4. The laſt argument I mentioned, was divine providence: which being of two ſorts (general, in the government of mankind, particular, in God's dealing with each ſingle perſon) although to him that will carefully attend and reflect upon it (that, to uſe the Pſalmiſt and the prophet's language, will *regard the work of the Lord, and conſider the operation of his hands*,) even the general providence doth afford no ſmall evidences of his exiſtence; (he that ſhall obſerve the ſtrange detections of miſchief, both that which is deſigned, and that which hath been committed: the reſtraints, diſappointments, and exemplary puniſhments of oppreſſion and injuſtice, and all wickedneſs (when it grows outragious and exorbitant) the ſupports, encouragements and ſeaſonable vindications (often by unexpected means) of innocence and goodneſs; the maintenance of ſuch rules and orders in the world, that notwithſtanding the irregularity and violence of men's paſſions, they commonly ſhift to live tolerably in peace and ſafety; the ſo many poor, weak and helpleſs people (among ſo many crafty, malicious, and greedy ones) being competently provided for; the reparations of good manners and piety being decayed and overborn by power and ill cuſtom; theſe, I ſay, and other ſuch occurrences in the world, he that ſhall conſider wiſely, may diſcern the hand of a wiſe and good Providence watching over humane affairs;) but yet ſeeing commonly the reaſons of God's proceedings with men here are various, myſterious, and ſecret; not to be diſtinctly apprehended by us, (who for example can certainly and eaſily diſtinguiſh between God's merciful patience toward bad men, and his gracious recompencing the good; between his juſt vengeance of one, and his paternal correction of the other; between his reclaiming one from vice by either adverſe or proſperous accidents, and his exerciſing the others virtue by the like;) and becauſe God's governance hath not its complete iſſue here (this being not the only, nor the chief place of reward or puniſhment; (therefore we cannot now with ſo clear evidence demonſtrate the divine attributes from general providence; but are here forced by perverſe antagoniſts to be ſometime on the defenſive; being ſufficiently able in this point to defend our ſelves, but not ſo able hence to convince ſuch ſturdy adverſaries: it is only the children of wiſdom here, that will juſtifie her: therefore I wave that plea: But for particular Providence, I dare appeal to moſt men, eſpecially to thoſe, who have ever had any fear of God or ſenſe of goodneſs; if ſometime or other in their lives, they have not in their needs (eſpecially upon their addreſſes to God) found help and comfort conveyed unto them, by an indiſcernible hand; if they have not, ſometimes in an unaccountable manner, eſcaped grievous dangers: if they have not experienced, in performance of their duty and devotion toward God, a comfort extraordinary; if they cannot apply that of the Pſalmiſt to ſome events of their life: *This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his troubles: The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them: O taſte and ſee that the Lord is good! O taſte and ſee*: If God's goodneſs may be felt and ſeen by us, then is our own experience an argument of his exiſtence: which indeed it is to all good men; (for whoſe comfort and confirmation I mention it;) though it is not likely to have much influence upon thoſe that have driven God's preſence out of their ſouls; except they have ſo much ingenuity as to believe others teſtimony, who aſſert this great truth to them from their own inward conſcience and experience. Ariſtotle de Gener. Iſa. 5 12. Pſal. 28. 5. Vid. Gr. de Ver. 63, &c. *This is a place where God permits men to act much according to their freedom, not interpoſing but upon great reaſon, and they have here γνωμα. κελεύσεως*, Chryſ. Pſal. 34. 6, 7, 8. *Indeed this opinion being not fixed ſteddily in men's perſuaſion, there can be no ſteady bottom of virtuous practice: no, nor to a wiſe man any comfortable life: τί μοι ζωὴ ἀνοσίῳ κἀνοσίοις, ἢ πεφυκότας κἀνω ſaith that noble Emperor nobly: τί γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκαίρου συγκεῖσθαι καὶ σύρμῳ τοιούτῳ ἐνδιαπλέκεσθαι. to live in ſuch a blind confuſion, &c. II. 2. VI. 10.*

I have inſiſted too long upon this ſubject, it being ſo rich and copious that I could not eaſily get out of it; nor can I much repent thereof, it being of ſo great conſequence throughly to be perſuaded of this Point: the deeper and more ſtrongly this

foundation is laid, the more ſtable will the ſuperſtructure of religious practice be thereupon; and I fear moſt of that coldneſs and imperfection which appears therein, doth ariſe chiefly from the weakneſs of our faith in this very Article.

1. I ſhall only farther obſerve one or two particulars: firſt, that the preceding arguments as they do moſt immediately evince thoſe three principal attributes of God, his incomprehenſible wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, ſo in conjunction with (or conſequence from) them, they do declare thoſe his other attributes (which are ingredients alſo of that notion, which in the beginning of this diſcourſe I deſcribed) namely, the eternity, and indefectibility of his exiſtence; his immenſe omni-preſence; his ſpirituality: as alſo his juſtice and veracity; his rightful ſovereignty of dominion, and the like, (for I cannot proſecute all the divine perfections, according to that multiplicity of diſtinction which our conceit and expreſſion doth make of them:) If God made all things he could not receive being from another (and he who made this world, what reaſon can we have to ſuppoſe him from another?) nor can any thing receive being of it ſelf; nor from meer nothing of it ſelf ſpring up into being: therefore the Maker of the World is eternal: ſomething muſt be eternal, otherwiſe nothing could be at all; other things ſhew themſelves to have proceeded from the wiſdom and goodneſs of one; that one therefore is eternal; and ſo all nations conſent; and ſo Revelation declares: that he is immortal and immutable, doth as plainly follow: for not depending for his being on any thing belonging to it, neither can he depend for his continuance or conſervation: having ſuperiour power to all things, as having conferred to all whatever of power they have, nothing can make any prevalent impreſſion upon him, ſo as to deſtroy or alter any thing in him: From his making and from his upholding; and from his governing all things, it follows that he was and is every where: where his power is, there his hand muſt be: for nothing can act upon what is diſtant; every action with effect requires a Conjunction of the agent and patient: That he doth penetrate all things with his preſence and power, operating inſenſibly and imperceptibly, doth argue the ſpirituality of his being; and that he doth not conſiſt of ſuch matter, as all the things we feel and perceive do: His over-reaching wiſdom argues him incapable of being deceived; and his over-bearing power ſhews that he doth not need to deceive; and his tranſcendent goodneſs proves him unwilling to deceive or injure any: from whence is conſequent his perfect veracity and juſtice. The excellency of his nature; the eminency of his wiſdom and power; the exceſs of his goodneſs; and his having firſt given being, and then preſerving it to all things, do declare his rightful title to ſupreme dominion; and accordingly that all love, eſteem, worſhip and obedience is due to him; according to that devout acknowledgement of the bleſſed Elders in the Apocalypſe: *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive the glory, and the honour, and the power* (or authority) *becauſe thou haſt made all things; and for thy will they are, and were created.*

Ψευδηγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται σῶμα τὸ θεὸν — Æſch. Prom.

Apoc. 4. 11.

I might add, that the conſtitution of our own ſouls doth ſhew and confirm divers of God's attributes: It is not reaſonable to think that our Maker made us to admire other qualities than ſuch as are in him: Therefore ſince we love and eſteem and admire goodneſs, mercifulneſs, *&c.* and diſlike the oppoſites; therefore God is in the higheſt degree good and gracious, *&c.*

I obſerve ſecondly, that in this article the Unity of God is implied, (the Authors of the Creed thought it ſufficiently ſignified by the ſingular number;) the which in other ancient Creeds was expreſſed: *Orientis Eccleſiæ omnes ità tradunt* (ſaith *Ruffin*) *Credo in unum Deum patrem Omnipotentem.* All the Churches of the *Eaſt* thus expreſs it: *I believe in one God, the Father, Almighty.* So in *Irenæus* his Creed it runs: *Eccleſia quaqua per univerſum orbem terrarum uſque ad fines terræ diſperſa ab Apoſtolis & ipſorum diſcipulis fidem accepit, quæ eſt in unum Deum omnipotentem, qui fecit cœlum, & terram, & maria, & omnia quæ in eis ſunt, &c.*

And in all *Tertullian* his forms: * *Regula quidem fidei una omnino eſt, ſolâ immobilis & irreformabilis, credendi ſcilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem.*

* De velandis virginibus.

De præſcript. *Regulą fidei; quâ creditur unum omnino Deum eſſe, nec alium præter mundi conditorem:* And in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* his form, 'tis likewiſe expreſſed, as alſo in the *Nicene* Creed afterwards: And this is a main point of our Belief, diſtinguiſhing us from Pagans and Idolaters; who aſcribed the incommunicable attributes of the one God, and imparted the religious veneration due only to him, unto falſe Deities, invented

invented by themſelves, or ſuggeſted by bad Spirits; thereby greatly wronging God and themſelves; robbing him of his due honour, and themſelves of that protection and aid, which God is ready to impart to them, who faithfully ſerve, and humbly invoke him.

Now this truth the precedent arguments do alſo manifeſtly enough infer: The uniformity, concord, and perfect harmony which appears in the conſtitution and conſervation of things; their conſpiring to one end, their continuing in the ſame order and courſe, do plainly ſhew it: even as the laſting peace of a Common-wealth (compoſed of different perſons and humours) argues one law, that regulates and contains them; and the orderly march of an army ſhews it managed by one conduct; and the uniformity of a houſe, or of a city, declares it contrived by one architect.

And thereto alſo the common ſuffrage of mankind doth in a manner agree: For that there was one ſupreme God, the author, and governour of the reſt, (and of all other things) tranſcending in power and wiſdom and all kind of perfection, was evidently the common opinion; whom therefore we ſee the Poets do ſtyle, *the Father of Gods and Men; the King of the Gods,* ὕψιστος, μέγιστος, κράτιστος; *The Higheſt, Greateſt, moſt excellent God.* Vid. Tertull. adv. Marc. I. 10. denique major popularitas generis humani, &c.

Even the vulgar had this conceit; but the wiſeſt of them had more clear and full apprehenſions of this Unity: and commonly they ſpeak of God, but as of one, whom he calls πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν: So *Plato* refers the making of the World to one: and *Ariſtotle*, when he hath occaſion to ſpeak of God, doth uſually ſpeak in the ſingular number; and ſo do other Philoſophers; and ſometime expreſly they ſignifie their opinion to be, that *there is but one*: There are many popular Gods, but one natural, *Antiſthenes* ſaid in *Tully*: εἷς ὢν πολυώνυμος ἐστι (ſaith the Author *de Mundo.*) Being one in reality, he hath many names, according to the ſeveral affections he diſcovers and the operations he exerts; whom *Seneca* thus conſents to: *Quoties voles tibi licet aliter hunc auctorem rerum noſtrarum compellare: Tot appellationes ejus eſſe poſſunt, quot munera; Hunc & liberum patrem, & Herculem ac Mercurium noſtri putant; ſic hanc naturam voca, fatum, fortunam; Omnia ejuſdem Dei nomina ſunt variè utentis ſuâ poteſtate.* Vid. Hug. Grot. de jure B. ac P. lib. 1. cap. 20. ſect. 45. De ver. Rel. Chr. p. 37. Max. Tyr. I. Cic. 1. de N. D. Ariſt. de Mundo, cap. 7. Sen. de Benef. IV. 7. Vid. Lactant. Vid. Sophoclis dictum apud Grot. excerpt. pag. 149. εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν θεὸς, &c. Not.

But divine Revelation doth moſt fully declare this truth: I need not mention places; the whole Scripture doth chiefly teach and inculcate it; That there is but one Maker and one Governour of the World; to whom all veneration and obedience is due: and to whom be all honour, and glory, and worſhip for ever aſcribed and payed, *&c. Amen.*

Marſil. Fic. arg. 10. *deleg.* Sed nè turbet quæſo Deorum numerus quem non turbat numerus angelorum. Nihil enim plus apud Platonem tot poſſunt Dii, quàm apud nos tot angeli, tòque beati.

It was anciently objected by *Celſus* and other adverſaries of our Religion, that Chriſtianity did exact of men a blind, groundleſs belief; that it condemn'd humane wiſdom, baniſh'd underſtanding, and prohibited all inquiry; commanding Men to ſwallow its dictates without any previous examination or debate concerning the truth of them; impoſing νόμους ἀναποδείκτους, laws uncapable of proof, and inculcating this rule, μὴ ἐξέταζε, ἀλλὰ μόνον πίστευε. Do not examine, but only believe. Ψιλὴν καὶ ἀλογον πίστιν. Orig. 1.

The ground of this accuſation ſeems to be a great miſtake, proceeding from the not diſtinguiſhing that belief, whereby we embrace Chriſtianity it ſelf in general and in groſs; and the belief, whereby we aſſent to the particular doctrines thereof, (eſpecially ſuch as concern matters ſupernatual, and above the reach of our underſtanding to find out or comprehend.)

And as for the firſt, that faith, whereby we embrace Chriſtianity in the groſs; I ſay, that Chriſtianity doth not propound it ſelf as immediately evident; nor requires a precipitate aſſent to it; but offers blind reaſon for it ſelf, and invites men to inquire, conſider, and judge about its truth: Never any Religion was ſo little liable to this cenſure; none ever ſo freely expoſed it ſelf to a fair trial at the bar of reaſon: it deſires of men an εὐγνώμων ἐξέτασις, a candid and diſcreet examination for its ſake and their own: Other Religions have for their juſtification inſiſted upon the example of anceſtors, and cuſtom of times; their large extent and prevalence among many people; their eſtabliſhment by civil laws, and the countenance of ſecular power; (arguments extrinſick to the matter, and very weak in themſelves) declining all other teſt or trial of reaſon: and it is remarkable, how *Celſus* and thoſe (who made the foreſaid objection) did therein contradict themſelves, when they affirm men ought, without ſcruple, to conform to the Religion preſcribed by the laws of their Country, Orig. V. pag. 248, &c.

be they what they will; never ſo abſurd or diſhoneſt: This is indeed an exacting of irrational belief; a ſtifling of our underſtandings and muzling our judgments; a requiring of men to yield their conſent to innumerable moſt palpable falſhoods and inconſiſtences. The teachers and defenders of Chriſtianity proceeded otherwiſe; confiding in the truth and reaſonableneſs of their cauſe, they excited men to lay aſide all unreaſonable prejudices; to uſe their beſt underſtandings; to apply themſelves to
Lib. II. cap. 7. an induſtrious and impartial ſearch of the truth: Hear *Lactantius* ſpeaking for the reſt: *Oportet in ea re maximè, in qua vitæ ratio verſatur, ſibi quémque confidere, ſuóque judicio ac propriis ſenſibus niti ad inveſtigandam, & perpendendam veritatem, quàm credentem alienis erroribus decipi tanquam ipſum rationis expertem: Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione ſapientiam, ut & inaudita inveſtigare poſſent; & audita perpendere:* That is; We ought eſpecially, every one of us, in that matter, which chiefly concerns our life, to confide in our ſelves; and rather with our own judgment and our proper ſenſes ſtrive to find out and weigh the truth, than believeing other men's errours, to be deceived as men void of reaſon: God hath given all men their ſhare of wiſdom, that they might both inquire into what they hear, and weigh it: ſo he diſputing againſt the heathen credulity.

Thus doth Chriſtianity call upon men to inquire into its ſelf; yea it obliges them thereto: it propounds faith as a virtue highly commendable (ſuppoſing it therefore voluntary and managed with reaſon) for all virtue is ἕξις προαιρετικὴ μετ' ἀληθοῦς λόγου, 'tis ἑκούσιος συγκατάθεσις, a voluntary aſſent, promiſing ample rewards thereto; and infidelity it propounds as a vice very blameable (and conſequently very irrational) threatning very ſevere puniſhments thereto: it doth not inveagle men by ſlight, nor compel them by force; but fairly perſuades them to embrace it: it doth not therefore avoid examination, nor diſclaim the uſe of good reaſon; but ſeeks and procures the one; cheerfully and confidently appeals to the other.

Indeed after it hath convinced men of its truth in general; having evidenced the truth and certainty of its fundamental principles, it then requires a full and cordial conſent (without exception) to all its particular doctrines grounded upon them: when (I ſay) it hath propounded ſufficient reaſon to ſatisfy men's minds, that it is grounded upon moſt ſolid principles, it then requires men to ſurceaſe farther doubt or ſcruple concerning what it teaches: which is a moſt reaſonable proceeding, and conformable to the method uſed in the ſtricteſt ſciences: for the principles of any ſcience being either demonſtrated out of ſome higher ſcience, or evidenced by fit examples and experiments to common ſenſe, and being thence admitted, 'tis afterwards unlawful and abſurd to refuſe the concluſions deduced from them: ſo it having been proved that our principles are true; (*viz.* that God is perfectly veracious; and that Chriſtian Religion did proceed from him, and is built upon his atteſtation;) 'tis a part of abſurd levity and ſelf-contradiction then to queſtion any particular propoſition evidently contained therein, and in this ſenſe it is true (and thus I take thoſe Chriſtians
*Vid. Orig. pag. 9. to be underſtood * who commend immediate faith, and exclude reaſon from being too buſie in matters of religion, and diſcountenance curious inquiry:) thus I ſay it is true, that Chriſtianity engages us to believe, without reaſon or diſpute. It will allow (yea it invites, and exhorts) an infidel to conſider and judge of its truth; but it will not allow a Chriſtian to be ſo vain and inconſtant, as to queſtion any particular of its doctrine; by doing ſo he renounces his faith, at leaſt ceaſes to be a ſteady Chriſtian.

Now the firſt principle of Chriſtianity (common thereto and all other religions) is, That *there is one God:* the next (which alſo no Religion doth not acknowledge) that God is perfectly veracious; or, that whatever appears to be aſſerted or atteſted to by God is certainly true: which two principles we have already proved by reaſons proper and ſufficient (we conceive) to ſatisfy any well-diſpoſed mind. A third principle is, that God is the Author of the Chriſtian doctrine in general; that it hath been revealed and impoſed upon mankind by divine authority. And a fourth is, that thoſe authorities and traditions upon which we ground and by which we prove (mediately or immediately) the particular doctrines of Chriſtianity to be truely ſuch (that is, admitting the former principle, to have come from God) are proper and ſufficient to that purpoſe. Theſe two latter principles involving matter of fact and conſequently being not evident in themſelves, do (for a full conviction of a man's mind and producing therein a ſolid perſuaſion) require a rational probation; and that it may appear we believe like reaſonable men, not upon wilful reſolution, or by meer chance

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(as Pagans and Mahometans, and other ignorant opinioniſts do) as alſo to confirm the grounds upon which the ſubſequent articles or doctrines of faith are built, I ſhall endeavour briefly to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of them; beginning with the firſt; and advancing my diſcourſe by ſeveral ſteps or degrees. And, I obſerve that,

1. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that God ſhould ſometime reveal unto men the truth concerning himſelf, and concerning them, as they ſtand related toward him; (his nature and will; our ſtate and duty.) His prime attributes perſuade thus much. It is moſt evident to common experience, that mankind, being left to it ſelf (in matters of this nature eſpecially) is very inſufficient to direct it ſelf; it is apt to lie under a woful ignorance; to be poſſeſſed with vain conceit; to wander in doubt; and fall into errour; 'tis ſubject to all kind of deluſion, which either the malice of wicked ſpirits, or the ſubtilty of naughty men, or the wildneſs of its own unruly paſſions and deſires can bring it under; and conſequently 'tis liable to incurr all thoſe ſins (diſhonourable, hurtful, and deſtructive to its nature) and all thoſe miſeries, which from ignorance, errour, and ſin do naturally ſpring; (an eſtrangement eſpecially from God, and his grievous diſpleaſure) we ſee that not only the generality of mankind did ſometime lie in this ſad condition, but that even the moſt elevated and refined Wits, thoſe among men, who by all poſſible improvement of their reaſon did endeavour to raiſe and reſcue themſelves from the common ignorance, miſtakes, ſuperſtitions and follies of the world, could by no means, in any good meaſure attain their end: what did their diligent ſtudies and inquiries produce but diſſatisfaction and perplexity of mind? wherein did their eager diſputations conclude, but in irreconcilable differences of opinion, and greater uncertainty, than at firſt? moſt were plung'd into a deſperate Scepticiſm; (a doubt and diffidence of all things;) none arrived higher, than ſome faint conjectures, or ſome unſteady opinions, concerning thoſe matters of higheſt conſequence: ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς: they were (as St. *Paul* obſerved) made vain (were fruſtrated and befooled) in their reaſonings, and their fooliſh heart was darkned, *&c.* The world by wiſdom did not know God: could not attain to a requiſite meaſure of knowledge in divine things. This being the natural ſtate of men, deſtitute of divine help and direction, doth it not (I pray) greatly need another light to guide it in this darkneſs; a helpful hand to relieve it from theſe inconveniences? Can then that infinite goodneſs hear mankind groan under ſo lamentable oppreſſions, and not pity it? Can he behold his own dear off-ſpring, the flower of his creation, lying in ſo comfortleſs, ſo remedileſs a diſtreſs, without affording ſome relief? Can ſuch a ſpectacle delight that gracious eye? or can he forbear long to remove it out of his ſight? his goodneſs makes it highly improbable that he ſhould: We account it great want of goodneſs not to direct a bewildred traveller; not to relieve, if we can, a perſon greatly diſtreſſed? and if we, being bad, often perform ſuch good offices to one another; how much more ready ſhould we think him, that is goodneſs it ſelf, to do the like, for all mankind, ſo much needing it? His wiſdom alſo gives us to ſuppoſe the ſame: If God made the world to expreſs his goodneſs, and manifeſt his glory; is it likely, he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be utterly fruſtrated in his deſign by letting men continue in ignorance and doubt concerning who it was that made it and how he governs it? who but men can admire his excellent perfections, and render him his due honour; and how can they do it, without competent knowledge, and full perſuaſion concerning him? Doth not God expect duty and ſervice from men? would he not have the world proceed in ſome good order? doth he not deſire the good of men, and delight in their happineſs? And then being infinitely wiſe, muſt he not diſpoſe fit means for accompliſhing theſe ends? will he not provide, that himſelf be not totally diſappointed? So his wiſdom grounds an argument for divine revelation: He had made an inward faculty of ſeeing in vain, if he had not given an outward light, *&c.* God's juſtice alſo doth in ſome manner perſuade the ſame: Doth not every good Governour take care that his ſubjects ſhould underſtand his pleaſure and be acquainted with his laws? doth he not propound fit encouragements to obedience; and deter them from diſobedience by menacing puniſhment? and the ſoveraign Governour and Judge of the World can he fail ſufficiently to declare his will? will he leave any apology for diſobedience? ſhall he neglect any means apt to promote his ſubjects performance of their duty, fit to prevent the breach of his laws? If he loves righteouſneſs, and deſires to be duly obeyed, and delights in his ſubjects good; he will ſurely diſcover his mind, and encourage men to comply with it; and terrify them from oppoſing it.

Rom. 1. 21. Eph. 4. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 21.

Indeed

Indeed that God ſhould for a while connive at mens ignorance, and ſuffer them to grope after truth (as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it in the 14 and 17 of the *Acts*) to try them, as he did the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, how they would behave themſelves, in the uſing their talent of natural light; to make them ſenſible of their natural infirmity; more ready to embrace, more able to value the redreſs vouchſafed them; to commend his extraordinary grace and mercy to them; that for ſuch purpoſes, unſearchable wholly by our ſhallow underſtanding, he ſhould, I ſay, for ſome time forbear with a full evidence to declare all his mind, is not ſo ſtrange or unlikely. I might add, that it is not likely God ſhould ſuffer the World (his Kingdom) perpetually to lie under the uſurpation and tyranny of the Devil (καταδυναστευομενους υπο του διαβολου, Acts 10. 38.) That his imperial throne ſhould be poſſeſſed; his authority uſurped; his name inſulted and triumphed over as it were by that arch-rebel, and capital enemy of his; but that he ſhould for ever ſuffer men to abide in ſuch depth of ignorance, ſuch perplexity of doubt, ſuch captivity under ſin, and miſery, ſeems not probable; and much leſs, can it ſeem improbable that he hath done it: it cannot, I ſay, ſeem misbecoming the goodneſs, wiſdom, or juſtice of God, that he ſhould ſhew them clearly, what he requires of them to do; what good he intends for them: what way leads to their happineſs; and how they ſhould avoid miſery. This conſideration, though it doth not fully prove God hath made ſuch revelation (for we cannot reach the utmoſt of poſſibilities, nor are judges of what God muſt needs do) yet it removes all obſtruction to our belief, and diſpoſes us to admit the following reaſons: it being not unprobable, yea in the reaſon of the thing very probable, he ſhould do it; we cannot wonder, and have leſs reaſon to diſtruſt thoſe arguments, by which it may appear that he hath done it.

Acts 17. 27. 30. 14. 16.

Vid. diſcurſum Quintii Ciceronis in I. de divin.

2dly, We may conſider, that no other religion, that hath been, or now is, could (or can) with any probability pretend thus to have proceeded from God, or by him to have been deſigned for the general, complete and perpetual inſtruction and obligation of mankind. There have been but three pretenſions thereto: that of Paganiſm, of Mahometaniſm, and of Judaiſm; let us a little examine each of them.

As for Paganiſm, it was never one ſimple, or certain; one fixed or conſtant thing; but according to difference of place and time infinitely various and mutable: diverſly ſhaped and modelled according to fancy and humour, deſign or intereſt of the ſtate that allowed it, the prieſts that managed it, or the people that received it; a plain ſign that (excepting ſome general confuſed notions, derived from ancient tradition) it did wholly proceed from humane device, or ſome worſe cauſe: ſurvey it all, and what ſhall you find but a company of idle, ridiculous, ill-contrived, incredible and inconſiſtent ſtories, arguing nothing of truth, and little of wit in them that invented them; theſe attended by practices moſt fond, lewd and cruel, unworthy of humane nature, contrary to common ſenſe and honeſty. Their worſhip directed to objects moſt improper: to the ſouls of dead men (men famous for nothing ſo much as the vicious enormities of their lives, bloudy cruelties, thefts and rapines; murders and parricides; horrid luſts, adulteries, rapes and inceſts; and ſuch perſons, alive or dead, what good or wiſe man would not rather deteſt and abominate, than reſpect or worſhip!) To brute beaſts; and them the moſt vile and miſchievous (Dogs, Serpents, Crocodiles) which to pay devotion unto, what a debaſement is it of humane nature? To creatures inanimate; the ſtars and elements; rivers, trees, *&c.* which we ſee acting by a natural neceſſity; yielding no ſignification of any life, ſenſe, or underſtanding in them, and conſequently much inferior to us in dignity of nature; which therefore 'tis a ſottiſh baſeneſs in us to adore; yea, which is yet an extremer degree (if it may be) of folly, they dedicated temples, and offered ſacrifices to things void of all ſubſiſtence; to meer qualities and accidents of things; the paſſions of our minds, and the diſeaſes of our body, and accidents of our lives: who would think men ſhould be ſo mad as to reckon impudence (that odious vice) or a fever (that tormenting diſeaſe) or fortune (that which we can ſo little truſt, and ſo oft complain of) among things venerable? and from ſuch thorns, what fruits of good life and morality can we hope ſhould ſpring? what piety towards God, what juſtice, truth, or goodneſs towards men, what ſobriety or purity in men themſelves can we expect ſhould ariſe from ſuch conceits, and ſuch practices in Religion? none other, than ſuch as St. *Paul* deſcribes in the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and in the ſecond of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*; which hiſtory and experience ſhew to have been no ſlanderous imputations upon Gentiliſm. But 'tis needleſs to diſcourſe againſt

againſt that, which I ſuppoſe hath no reaſonable Patron; and which hardly any wiſeman, when it was practiſed, did ſeriouſly think had any truth or reality in it: *Plato* often inveighs againſt the inventors of thoſe fictions in heathen Theology: *Ariſtotle* attributes the conſtitution of thoſe Religions to the policy of law-givers: there was no Philoſopher, who did not ſignifie his diſlike or contempt of the vulgar opinions; that is, of their Religion. What *Tully* ſaith of one part, the wiſer ſort of men did judge of all: *Tota res eſt inventa fallaciis aut ad quæſtum, aut ad ſuperſtitionem, aut ad errorem:* The whole buſineſs was deceitfully forged either for gain, or out of ſuperſtition, or from miſtake. Ariſt. Metaph. XII. 8. Example Cic. de div. II. pag. 240. Tuſc. Qu. I. p. 301. De Div. II. P. 245.

They did in their external carriage comply with common practice, out of politick diſcretion; for their ſafety, and for peace-ſake: but in their mind they believed nothing, nor liked any thing in it: they obſerved the common things, *tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata* (as commanded by the laws, not as acceptable to the Gods) as *Seneca* ſpeaks. Vid. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, lib. IV. 33. VI. 10.

I might add, that all theſe Religions did vaniſh with the countenance of authority and power that ſuſtained them; which ſhews they had no root in the hearty belief or approbation of thoſe that profeſſed them. 'Tis therefore plain that this Religion did not proceed from God; but either from humane device, or diabolical ſuggeſtion.

As for Mahometaniſm, a Sect in later times ſprung up and vaſtly ſpread about the World; neither can that fairly pretend to a divine original: In times of great diſturbance and confuſion in the World (when even among Chriſtians, ignorance and diſſention, ſuperſtition and viciouſneſs of manners had hugely prevailed) in a very blind corner of the earth, among a crew of barbarous thieves and wild runnagates (ſuch have thoſe *Arabians* been always famed to be) this Sect did firſt ariſe; being accommodated to the genius of ſuch people, and infuſed into them, partly by jugling pretences to wonder-working and prophecy, partly by ſeditious violence; by a perſon not, as their own legends deſcribe him, of any honourable qualities; but having all the characters of an Impoſtor, (rebellious and perfidious; inhumane and cruel; lewd and laſcivious;) propagated it was afterwards by rage and terrour of arms, and grew wholly among barbarous people, void of learning and civility; having no religion before, and therefore (as all mankind is naturally receptive of religious impreſſions) capable to admit any, eſpecially ſuch an one as this, agreeable to their ſavage humours and luſts: It ſubſiſts upon the ſame grounds of ignorance and force, refuſing all examination, and upon extreme penalties prohibiting any diſpute, or controverſy about its truth; being ſo far wiſe, as conſcious to it ſelf, that the letting in a little light, and a moderate liberty of diſcuſſing its pretences, would eaſily overthrow it. Even theſe exteriour circumſtances of its riſe, growth, and continuance, (ſo full of iniquity and inhumanity) are great preſumptions againſt its divinity, or rather plainly demonſtrate, that it did not proceed from God; whoſe truth cannot need ſuch courſes, whoſe goodneſs abhors them: And if we look into it, we ſhall find it to be a lump of abſurd opinions, odd ſtories, and uncouth ceremonies, compounded chiefly of the dregs of Chriſtian hereſies, with ſome ingredients of Judaiſm and Paganiſm, confuſedly jumbled and tempered together: From Chriſtian hereſies it hath its negative doctrines, oppoſite to Chriſtianity; for allowing Chriſt much reſpect, it yet denies his being the Son of God; and his having really ſuffered; it rejects his true ſtory, and affixes falſe ones upon him; that God hath a body and a humane ſhape, (*Mahomet* felt his hand forſooth, and it was very cold,) an opinion ſo unreaſonable and misbeſeeming God, he might draw from the *Anthropomorphites*; and from the *Manichees* that doctrine concerning the fatal determination of all events; a doctrine ſo prejudicial to Religion, taking away thoſe foundations of juſtice between God and Man; Man's free choice in ſerving God, and God's free diſpoſal of rewards to men, ſuitable to their actions. The Jew contributed his ceremonies of circumciſion, and purgations by waſhing; his abſtinence from Swine's-fleſh; his allowance of Polygamy and Divorce. I might add, that from him it borrowed its inhumane condemning, deſpiſing, and hating all the world; calling all men dogs (beſide themſelves) and abjuring all to certain damnation; affirming withall, that all of their belief, how wickedly ſoever they have lived, ſhall at length partake of ſalvation. The Pagan Elyſium might be a pattern, whence their paradiſe of corporeal delight, and bruiſh ſenſuality might be tranſcribed; which any man ſees how poor an encouragement it is, how unworthy a reward to virtue; yea, how

much

much it rather detracts from and diſcourages all performances of honeſty and reaſon. He muſt be very ſtupid, who can ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe conceits did come from the God of Holineſs and Wiſdom. And how *Mahomet* was inſpired with truth, his ſtories alone would evince; ſtories patched out of old hiſtories corrupted, mutilated, and tranſplaced, interlarded with fabulous legends; contrary to all probable records of Hiſtory (the perſons, places, times, and all circumſtances of which it moſt unskilfully confounds,) yea repugnant to the nature of things, and to all imaginable poſſibility; Evident arguments both of an ignorant and impudent impoſtor: He that will lye or blunder about matters of fact, who can truſt him in matters of right and reaſon? All which (if time would permit and it were worth the while) might by manifold inſtances be ſhewed. I might add its multitude of filly ceremonies grounded on no reaſonable deſign, nor ſubſervient to any purpoſe of virtue. But what is ſaid doth enough declare this Religion to be of no divine extraction.

Vid. Pſ. 78. 5. 76. 1. Deut. 4. 7, &c. As for ancient Judaiſm; that it has no ſuch revelation as that we require, and did in the former concluſion aſſert, (nor has any probability to expect an univerſal, complete, ſtanding revelation) upon many ſcores may appear. It is from the tenour thereof evident, that it was deſigned only for one ſmall nation, poſſeſſing a very inconſiderable portion of the earth; purpoſely diſtinguiſhed and as it were concealed from the reſt of mankind; and in effect ſo remaining for many ages (until the *Roman* Conqueſts open'd the World and diſcover'd them) in a ſolitary obſcurity; ſo that the moſt inquiſitive ſurveyours of the earth and ſearchers into the cuſtoms of people (*Herodotus* for inſtance and others) could not diſcern them, did take no notice of them; though for their peculiar manners otherwiſe moſt remarkable. *He ſhewed* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *his word unto Jacob, his ſtatutes and judgments unto Iſrael*: He hath not dealt ſo with any nation: and as for his judgments, they have not known them. *I the Lord am Holy, and have ſevered you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine* (ſaith God to the Jews, *Levit.* 20. 26.) and, *So ſhall we be ſeperated* (ſaith *Moſes* in his addreſs to God, *Exod.* 33.) *So ſhall we be ſeparated, I, and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth. Thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord hath choſen thee to be a ſpecial people unto himſelf, above all people that are upon the face of the earth:* And for this very purpoſe (of diſtinction and ſeparation) many of their laws were appointed: *I am the Lord your God which have ſeparated you from other people; Ye ſhall therefore put difference between clean beaſts and unclean,* &c. We ſee the laws of that Religion particularly directed to that people, *Hear, O Iſrael,* being the uſual compellation, ſet in the head of them: and, *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,* is the introduction to the very Decalogue it ſelf; the encouragements alſo to and diſcouragements from obedience do peculiarly appertain to them; a long and proſperous enjoyment of the land of *Canaan,* if they did obey; and, diſpoſſeſſion or affliction therein, if they ſhould preſume to diſobey: *You ſhall walk in all the ways, which the Lord your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye poſſeſs.* Such were the promiſes, exciting to obedience; and the threatnings to diſobedience ſuitable; as every-where in their law and ſtory is viſible.

Pſal. 14. 19. Exod. 33. 16. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2. Levit. 20. 24, 25. Deut. 4. 1. 5. 1. 6. 3. &c. Exod. 20. Deut. 5. 33. vid. Deut. 6. 3, &c.

This revelation therefore cannot be deemed general, ſuch as we argued in reaſon might be expected from him, who (as the Pſalmiſt ſings) *is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works:* who *hath made of one blood* πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, *the whole nation of mankind* (as St. *Paul* in the *Acts* expreſſeth it) who (as St. *Peter* there implies) *is no reſpecter of perſons,* or of nations: *who is the maker and Saviour of all men,* (and, as the *Wiſeman* tells us) *careth for all alike*: being deſirous that *all men ſhould be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth:* not willing *that any ſhould periſh, but that all men ſhould come to repentance.* Who is not φιλεβραίος only, or φιλέλλην (a lover of *Jews* only or *Greeks*) but φιλάνθρωπος, a lover of men, and φιλόψυχος, a lover of ſouls; who, laſtly, *is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles alſo*: as not our Prophets and Apoſtles only tell us, but the reaſon of the thing and the voice of nature doth declare.

Pſal. 145. 9. Acts 17. 26. Acts 10. 34. 1 Tim. 4. 10. 2. 4. Wiſd. 6. 7. 11. 23 &c. 2 Pet. 3. 9. Tit. 3. 4. Sap. 11. 26. vid. Ezek. 18. Rom. 3. 29. οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. Plat. Theat.

And as this revelation was particular, ſo was it alſo partial; as God did not by it ſpeak his mind to all, ſo neither did he in it ſpeak out all his mind. Surveying this Religion, may we not eaſily deſcry a great redundance in the circumſtantial and exteriour parts; a great defect in the ſubſtantials and inwards thereof? Ritual inſtitu-

tions

tions innumerable we ſee, nicely deſcribed, and ſtrongly preſſed; moral precepts more ſparingly delivered, not ſo clearly explained, nor ſo fully urged by rational inducements: Obſervation of times, and places; diſtinction of meats, and habits; corporal cleanſings and purgations; modalities of outward ſervice in ſacrifices and oblations, thoſe δικαιώματα σαρκὸς (*Heb.* 9. 9, 10.) juſtifications of the fleſh, that could not perfect the obſerver's conſcience, (or mind or inward man;) touch not, taſte not, handle not, moſt largely and with extream punctuality, ſome of them under heavy penalties (exciſion and extermination) injoined; while moral duties, and ſpiritual devotions (ſo exceedingly more agreeable to rational nature, and more pleaſing to God) ſeem not ſo perfectly provided for. Many things are tacitly connived at, or plainly permitted to them, (as Polygamy, Divorce, ſome kind of revenge and uncharitableneſs;) which even natural reaſon diſlikes, or condemns: God's placability, and aptneſs to forgive great ſins, wilfully and preſumptuouſly committed, (ſuch as no man lives altogether free from,) not openly revealed, but rather the contrary expreſſed, (*Curſed is he that abides not in all things written in this law to do them:*) which excludes all aſſurance, and diſcourages from hope of mercy; and conſequently obſtructs repentance and amendment of life. And where do we ſee any clear diſcovery concerning the immortality of the Soul, or the future ſtate, ſo material a point of Religion, of ſo great moment to encourage virtue and piety? Even the gentile Theology ſeems more expreſs in this point, than the *Jewiſh* law; and the Pagan prieſts (by help of ancient tradition) ſeem to have reached farther than the Hebrew prophets: God indeed ſeems to have ſhewed only his back-parts to *Moſes*; when he diſcovered no more of his nature, and his pleaſure to him; when he ſeems to delight in, and lay ſo much ſtreſs upon thoſe carnal and ceremonious performances. Neither do we herein charge God: for he did herein but what wiſdom required: The laws and inſtitutions of this Religion were ſurely accommodated to the ſtate, and diſpoſition, and capacity of that people; people not very wiſe or conſiderate; grave or conſtant; meek or flexible; but a very ſtubborn, froward, humorous generation of men, as their own writings deſcribe them; and therefore not capable of perfect inſtruction, or rigorous precepts; like children, by reaſon of the groſsneſs of their apprehenſion, and unrulineſs of paſſion, not οἰκεῖοι ἀκροαταὶ (no proper auditors) of a pure and accurate diſcipline; and as with ſuch God in his wiſdom and tender goodneſs ſeems to have dealt with them; diſpenſing with the infirmities of their age, and condeſcending to their mean capacities; feeding them with milk, and indulging them innocent trifles; and ſo tempering his ordinances given unto them, as might beſt ſerve partly to pleaſe and humour them, partly to curb and reſtrain them: whence St. *Paul* calls them *poor and weak elements*, and *elements of the world*, (ſuch as vulgar and ſilly people were fit to learn) adapted to the learning and practiſing of *children; the law being a School-maſter to keep them in order and prepare them for a higher inſtruction. Such variety of ſuperficial formalities might well agree to childiſh fancies, and content ſlaviſh ſpirits; but to men improved in reaſon, who could reliſh ſpiritual entertainments, they muſt needs ſeem burthenſome and tedious: Wiſe-men cannot be much affected with pomps and ſolemnities. In the practice of virtue and piety there are alluring ſweetneſſes and beauties, which it muſt needs diſpleaſe him, that is ſenſible of them, to be avoked from, by an obligation to attend preciſely to ſuch an abundance of outward ſapleſs obſervances; to be bound to chew ſuch huſks, neglecting ſo delicious a kernel, cannot but be irkſome and grievous: they are therefore ſtyled well in the new teſtament an intolerable *yoke and burthen* (*Acts* 15. 10, 28.) and to be freed of them is a very valuable privilege, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for us, *Gal.* 5. 1. 'Tis true, by degrees God imparted farther manifeſtations of light even to that people, by the examples and inſtructions of holy men and prophets ſent among them, in a manner and upon occaſions extraordinary: Holy men by their practice ſhewed that the rigour of the law might in ſome caſes be relaxed and diſpenſed with; that a more ſpiritual ſervice was acceptable to God; that he loved a purer devotion, and a higher charity, than the law required. And the Prophets often declared, that God did not ſo much delight in ceremonious obſervances; but chiefly did require hearty piety, perfect juſtice and tender charity; accompanied with meekneſs and patience, temperance and ſobriety. By them alſo God diſcovered more of his gracious diſpoſition and merciful intentions; that he could pardon the greateſt ſins, and was reconcilable to the moſt heinous offenders, upon ſincere repentance and amendment of life. But theſe arbitrary and ex-

Deut. 27. 26. Gal. 3. 10.

vid. Ezek. 20. 25.

Vid. Orig. adv. Celſ. lib. 3. Gr. V. 6.

Gal. 4. 9. 4. 3. 3. 24. * Νήπιοι.

Remiſſion of ſins not clearly diſcovered under the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, a fundamental point of Religion.

traordinary diſpenſations of farther light and inſtruction to the Jews do confirm our purpoſe, ſhewing that God did not primarily intend the Jewiſh law for a complete diſcovery of his mind; having reſerved ſo much to be diſcovered in fit opportunity, argues, that more ſtill might be behind; as indeed we ſee that future life and immor-
Heb. 8. 6. tality was not even by the prophets quite brought to light; that better covenant, eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes, was not yet revealed.

Yea this Religion, as it was not univerſal, and complete, ſo neither was it immu-
Deut. 18. 15. table and perpetual: It ſelf tells us, that God hereafter would raiſe another Prophet (for extraordinarineſs and eminency like to *Moſes*) which ſhould have words by God put into his mouth, (new words ſurely, new revelations from God) whom
Jer. 31. 31. they particularly ſhould be obliged to hear and obey: That *the days ſhould come, when the Lord would make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael*, different from that which he made with their fathers after their delivery from *Egypt*; not to be written upon ſtones, but impreſſed upon men's hearts: concerning which we may
Heb. 8. 7, 13. ſay with the Author to the *Hebrews*: *If the firſt had been* ἄμεμπτος, *faultleſs* and *perfect; there would have no place been found for the ſecond:* And, *by ſpeaking of a new one, he antiquated the old one.*

That another Prieſthood ſhould infallibly be eſtabliſhed, not after the order of
Pſal. 110. 4. *Aaron*, but *after the order of Melchiſedeck*; (not to offer carnal ſacrifices, but to impart ſpiritual benedictions.)

Iſa. 66. 18, 21. That time ſhould be, when God would *gather all nations and tongues; and they*
Vid Jer. 3. 16. *ſhould come and ſee his glory*; and out of them God would *take* (that which the Moſaical conſtitution would not permit) *of them for Prieſts and for Levites.*

That there ſhould be a *Sion*, a Mountain ſeated above all Mountains, wherein
Pſal. 132. 13. God would place his perpetual reſidence, (his ſeat of worſhip and government) to
Mic. 4. 1, 2. &c. which all nations ſhould flow, to learn God's will and walk in his ways. Which
Joel 2. 28. 3. 26. could not be *Jeruſalem*, which is long ſince deſolated; and which, if ſtanding, could be no convenient reſort for all the world; 'tis another ſpiritual *Sion*, a myſtical Rock is ſurely propheſied of.

Iſai. 65. 17. That God will *create a new heaven and a new earth*; (a wholly new World and
66. 22. ſtate of things) *ſo that the former ſhould not be remembred, nor come into mind.*

Joel 2. 28. That God would pour his ſpirit of prophecy upon all fleſh (though the prophe-
Hab. 2. 14. tical ſpirit hath long deſerted the Jewiſh nation:) that *the earth ſhall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea.* (Judaiſm cannot be this knowledge, which was never likely to fill the earth.) That *from the ri-*
Mal. 1. 11. *ſing of the Sun, to the going down of the ſame, God's Name ſhall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto his Name, and a pure offering.* (In every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto God, not only at *Hieruſalem*, to which the Jewiſh ſervice was confined.) For that a time was determined to finiſh
Dan. 9. 24. tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſins, to make reconciliation for iniquity and introduce everlaſting righteouſneſs, to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy; and to anoint the moſt Holy: that is, in fine, that God would ſend the Meſſias, to enlighten the World with a perfect inſtruction; revealing God's will, and declaring his mercy to mankind; to erect an univerſal ſpiritual Kingdom over men's hearts, reducing them to the knowledge and obedience of God: theſe things (to which I might add divers more) ſufficiently ſhew that the Moſaical diſpenſation was but temporal and change-
Heb. 7. 18. able: and that that was intended by God to be done, which the Author of the *Hebrews* affirms done by Chriſt: An abrogation is made of the precedent command, for
Διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές. its weakneſs and unprofitableneſs, (its unprofitableneſs to the purpoſes of bringing men to ſuch a ſpiritual ſanctity, which would pleaſe God; which is another conſideration, that ſhews the imperfection of the Jewiſh Religion. If Judaiſm could not diſpoſe men to any tolerable degree of piety and righteouſneſs acceptable to God
Rom. 3. Gal. 3, &c. (that which St. *Paul* ſo largely proves in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*,) if it alſo tenders no favour or pardon to thoſe, which had tranſgreſſed the law and offended God, (which he alſo there and other-where ſhews,) it was neceſſary that either all men ſhould lie under a deſperate ſlavery to ſin and guilt, or that God ſhould diſcover another way of righteouſneſs and mercy to be obtained.

That the Chriſtian doctrine did proceed from God, is a principle, upon which our faith of all particular articles in our Creed doth rely; the truth and reaſonableneſs of which I began to ſhew, proceeding by ſome ſteps; whereof the firſt was, The probability that God ſhould reveal ſuch a doctrine for the benefit and direction of mankind:

kind. The ſecond, That no other religion can pretend to ſuch a revelation: theſe aſſertions do well prepare our way to a third (which now we proceed to) that I might farther conſider how unſuitable the Jewiſh Religion was to the common nature and genius of mankind; and therefore unapt to prevail upon men's minds: *Judæorum mos abſurdus, ſordidúſque*, (the Jewiſh way of religion is uncouth and ſordid) was *Tacitus* his cenſure, but it agreed to the general conceit of men about it, at that time when it began to be commonly known and obſerved; and a religion ſo little plauſible or probable (ſo apt to be diſliked and deſpiſed) it is not likely that God would commend to the generality of mankind. But I will not farther inſiſt upon this argument; but proceed to aſſert, Hiſt. V. 4.

3dly, That the Chriſtian doctrine is in all reſpects ſuch, as might become God to be the Author of; worthy his wiſdom and goodneſs to reveal and impoſe upon mankind. We cannot imagine a better, more clearly true, more full and exact: more ſatisfactory to our minds and to our wants: We have therein the nature and will of God plainly declared, ſo far as it is fit and uſeful for us to know them; together with our relations to him, and all the ſtate of our own ſouls. An exact rule of life preſcribed to us, with all fit helps, and proper encouragements to the performance of our duty; The way of obtaining all the happineſs we are capable of, and avoiding all miſery clearly ſet before us, all the darkneſs removed, the doubts reſolved, the miſtakes corrected, with which mankind, in thoſe matters of higheſt concernment, hath been hitherto diſturbed and diſtracted. It aſſigns, I ſay, a true and lively character of God; true, becauſe worthy of him; agreeable to whatever reaſon dictates, and the works of nature ſhew concerning him; aſcribing all conceivable perfections to him in the higheſt degree, and aſſerting all his due rights, and prerogatives; Omniſcient wiſdom, and Almighty power; Infinite benignity and beneficency towards his creatures; Supreme majeſty and authority over all; Having made all things with eſpecial regard to man: and upholding them with the ſame gracious reſpect; and governing them with a particular care and providence; ſearching all the thoughts, and ordering all the actions of men to a general (and ultimate) good end: This is the firſt excellency of our Religion, which is great both as to the object and influence thereof. The ignorance of God's nature, or miſconceptions about him, what miſchief and what ſuperſtitions do they not produce in the worſhip of God? Chriſtian Religion repreſents him in his eſſence One, perfectly ſimple, ſpiritual, omnipreſent, eternal, impaſſible and immutable; ſelf-ſufficient and infinitely happy: in his interiour diſpoſition of will and in all his purpoſes abſolutely free, pure and holy; juſt, faithful and conſtant: in all his dealings with rational creatures, as very careful and tender of their good; exceedingly gracious and merciful toward them; ſo in no wiſe fond or indulgent, but impartially juſt and ſevere againſt all iniquity, obſtinately purſued and perſiſted in; moſt amiable in his goodneſs, moſt terrible in his juſtice, moſt glorious and venerable in all his proceedings: it repreſents him compaſſionate of our evils: placable for our offences; acceſſible and inclinable to help us in our needs. Thus, but with advantage beyond what I can expreſs, it deſcribes God to us, mixing nothing unworthy or miſ-becoming him (as other religions and doctrines may be obſerved to do) adding nothing repugnant to what natural light diſcerns or approves, but ſhewing ſomething beſide and beyond what it can diſcover; concerning his incomprehenſible nature and manner of ſubſiſtence; his unſearchable counſels of wiſdom; his admirable ways of providence; whereby he hath deſigned to commend his goodneſs and glorifie his juſtice to us: which kind of truths (exceeding the reach of humane invention and capacity) as it becomes God (ſo far tranſcending us in wiſdom and knowledge) to reveal them, ſo they ſo wonderfully ſuiting to the perfections of God otherwiſe diſcernable by us, do argue the divinity of the doctrine that acquaints us with them. That God ſhould ſend his ſon out of his boſom to partake our nature, and appear in our fleſh; to manifeſt his will unto us; to ſet before us an exact pattern of holy life (the moſt difficult parts eſpecially thereof, humility and patience) by his obedience and ſuffering to expiate our ſin and reconcile God to mankind, is a myſtery indeed and depth of goodneſs, which our reaſon cannot fathom, which we can better admire than underſtand; but neither can any reaſon contradict or diſprove it; nothing can be incredible to us concerning that immenſe goodneſs; whoſe common care of us even in matters of ordinary providence is ſo wonderful and unaccountable that the conſideration thereof made *Job* and the *Pſalmiſt* thus exclaim: *What is man, that thou ſhouldeſt magnify him, and that thou*

thou ſhouldeſt ſet thy Heart upon him? (Job 7. 17.) *Lord, what is man, that thou takeſt knowledge of him? or the ſon of man, that thou makeſt account of him?* (Pſal. 144. 3. Pſal. 8. 4.)

2. This doctrine alſo informs us concerning our ſelves, and the ſtate of our Souls: concerning the nobleneſs of our extraction and the dignity of our nature, derived from God and reſembling him; how we fell from our original felicity, and laps'd into this wretched blindneſs, errour, and diſorder of ſoul, into this ſtate of frailty, ſorrow and miſery, by our diſtruſt and diſobedience to God; how being thus eſtranged from God and expoſed to his wrathful diſpeaſure we may recover again his love and favour; and may by returning to God and complying with his will be reinſtated in a happy condition, more happy far than that, from which we fell. That our ſouls are immortal (a point, which the wiſeſt men have ſo much diſputed about, and doubted of; and in the certain deciſion of which they would have been ſo much ſatisfied) and what its ſtate ſhall be after its ſeparation from this body, ſuted to its demeanour and demerits in this life; what a judgment and trial all our actions (even our moſt ſecret thoughts, and words) muſt undergo after this life; theſe ſo important truths, ſo uſeful for the ſatisfaction of our minds and the direction of our lives; ſo conducible to the clearing of our notions, even concerning nature and the courſe of things, in this world; this doctrine plainly ſhews us; and is it not in that reſpect worthy to come from God, who alone could teach and ſatisfy us in theſe things?

3. As for that rule of life it preſcribes us, nothing can be more exactly agreeable to our reaſon, more perfective of our nature; more conducible either to the publick good, or to our private content. What can be more juſt and reaſonable, than all thoſe duties of piety, which it requires? than higheſt eſteem and honour of him which is moſt excellent, moſt hearty love and affection to him, who is in himſelf moſt good, toward us moſt beneficent; moſt awful fear of him, who is ſo powerful, ſo pure, ſo juſt and ſevere; gratitude to him, from whom we have received our being, and all our good things; truſt and hope in him, who can do what he will, and will do whatever he hath promiſed, and what ever in reaſon we can expect from his goodneſs; all obedience and obſervance of him, whoſe children and ſervants and ſubjects we are born? can there be a greater privilege, than liberty of acceſs to him in our needs, who is alone able to ſupply them? can we deſire upon eaſier terms to receive benefits, than by acknowledging our wants, and asking for them? Is there a more equal or favourable kind of ſatisfaction for our offences, than confeſſion, and repenting of them? is it not fit we ſhould endeavour to promote his glory, who hath been ſo careful of ours? the practice of ſuch a piety cannot but produce excellent fruits, a joyful peace of conſcience, a comfortable hope, a freedom from all ſuperſtitious terrours and affrightments; and therefore is not our obligation to theſe duties moſt reaſonable? And for our behaviour toward each other, what better directions can we have, than thoſe which our Goſpel affords us? that we cordially love one another, earneſtly deſire each others good, pity all the evils of our brethren, be ready
Gal. 6. 10. to afford them all the help, and comfort we can: not limiting this our charity, but
Mat. 6. 44. extending it to all, in imitation of God's boundleſs beneficence. That we ſhould mutally bear infirmities, and pardon all injuries done us, not rendring evil for evil; but requiting evil with good: that we be juſt and honeſt in all our dealings; obſervant of all duties concerning our relations; diligent in our callings; peaceable and quiet in our ſtations; reſpective and obedient to our ſuperiours; meek and gentle, and courteous in our behaviour, toward all men: rooting out all malice, wrath, envy, ſtrife, animoſity, ill ſuſpicion out of our hearts; forbearing to revile, ſlander, detract, or raſhly to cenſure any man: Now what great benefits is it not evident that the practice of ſuch duties would bring forth? what miſchiefs would it prevent? how ſociable and pleaſant and ſecure a life ſhould we lead therein? what innumerable griefs and troubles, fears and ſuſpicions, diſcompoſures and diſtractions of mind at home; what dangers, tumults, confuſions, and tragedies abroad would it remove? This part therefore of our rule plainly deſerves the impreſſion of divine authority upon it. As for the precepts concerning the management of our ſelves; our own ſouls and bodies; thoſe which oblige us to be humble and modeſt; calm and ſedate; contented and patient; pure and chaſt; ſober and temperate; baniſhing all haughty conceits,
1 Theſ. 4. 4. and vain opinions concerning our ſelves; regulating our paſſions, and reſtraining our appetites; moderating our ſelves in all corporeal enjoyments; poſſeſſing our veſſels in

ſanctity

ſanctity and honour; abſtaining from all unlawful and irregular pleaſures, (baſe in kind, or exceſſive in degree) which may corrupt our minds, or impair our healths, or diſturb our quiet: It prohibits us not the uſe of any creature, whence we may receive any profit or delight, but indulges us a prudent and ſober enjoyment of them all, with ſenſe of God's goodneſs, and thankfulneſs, (1 *Tim.* 4. 4.) And who ſees not what benefit and convenience doth accrue to us from obeying ſuch commands? In few words, *Whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are decent, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report*, if there be any virtue, or any praiſe, thoſe things the Chriſtian doctrine injoins us to regard and practiſe? and what other Religion I pray, or what philoſophy hath ſo perfectly and clearly, with ſuch conſiſtence, and with ſuch confidence, taught us the like? If any have taught us ſome of them (as 'tis no wonder if they ſhould, ſince all of them are ſo plainly agreeable to good reaſon) yet could none preſs them with ſuch effectual inducements, nor inforce the practice of them upon ſo true, and neceſſary grounds. Some philoſophies have highly commended virtue, and vehemently exhorted thereunto; but the ends are mean, which they aim at; the grounds very weak, from which they argue: preſent ſatisfaction and tranquility of mind; ſafety, quiet, convenience, and pleaſure of this life; can they perſuade men eaſily that theſe are ſufficient inducements ſo carefully and painfully to follow virtue? doth that thing deſerve ſuch mighty elogies, which hath no greater rewards, or benefits, than thoſe, attending it? No ſurely; He that tells us, by doing theſe things, we ſhall imitate the higheſt goodneſs; we ſhall honour God and pleaſe him; we ſhall perform a duty of gratitude to our great benefactor; we ſhall obtain the love and favour of God; we ſhall avoid his wrath and diſpleaſure; we ſhall acquire not only comfort and peace of conſcience here, but an everlaſting crown of joy and bliſs hereafter; he propoundeth ends infinitely more noble, he uſeth arguments incomparably moſt efficacious and perſuaſive to the practice of virtue. No philoſophy in any meaſure repreſents virtue ſo truly upon all accounts eſtimable and eligible as this; none can diſcover the excellent fruits that grow upon it.

Philip. 4. 8.

4. Neither doth this religion only teach and perſuade us to ſo excellent a way of life, but (what no other law or doctrine pretends to) it ſhews us the means, it affordeth us help, and ability to practiſe it (without which, ſuch is the frailty of our nature, experience ſhews, that all inſtruction or exhortation whatever would ſignify little;) 'tis no dead letter but hath a quickning ſpirit accompanying it; it ſounds not only through the ear, but impreſſes it ſelf upon the heart: If our mind be doubtful or dark, it directs us to a ſure oracle, where we may receive certain counſel and information: if our paſſions be turbulent, and our appetites outragious; if temptation overbear us, it leadeth us thither, whence we may procure ſtrength to reſiſt and ſubdue them. This doctrine (laſtly) fully ſatisfies us about that inquiry, which hath ſo much perplexed all men, and with ſo much final irreſolution hath exerciſed philoſophers, wherein man's happineſs conſiſts, and what the means are to attain to it: that it doth not conſiſt in any one of theſe tranſitory things, nor in a confluence of them all; but in the favour of God, and enjoyment of him, and in the bleſſings flowing thence; which happineſs only by a ſincere and conſtant obedience to God's Commandments; a practice of that virtue and piety (in moſt part before ſpecified) is obtainable. Such is the tenour of the Chriſtian doctrine: theſe things it diſcovers and teaches, not with fine methods of artificial eloquence and ſubtilty, πειθοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, the perſuaſive words of humane wiſdom, but with a majeſtick ſimplicity, confidence and authority, with demonſtration of ſpirit and power: ſuch as becomes the ſoveraign Lord to uſe, when he vouchſafes to declare his mind. I ſhould have interpoſed this very material obſervation, that Chriſtianity requires chiefly and in a manner only a rational and ſpiritual ſervice, not clogg'd with multitude of external rites and obſervances, (thoſe few it injoins are plainly moſt reaſonable, very decent and uſeful, fit to inſtruct us in and excite us to our duty,) which ſhews that this revelation is complete, ſuitable to the moſt adult age, the moſt ripe and improved capacities of man. But I muſt leave this point: And I think, thus much may ſuffice to ſhew, that a doctrine ſo beneficial and ſatisfactory to mankind; ſo exceedingly beautiful and amiable; ſo agreeable to reaſon, and yet ſo much ſurpaſſing it, may well be ſuppoſed to have proceeded from divine authority and revelation: *Non vox hominem ſonat*; the true tone and air of it ſounds above the voice of man; its looks ſo much reſemble the divine wiſdom and goodneſs, one cannot think it had any other parent.

2 Pet. 1. 16. σεσοφισμένοι μῦθοι. 1 Cor. 2. 4.

To

To theſe abſtracted conſiderations I add (which is the laſt ſtep of our diſcourſe,)

Laſtly, that *de facto*, in very deed, God hath aſſerted and atteſted to the Chriſtian doctrine: God is himſelf inviſible and indiſcernible to our ſenſes; neither could we endure the luſtre and glory of his immediate preſence; it muſt be therefore by works ſupernatural and extraordinary (ſuch as no creature can effect or counterfeit) that he muſt (if ever aſſuredly) ſignify his mind and purpoſe to us: and of ſuch there is no kind of atteſtation needful or (perhaps) poſſible, which God hath not afforded to this doctrine. He had by many ſeveral prophecies, in different times, long before præſignified, that he would make ſuch a revelation to mankind, to be diſpenſed by a perſon, extraordinarily qualified, and eſpecially to be favoured by himſelf; whom therefore the Jewiſh nation did with much deſire expect: to which prophecy, as no other hath appeared that can pretend to agree, ſo this is very congruous. And this is one way moſt proper to God of atteſting his mind; becauſe it cannot be any wiſe counterfeited, it being only in God's power to foretel ſuch future events. Another way is by expreſs voices and apparitions from heaven; and by theſe God declared the ſame at ſeveral fit ſeaſons: To St. *John* the Baptiſt (that moſt juſt and holy perſon, ſo taken and acknowledged by all, even by his enemies that murthered him) when Jeſus was baptized; To St. *Peter*, and St. *John*, and St. *James*, three moſt credible witneſſes, if any can be, concerning matter of fact: and again, before the multitude, a little before his death; To St. *Paul*, a perſon alſo in all reſpects credible, and in moſt remarkable circumſtances; and ſuch atteſtations as theſe it is not likely God would ſuffer to be given to falſhood or impoſture; if any creature ſhould be ſo daring as to endeavour it, we cannot reaſonably deem, that God would permit his name and authority (in ſo direct a manner) to be abuſed.

Matt. 3. Matt. 17. 5, &c. Luk. 9. 2 Pet. 1. 16, &c. Joh. 12. 28.

3. But farther; to thwart the courſe of nature, and act againſt its eſtabliſhed laws, can only belong to him, who is Lord of nature, who made it and upholds it and governs it by a perpetual decree; and this in favour and countenance to this doctrine hath God performed not once, but often; in many places; through a long courſe of time; in ſeveral ways; by many inſtruments; moſt openly and viſibly: Numerous were ſuch ſupernatural works performed by the principal author of this doctrine, our Lord himſelf; many of them ſo publick and palpable, that they convinced many of the ſpectatours; and them not only indifferent and ingenuous people, but thoſe who were moſt unwilling to be convinced, and aſhamed or afraid to acknowledge their conviction: *Many* (ſaith St. *John*) *believed on him, beholding the miracles that he did: Nicodemus* came ſecretly to him, and confeſſed thus: *We know that thou haſt come a teacher from God; for no man can do theſe miracles which thou doeſt, except God be with him*: Again 'tis ſaid: *Many of the people believed in him, ſaying; When Chriſt comes, will he do more miracles than this man hath done?* Alſo of the rulers, *many believed on him; but becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs it, leſt they ſhould be put out of the Synagogue: What ſhall we do* (ſaith the chief Prieſts and Phariſees) *for this man doth many wonders? if we thus let him alone, all men will believe on him.* St. *Peter* thus confidently appeals to the Jewiſh nation: *Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words; Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved* (or demonſtrated) *by*, or from, *God among you by miracles, and wonders, and ſigns, which God did by him in the midſt of you, as you your ſelves know.* So notorious were many of our Saviour's miracles, that his worſt adverſaries could not but acknowledge them: And of theſe the moſt ſignal, his reſurrection, was ſuch, that no evaſion ſeems deviſable to withſtand either its truth, as to the fact; or its force to confirm our purpoſe, (that God did atteſt to this doctrine,) by it indeed God did (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) πίστιν παρέχειν πᾶσι, yield an argument moſt perſuaſive to all; that what our Saviour taught (particularly concerning the immortality of our ſouls, the reſurrection of our bodies, and the judgment to come) is moſt certainly true. That our Saviour really died, all the world could teſtifie (no death was ever more ſolemn, or remarkable;) that he roſe again, was atteſted not by one or two, but by many perſons, (thoſe moſt familiarly acquainted with him) who did not ſee him once, in paſſing, at a diſtance, but often, for a good time, (forty days together) converſed with him, (above five hundred of ſuch perſons at once did ſee him, as St. *Paul* tells us,) ſo that they could not be deceived themſelves therein, being αὐτόπται, and ὐπηκόοι τῷ λόγῳ; perfectly informed concerning the matter as eyes and ears could make them: Not having followed cunningly-deviſed fables, did we acquaint you with the

Heb. 2. 4. Ὅσα, Joh. 10. 41.

Joh. 2. 23. Joh. 3. 2. Joh. 7. 31. Joh. 12. 42. Joh. 11. 47.

Act. 2. 22.

Act. 17. 31. Rom. 1. 4. 1 Pet. 1. 3.

Vid. Act. 13. 31, &c. Act. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 6. Matt. 28. 7. Luk. 1. 2.

the power and preſence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but being ἐπόπται γενηθέντες τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος, having a full view of his majeſty: and, what we heard our ſelves; what we did ſee with our eyes; what our hands did feel of the word of life: ſuch as to their ability of teſtifying the truth, was theſe men's teſtimony: and concerning the fidelity and honeſty of theſe witneſſes, that they ſhould not either in this caſe (or concerning other actions of Chriſt, which they atteſted to) wilfully deceive others, there be preſumptions as great as can be: They were men that preached all goodneſs and ſincerity to others; and in other things irreprovably practiſed them; they could have no deſign imaginable upon any profit, or honour, or advantage whatever to themſelves; (they refuſed all; they willingly underwent all afflictions, and diſgraces for the ſake of this very teſtimony; bearing the Croſs was the *officium* they pretended to undertake; and the *beneficium* too they did promiſe themſelves to enjoy in this world.) Peace of conſcience, and hope of future reward was plainly all the ſupport they had, neither of which they could have enjoyed or expected, in the maintenance of a lye; perſecution from men, and damnation from God they muſt be ſure of, if conſcious of ſo villainous a deſign, to abuſe the world with a tale; neither were they downright mad-men or fools (as they muſt have been if they could have believed themſelves, or thought to perſuade others ſuch ſtories, had they been falſe) their excellent Writings ſhew the contrary, and the prodigious efficacy their endeavours found: ſo unanimous a conſent, ſo clear a confidence, ſo firm reſolution, ſo invincible conſtancy and patience, nothing but truth it ſelf and a good conſcience could inſpire men with: 'Tis poſſible in matter of ſpeculation and ſubtilty men upon weak grounds might be deſperately pertinacious; but in matter of fact to be ſo, none in ſuch circumſtances, and to ſuch purpoſes could be ſo baſely ſtupid; no ſuch men ſurely: No matter of fact ever had, nor could have in any reſpect a ſtronger atteſtation: to doubt or diſtruſt it were to invalidate all proof by teſtimony; (upon which yet all adminiſtration of juſtice, all commerce and tranſaction of humane affairs doth in a manner ſubſiſt and depend,) it were to embrace the vanity of the moſt impudently pertinacious Scepticks: and admitting the truth of their teſtimony (as if we be reaſonable and ingenuous we muſt) to believe that God ſhould do ſuch works, or ſhould permit them to be done (ſhould lend his ſoveraign power and interpoſe an extraordinary hand) for procuring credit to a falſhood; that he ſhould ſo far contribute to men's deluſion in matters of this nature, concerning his own honour and men's ſalvation, is a conceit as blaſphemous, and diſhonourable to God, as derogatory to his attributes of Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs, as can be. This kind of atteſtation did God yield not only to the Perſon of our Lord, but to his diſciples and followers for a long time after; as by the ſame authentick teſtimonies doth appear; yea it continued for ſome ages, ſo long as any ſuch extraordinary means were needful or convenient for conviction of the world; as by many expreſs paſſages in *Tertullian*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and other antient Writers might be ſhewed. I ſhall only add one kind of divine confirmation more; which was that of an extraordinary Providence attending this doctrine in the conveyance and propagation thereof: That by the miniſtery of a few mean, poor, unlearned and ſimple men, without any outward circumſtances commending them to men's regard; without any aſſiſtance of power; any ſubtilty of wit; any trains of policy; any eloquence of ſpeech; any external advantage diſcernible; yea againſt all theſe; againſt the utmoſt endeavours of all the force in the world; all politick devices; all cruel perſecutions; againſt all prejudices of education, publick law, inveterate cuſtom; againſt moſt ſubtle, and eloquent adverſaries, it ſhould in a ſhort time ſo vaſtly prevail, ſo that within a while all the power, and wit, and eloquence of man did ſubmit unto it and ſerve under it; is an argument that God did interpoſe his almighty hand; no leſs power could effect ſo unaccountable a change; it ſeems no leſs a miracle in matters of this nature (a moral or political miracle I may call it) than to blow up a great Oak with one's breath, or remove a Mountain with a word ſpeaking would be a miracle in nature.

2 Pet 1. 16.
1 Joh. 1. 1.

I might adjoin, that this doctrine being ſo much directed againſt, ſo vigorouſly impugning the domination and deluſion of wicked ſpirits, (being ſo prejudicial and deſtructive to the intereſt of hell) all the malice, wit, and power of the devil we may preſume employed againſt it; and ſuch potent combinations of mundane and infernal force to withſtand, ſubdue, and overthrow, cannot juſtly or reaſonably be aſcribed to any other power, than that of heaven. The proceeding alſo in ſo meek

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and quiet a way, without any tumult or terrour, not rudely forcing men's outward complyance, but ſweetly drawing their hearts into the love and approbation of this doctrine, ſo different from the courſe of humane proceeding, ſo becoming the divine goodneſs, doth well conſent and conferr to the efficacy of this diſcourſe. But I cannot inſiſt longer on theſe things; yet think I may well upon all theſe premiſes (though very ſlightly and curſorily handled) conclude, that the Chriſtian Doctrine did proceed from God.

I ſhall briefly touch the laſt principle: that there be proper and ſufficient means by which we may diſcern the genuine doctrines and dictates of Chriſtianity. Indeed if there were not ſuch, our diſcourſe hitherto uſed would be all vain, having no certain ſcope or ſubject; to no purpoſe had God diſpenſed a revelation for the direction and benefit of mankind, if he had not withal provided means of apprehending it with a competent certainty, ſuch at leaſt as might ſuffice to engage men honeſt and moderately wiſe upon the practice of all neceſſary duties preſcribed (for enough to ſatisfy cavelling ſpirits, that are poſſeſſed with prejudices, or proceed upon deſign, or delight in doubt and diſpute, whoſe buſineſs and intereſt, (or humour) it may be to confound things, did not need, perhaps could not be, provided: there have been men that have queſtioned what the moſt evident reaſon, the moſt common ſenſe and experience ſhews; and ſuch ſcepticks, or ſuch politicks no means will ſerve to ſatisfy their minds, at leaſt to ſtop their mouths, but) in reality there be ſeveral means, by God's wiſe providence afforded, whereby we may diſcern Chriſtian truth, ſome more convenient and ſecure, all in their kind proper and good. For tranſmitting to poſterity any particular doctrine, no man can doubt, but the moſt ſure way is its being commended to writing by the authors and inventours thereof (thoſe upon whoſe authority it doth rely) as if *Pythagoras*, or *Socrates*, or *Zeno* their writings were extant, by them we ſhould be beſt aſſured, what their philoſophies were: and no man will diſpute whether that be genuine Peripateticiſm which is plainly read in the Writings of *Ariſtotle* the father of that Sect; though even his unskillful expoſitors ſhould miſtake, or his prejudiced adverſaries ſhould pervert or calumniate his meaning. They that write are wont with moſt care and deliberation (and conſequently with moſt perſpicuity and exactneſs) to expreſs their minds: and *litera ſcripta manet*: letters are ſubject to leaſt variation: memories are frail, fancies are buſie, but writings are eaſily preſerved without conſiderable alteration. The next moſt ſure way of conſerving ſuch doctrines, is the writings of the next diſciples, that immediately received them from the authors, or before they had paſſed through many hands, and commended them to writing: ſo what *Socrates* (for inſtance) did teach, the writings of *Plato* and *Xenophon* can with a very good degree of certainty acquaint us. The next is the writings of men (ſtudious and learned in thoſe matters) after larger diſtances of time; ſo as we may be informed concerning Stoiciſm by the writings of *Cicero*, of *Epictetus*, of *Seneca*; the which way is more imperfect; every writer being apt to miſapprehend and miſrepreſent ſomething; eſpecially all affecting to do ſomewhat more than tranſcribe what they find in former authors; to comment and deſcant upon, to adorn and ſet out, to confirm or confute the doctrine they relate, in order thereto repreſenting it with advantage to their purpoſe. The laſt way, is by continued tradition, by oral inſtruction, ſucceſſively from time to time; which is of all ways moſt liable to defect and corruption: for the teacher may unaptly expreſs his meaning, and the hearer may not rightly underſtand him; the memory of both may in ſome material thing faulter: Men love to be curious in their ſpeech, to vary in expreſſion, to make explications, to draw conſequences, to mix their own conceits and inventions, to ſhew the acuteneſs of their wit, and the fruitfulneſs of their fancy; to diſplay all their faculties of ratiocination and eloquence; eſpecially they are apt to accommodate doctrines to their own prejudices, inclinations, and deſigns: whence errour and difference may inſenſibly creep through this conduit; and the farther ſuch tradition departs from the original ſpring, the more ſubject it is to contract ſuch alterations and impurities. Every doctrine thus propagated is like a ſtream; at the head 'tis ſmall and narrow, clear and pure; proceeding on, it grows larger and fouler; ſo tradition ſometimes, by taking in what oblique channels of private fancy and pragmatical invention diſcharge into it; and by receiving tincture from particular inclination, or politick deſign, it grows muddy and feculent. We have all theſe ways afforded us, and for confirmation and diſtinction of our doctrine may uſe them all: in the principal doctrines (ſuch as

as we mentioned) they all conſpire, and therefore there can be no reaſon to doubt, that they are pure and genuine: But in reaſon the beſt and ſureſt means of knowing what our Saviour and his Diſciples taught, are the Writings of his Diſciples, (perſons, beſides their advantage of immediately learning from our Saviour's mouth, extraordinarily aſſiſted by God in their miniſteries and inſtructions) of whoſe Writings many have by God's good providence been preſerved to our times; being ſuch as no man hath reaſon to queſtion, that they came from them (no more than concerning the moſt undoubted Writings of any author;) wherein they aim at nothing elſe, but to declare the doctrine of Chriſtianity and inculcate the practice thereof, in the moſt ſimple, plain, and familiar manner; plainly agreeing with each other in the main drift and deſign of their diſcourſes; ſo that we may juſtly preſume that all important doctrines of Chriſtianity are in them fully delivered; and that whatever we find in them perſpicuouſly expreſſed we are obliged to take for ſuch. To the ſame purpoſes we may uſe the Writings of the Chriſtians of the firſt ages; who with care committed to writing what they had learned from the mouths of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſours; for in ſo ſmall diſtance of time 'tis not likely any conſiderable variation ſhould intercurr; neither would ſuch men, living in times of perſecution, and ſuffering for conſcience-ſake, ſo free from all deſigns of avarice or ambition, be ſo ready to alter, or adulterate the doctrine they received: and ſuppoſing the Writings of the Apoſtles were wanting, even theirs would yield us a competent knowledge of the Chriſtian doctrine: neither, were their monuments alſo loſt, ſhould we be quite deſtitute of means, from the loweſt and lateſt, whether writings or traditions of Chriſtianity, to diſcover its principal and fundamental doctrines: for diſcreetly paring off ſome excreſcencies, diſcernible enough to have proceeded from humane invention; what ſophiſtical curioſity hath introduced (nice poſitions and queſtions about the right application of terms of art) what politick deſign hath added (wherein ſome ſorts of men are, we may plainly ſee, privately concerned) what plainly reliſhes of thoſe ages, wherein ignorance and ſuperſtitious dotage did ſo generally prevail; what is inconſiſtent with the moſt generally acknowledged principles of our Religion; refining I ſay with ſome ſerious conſideration, the pure ore from ſuch droſs, we may not difficultly perceive, even by the uſe of the moſt inferiour means allowed us, what the true principles of Chriſtianity are. But ſince God hath vouchſafed us ſo various helps, we may in their due order, according to our capacity, apply them all; comparing preſent Traditions with ancient Writings, and confirming what we learn from theſe, by the ſupreme and unqueſtionable authority of holy Scripture. But this argument the time will not permit me to proſecute diſtinctly and as it deſerves. Theſe digreſſionary diſcourſes (which yet I thought pertinent to the deſign of our Buſineſs, declaring and confirming the grounds of our faith) being thus paſs'd over; I ſhall hereafter cloſely purſue the explication of the Creed: In the mean while craving pardon from your patience, *&c.*

I Believe in God the Father.

THE Appellation of God not improperly taken (as when it is attributed to creatures, upon ſome reſemblance in nature or office they bear to the ſupreme God) but relating to him, who only truely and properly is ſtyled *God*, is ſometimes put abſolutely, ſometimes hath a relative appoſition going along with it. Being abſolutely (or ſingly) put, it ſometimes referrs, by way of eminency particularly to the firſt Perſon in the glorious Trinity; as when Chriſt is called *the Son of God*; and the Holy Ghoſt, *the Spirit of God*; and when God is put in diſtinction from the other Perſons; (when for inſtance it is ſaid: *That they may know thee the only true God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Jeſus Chriſt: Bleſſed be the God and father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The word was with God.* To ſerve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven: and in that form of bleſſing: *The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all:*) but commonly it is to be underſtood for God eſſentially conſidered (according to that divine eſſence common to the three perſons) to whom in that reſpect all the divine attributes agree, and from whom all divine operations (abſolute and *ad extra*) do jointly proceed. And to this ſenſe or notion we have hitherto ſuppoſed that the name of *God* might here be applied: for that *there is one God*, having ſuch eſſential attributes, is the firſt principle and foundation of all religion; which

Vid. 1 Theſ. 1. 9. 10. 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 1. 3. 4. 6. Joh. 17. 3. 2 Cor. 1. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 3. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

we muſt therefore ſuppoſe, if not directly expreſſed, yet at leaſt ſufficiently implyed in the Creed. And ſuppoſing the word in part doth imply this ſenſe, the attribute, or title of *Father*, doth in many reſpects, truly and properly belong to God. Being a father denotes cauſality, ſuſtenance, beneficence, governance; eſpecially when theſe operations are attended with particular care and affection; in all which reſpects (ſeverally conſidered or jointly) God may fitly be ſtyled *Father*: Father of all things being: Father of all intellectual Beings eſpecially: The Father particularly of all men; and among men, chiefly of Good men. He is the Father of all Beings, as the maker and efficient cauſe of them: So
Plat. p. 1047. is he called in that famous ſentence of *Plato*'s *Timæus*: Τὸν μὲν ἓν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῆδε τῆς παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. That maker and father of this Univerſe 'tis hard to find out, and having found him 'tis impoſſible to expreſs him, unto all men; and πατέρα πάντων (St. *Paul* calls him) *the father*
Eph. 4. 6. *of all things* (taking πάντων in the largeſt ſenſe.) *To us there is one God, the fa-*
1 Cor. 8. 6. *ther, from whom are all things.* Neither only as author, but as he by whoſe care
Pſal. 148. 5, 6. and providence all things ſubſiſt and are contained in order; *He commanded, and they were created: He hath alſo eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever; he hath made*
Pſal. 145. 15. *a decree, which ſhall not paſs; upon whom the eyes of all wait, and he giveth them their meat in due ſeaſon*, as the Pſalmiſt ſings; and in this reſpect, we often find, even in heathen Poets, the title *Pater* (Father) abſolutely put to denote *God*, as the author and diſpoſer of all things.

Georg. 1. Virg. ——————*Pater ipſe colendi,*
Haud facilem eſſe viam doluit.——

Hor. *Jam ſatis terris nivis atque diræ*
Grandinis miſit Pater,——

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη ὕπατε κρειόντων.
O Pater & Rex Jupiter. *Hor. Serm.* II. 1.

And *Pater omnipotens* is the Periphraſis, by which the wiſeſt of Poets doth frequently uſe to deſign the ſupreme God. But more eſpecially God is called *the father of intellectual Beings: The Father of Spirits:* particularly the Angels are (by excellency) called *the Sons of God*: (Job. 1. 6.) *There was a day,*
Heb. 12. 9. Numb. 16. 22. Ezek. 18. 4. *when the Sons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them:* Job. 38. 7. *When the morning-ſtars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy:* where, *for the Sons of God*, the Seventy have ἄγγελοί μου; (though perhaps all God's creatures may there be underſtood, as it were *rejoycing* and *exulting* in their Being newly conferr'd on them by God.) And of theſe Beings God more eſpecially is Father, not only for that he did produce them, and upholds them (as all other things) in being, but becauſe they nearer reſemble him in their nature; becauſe he hath a more dear affection unto, a more particular care over them, and becauſe he governs them in a more excellent kind, (by obligations of reaſon, ingenuity and juſtice,) they alſo being capable to render offices of piety, obedience, and gratitude to him again.

Vid. Pſal. 89. 6. 29. 1. *The Sons of the Mighty:* ſome take to be *the Angels,* בני אלים *in heaven.*

Ὅτι κοινωνεῖν μόνον ταῦτα πέφυκε τῷ θεῷ τῆς συναναστροφῆς καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπεπλεγμένα. Epict. Arr. 1, 9.

[And thus even the Pagan Theologers did conceive God in eſpecial manner the Father of the Gods, (intending ſuch Gods, as were not of men's making, creatures conſecrated by the flattery or fondneſs of men; but of a higher rank, anſwering to our Angels, which they conceived as to approach in excellency of nature, ſo to attend upon God, partaking of his glory and happineſs,) hence *Divûm Pater* is a common title of God among
Pag. 1054. them: and we have in *Plato*'s *Timæus* an Oration, which he feigns God made to them, at the Creation, beginning thus: Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατὴρ τε: *O ye principal Gods, of whom I am the Maker and Father*; concerning which kind of God's children, he pretends to deduce all he can ſpeak from ancient and original tradition.] But (to come nearer to our particular relation) God is alſo in eſpecial manner the Father of mankind,

Hor. Carm. I. 12. *Gentis humanæ Pater atque Cuſtos,* (as *Horace* calls him:)

* *Adam*

**Adam* was the Son of God; and ſo (at leaſt) we are God's off-ſpring; *his hands made and faſhioned us; and his mouth breathed into us the ſpirit of life:* † *he formed our ſpirit within us:* we were made after his image; and naturally reſemble him: he hath aſſigned us the principal and moſt honourable ſtation in this his family of viſible creatures; he hath ſhewed an eſpecial tenderneſs toward us in providing for us all manner of ſuſtenance and acommodation; in educating us ‡ with wholeſome advices and precepts; in bearing with exceeding patience our infirmites and offences; in inflicting moderate chaſtiſements to reduce us to duty and amendment: all his carriage toward mankind argues a paternal regard and affection thereto.

*Omnes ſi ad primam originem revocentur à Diis ſunt. *Sen. Ep.* 44. † Zach. 12. 1. *Vid. Epict. Arr.* I. 3 & 9. ‡ Pſal. 71. 6.

Farther, in a peculiar notion God is the Father of good men: ſuch relation being built upon higher grounds and conſiderations: The ſeeds of virtue are by his grace ſown in their hearts; that emendation, and perfection of nature is effected by him. They reſemble him in diſpoſition of mind, in purpoſe, in action; which are more perfect and noble reſemblances, than thoſe of nature, (being holy as he is holy; beneficent and merciful as he is: theſe qualities our Saviour tells us do render or at leaſt declare him our Father; do conſtitute men or argue them to be the Sons of God: *Love your enemies, bleſs thoſe that curſe you, do good to thoſe that hate you ——That you may be the ſons of your father in heaven: Love your enemies, and do good, and lend, expecting nothing thence, and your reward ſhall be great, and ye ſhall be the ſons of the moſt High——*) To ſuch God bears a paternal affection and compaſſion: *Like as a father pitieth his children, ſo the Lord pitieth them that fear him.* He deals with them as with his children, in all reſpects; he inſtructs and guides them; he cheriſhes and comforts them; he maintains and protects them: He gently reproves and corrects them: *Whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, even as a father the ſon in whom he delighteth.* [*Patrium habet Deus adverſus bonos viros animum, & illos fortiter amat: Inter bonos viros ac Deum amicitia eſt, conciliante virtute: amicitiam dico? imò etiam neceſſitudo & ſimilitudo: quoniam quidem bonus ipſe tempore tantùm à Deo differt, diſcipulus ejus, æmulatórque & vera progenies: quem pater ille magnificus, virtutum non lenis exactor, ſicut ſeveri patres, duriùs educat:* God (ſaith a Pagan Philoſopher) hath a fatherly mind toward Good men, and mightily loves them:——Between them and God there is a friendſhip, virtue conciliating it: A friendſhip, ſay I? yea a kindred and reſemblance: For that a good man differs only from God in time (and degree,) being his diſciple and imitator, and his true off-ſpring; whom that magnificent father, no ſoftly exactor of virtue, as ſevere fathers do, brings up hardly.] And we may obſerve, that God in his proceedings with men (ſuch as he deſigns to contain them by within their duty, and lead them to happineſs) delights to repreſent and commend himſelf under this obliging and endearing relation: he did ſo towards the *Iſraelites*, Deut. 32. 6. *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O fooliſh people, and unwiſe? is not he thy father, that bought thee? hath he not made thee and eſtabliſhed thee? Of the rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and haſt forgotten God that formed thee:* So God expoſtulates with that people; and thus *David* in their behalf addreſſes himſelf to God: *Bleſſed be thou, Lord God of Iſrael our father, for ever and ever: Thine, O Lord, is the greatneſs, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majeſty,* &c. and, *I am a father to Iſrael, and Ephraim is my firſt-born: Is Ephraim my dear Son? is he a pleaſant child?* So God argues with them. But in the Chriſtian diſpenſation God more ſignally repreſents himſelf in this quality: he treats us not ſo much as a Lord and Maſter, with imperious awfulneſs; but as a friend and a father, with gracious condeſcenſion and allurement of kindneſs: *I call you not ſervants: you are my friends, if you do what I command you:* So that ('tis St. *Paul*'s collection from a precedent diſcourſe) *thou art not ſtill a ſervant, but a ſon:* Our Saviour (ſaith the Author to the *Hebrews*) was *not aſhamed to call them* (his diſciples and followers) *brethren.* Go (ſaith our Saviour) *to my brethren, and ſay to them: I aſcend to my father and your father, and my God and your God:* Accordingly all the performances of God toward us and in our behalf are of ſuch a nature, and are ſet out by ſuch terms, which ground and import this relation.

1 Pet. 1. 23. Bonus vir ſine Deo nemo eſt, *Sen. Ep.* 41. Matt. 5. 45. Luk. 6. 35. Pſal. 103. 13. Ὡς οἰοῖς προσφέρεσθαι, Heb. 12. 7. Prov. 3. 12. *Sen. de Prov.* 1. 2. 1 Chron. 29. 10. *Vid. Exod.* 4. 22. Jer. 3. 9. 20. Joh. 15. 14. 15. Gal. 4. 7. Heb 2. 11. Joh. 20. 17.

2. That renovation of our nature, and qualifying our ſouls, as the Goſpel requires, is called *regeneration, a new creation, a new birth, the begetting a new man within us:* We are αὐτοῦ ποίημα (his *work* or *production*) being *created in Chriſt Jeſus* Epheſ. 2. 10.

Eph. 4. 21, 24. *to good works. Ye have been taught——to put on the new man that is created according to God* (*according to God's image) *in righteouſneſs and true holineſs: If a man be not born again from above, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God: Whoever is begot of God, doth not do ſin.*

*Col. 3. 10. John 3. 3. 1 Joh. 3. 9.

Gal. 4. 5. Rom. 8. 15. Epheſ. 1. 5. Epheſ. 3. 15. 2. 19. Joh. 1. 12. Gal. 3. 26. 1 Joh. 3. 1. Rom. 8. 15. Gal. 4. 6.

1. The reception of a Believer into the privileges and advantages of Chriſtianity, is termed *υἱοθεσία, the making of him a Son, adopting him into God's family; conferring upon him the title, and the quality of God's child; the internal diſpoſition of ſpirit, and the liberty of acceſs to God ſuitable to this relation: *Whoſoever* (ſaith St. *John*) *did receive him, he gave to them authority to become the Sons of God* (he inveſted them in that dignity) *even to them who believed in his Name: Ye are all the Sons of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus* (*i. e.* by embracing Chriſtianity:) and, *Behold, what manner of love the father hath given us, that we ſhould be called the Sons of God? Ye have not received the ſpirit of ſervitude again to fear, but ye have received the ſpirit of adoption, by which we cry, O father*: (by which in our prayers, with humble affection, according to our Saviour's inſtruction, we ſay, *Our father.*)

Mat. 19. 28. Luk. 20. 35. 1 John. 3 2. 1 Cor. 15. 49. 2 Cor. 3. 18. 2 Pet. 1. 4. Gal. 4. 7. Rom. 8. 17. Col. 3. 24. Heb. 9. 15. 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4.

3. That reſurrection after death to a better ſtate of life; entring into glory and happineſs and immortality, is worthily ſtyled παλιγγενεσία, a being *generated* or *born again*: whereby they receive from God another more excellent life and ſtate of being, more like and conformable to God: *They which ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the reſurrection from the dead—are the Sons of God, being the Sons of the Reſurrection*:—*We know, that if* (or *when*) *he ſhall appear, we ſhall be like him. As we have born the image of the earthly* (man) *we ſhall alſo bear the image of the heavenly.* We ſhall be metamorphoſed (or transfigured) into the ſame image; ſhall be made *partakers of the divine nature.* That ſtate of bliſs is therefore ſtyled a *portion* or *inheritance*, allotted to Sons; and conſequent upon that relation: *If ſons* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *then heirs; heirs of God, co-heirs with Chriſt; receiving the reward and promiſe of an eternal inheritance*: and, ſaith St. *Peter*, *Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt from the dead; To an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reſerved in heaven for us.* I might add, that Chriſtian men become the Sons of God by our Saviour's intervention; by his aſſumption of our nature, and our conformity to his image, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, whereby he becomes *the firſt-born among many brethren*, Rom. 8. 29. *God ſent forth his Son, born of a woman, that we might receive the privilege of being made Sons*, Gal. 4. 4, 5.

Heb. 2. 14. In this reſpect our Saviour is πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, *the firſt-born among many brethren*, Rom. 8. 29. Upon ſo many ſeveral ſcores is God our Father; as we are his creatures; (being made, preſerved and maintained by him) as we are intellectual creatures; (placed in degree and quality of nature ſo near him;) as we by virtue and goodneſs any-wiſe reſemble him; as we are Chriſtians (adopted into his Family, renewed by his grace, and deſtinated to a participation of his glory.)

Vid. Forb. p. 52.

Now the conſideration and belief of theſe grounds (each one and all of them together) upon which this relation of God to us is founded, hath manifold good uſes, is apt to inform us of, to inforce upon us many neceſſary duties, reſulting from it: It teaches us what reverence and honour and obſervance is due to him; (not from

Mal. 1. 6. gratitude only and ingenuity, but in juſtice:) *If I be a father, where is my honour?* ſaith God, in *Malachy*. If we be bound to love and reſpect thoſe, who, under God, have been inſtrumental in producing and maintaining us, how much more to him, who principally hath beſtow'd our Being, and all the ſupports, comforts and conveniencies thereof upon us? from whoſe free bounty we derive not only the benefits of this tranſitory life, but the privileges of the future, incomparably better, eternal ſtate: If we neglect our duty, may not God juſtly expoſtulate with us, as with thoſe children of his, *Deut.* 32. 6, 18. *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O fooliſh people and unwiſe: is he not thy father that bought thee?* (ὃς ἐκτήσατό σε, who procured and acquired thee to himſelf) *hath he not made thee, and eſtabliſhed thee?*

It will induce us to humility, if we are God's Sons, have received our being, all our powers and abilities, all our goods and riches from his diſpoſal, what reason have we to aſcribe any thing to our ſelves; to be raiſed in conceit, ambitious of praiſe or

1 Cor. 4. 7. reputation upon the ſcore of any ſuch things? *Who made thee to differ? For what haſt thou that thou didſt not receive? and if thou haſt received, why doſt thou glory, as*

as if thou hadſt not received? It ſhews us, that we are (as *Plato* often ſpeaks) Θεοῦ κτήματα, God's *poſſeſſions*, God's *riches* they are called, *Pſal.* 104. 24. If he made us, whatever we are, (according to all accounts and capacities; whether men by his common providence, or good men by his eſpecial grace) he hath the beſt right and title poſſible unto us; he may juſtly make ſuch uſe of us, as he thinks good: We may well be obliged to *Glorify God in our body, and in our ſpirit, which are God's.* We have reaſon alſo hence to be content with whatſoever condition God diſpoſeth us unto, or impoſeth upon us; he doth therein juſtly; and if we complain, may we not be anſwered: *Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?* Is it not lawful? yea, is it not probable, that God will order things for the beſt for the good of his children? will he willingly hurt them? can he deſign their miſchief? *Can a woman forget her ſucking-child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion on the ſon of her womb? yea they may forget, yet will not I forget thee.* Sooner may the moſt tender parents become unnaturally regardleſs, malicious, and cruel towards their children, than God neglect the good of his off-ſpring. We have reaſon therefore to be ſatisfied with all that befalls us; to be patient in the foreſt afflictions; eſteeming them to come from a paternal hand, inflicted with great affection and compaſſion; deſigning and tending to our good: *Thou ſhalt conſider in thy heart, that as a man chaſteneth his ſon, the Lord thy God chaſteneth thee:* ſaith God to the *Iſraelites. We have had fathers of our fleſh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; ſhall we not much rather be in ſubjection unto the father of ſpirits and live? for they verily for a few days chaſtned us after their own pleaſure, but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holineſs.* What ſweeter comfort can there be, than to know that the moſt diſtaſtful and croſs accidents befalling us do conduce to our profit; ſhall prove moſt beneficial to us? This conſideration alſo ſerves to cheriſh our faith, and raiſe our hope, and quicken our devotion: Whom ſhall we confide in, if not in our father? from whom can we expect good, if not from him, who hath given us already ſo much, even all we have? if we in our need with due reverence and ſubmiſſion requeſt help from him, can ſuch a father refuſe us? No: *What man is there of us, that if his ſon ask him bread, will give him a ſtone? or if he ask fiſh, will give him a ſerpent? If we then who are evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more ſhall your father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?*

ἐκτήσαλο σε. Deut. 32. 6.
1 Cor. 6. 20.
Mat. 20 15.
Iſa. 49. 15.
Deut. 8. 5.
Heb. 12. 9, 10.
Matt. 7. 9, 10, 11.

This conſideration alſo may beget in us a due valuation of our ſelves; and thereby raiſe us from baſe and unworthy practices: excite and encourage us to worthy deſigns and attempts: Even natural light dictates to us the uſe of this conſideration, and heathen Philoſophers much apply it: "If any one (ſaith *Epictetus*) could duely be affected with this opinion that we are all originally deſcended from God, and that God is the father both of men and Gods, he would not, I ſuppoſe, conceive any thing ignoble or mean concerning himſelf: if *Cæſar* ſhould adopt thee, none could endure thy ſuperciliouſneſs: and if thou knoweſt, that thou art God's Son, will it not elevate thee? ſo the Philoſopher. Shall we that are ſo nobly born, of ſo illuſtrious an extraction, ſo far debaſe our ſelves, as to regard and purſue trivial, abject, diſhonourable things? ſhall we not be aſhamed of ſuch a contemptible degeneracy? ſhall we not be afraid, for ſuch unworthineſs to be degraded, rejected, and diſinherited by our holy Father? who can no wiſe brook that ſuch blots and diſhonours ſhould ſtick to his lineage, that ſuch diſorders and miſbehaviour ſhould be committed in his family, that we ſhould ſo deform his image impreſſed upon us. *Every branch that beareth not good fruit, he loppeth it from his ſtock, and caſteth it away* (as our Saviour tells us,) 'Tis proper for children to reſemble their father, in their countenance, in their temper, in their doings: *If ye were Abraham's children* (ſo our Saviour argues) *ye would do the works of Abraham:* and, *Ye are of your father the Devil, becauſe ye perform the luſts of your father;* (becauſe ye reſemble him in his murderous and treacherous diſpoſition.) So if we pretend to be the children of God, we muſt (according to St. *Paul*'s exhortation) imitate him *as dear children*: we muſt be holy, and pure, juſt, beneficent, merciful, perfect as he is; otherwiſe we fall from this high dignity, we forfeit this excellent privilege of being thus related to God; we become aliens and exiles, and enemies inſtead of ſons and friends unto him.

Epict. diſſert. l. 3.
Joh. 15. 2. 6.
Joh. 8 39, 44.
Epeſ. 5. 1.
1 Pet. 1. 14, 15.
Mat. 5. 45 48.
Luk. 6. 35, 36.
Joh. 1, 3. 3. 17.

Conſi-

Conſidering alſo this relation will prompt us how we ſhould be affected and how behave our ſelves towards all God's creatures: if God be the father of all things, they are in ſome ſort all our brethren: ſhall we then abuſe, trample upon or tyrannize over any of them? will God permit it, doth it become us to do ſo? If we be all branches ſprouting from one root, ſtreams iſſuing from one common ſource of divine beneficence, members of one family, we are obliged to univerſal good-will and charity; to be kind and compaſſionate; to be helpful and beneficial ſo far as our capacity reacheth; to endeavour, as we may, to preſerve the order and promote the welfare of the world; and all things in it. Eſpecially toward thoſe beings, who according to a more proper and excellent ſenſe are entitled the ſons of this our common father; toward beings intellectual, we hence learn our reſpective duties, of love and reſpect toward thoſe elder brethren of ours, the angels (the bleſſed and holy ones I mean, ſuch as have not degenerated from their nature and apoſtatized from their duty toward God) of charity and good will to each other; which if we do not maintain, let us conſider we are undutiful and unkind to God firſt, and then to our ſelves; both his relations and our own we hate and harm, his children and our brethren, by hating or harming any man whatever, eſpecially any good man, any Chriſtian brother, who by ſo many other more eſpecial bands is ſtraitly tied unto us, upon ſo many better grounds doth ſtand related both to God and us.

Vid. Epict. l. 9. diſſert.

But let thus much ſuffice for this attribute or title of God, underſtood in this manner, as applicable to God eſſentially conſidered, which notion we ſee how true and uſeful it is. But that God is alſo here (and that according to the principal intention of the words) to be underſtood ſo as by way of eminency to ſignify the firſt perſon in the bleſſed Trinity, and that the Title or Appoſition *Father* doth reſpect eſpecially him, who according to a more proper and excellent manner * is *the Son of God, our Lord Chriſt Jeſus*, may upon divers accounts appear. 1ſt, Becauſe it follows, *and in Jeſus Chriſt his Son:* God is to be taken in that notion according to which Chriſt is his Son: the *Father* preceding relates to the *Son* following. 2. Becauſe this Creed appears (according to our former diſcourſes) enlarged upon the foundation of the firſt moſt ſimple confeſſions, uſed in baptiſm, and thoſe derived from the form preſcribed by our Saviour, of *baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*: wherefore *the father* here is to be interpreted, according to that form. 3. The ancient Chriſtians (from whom we received the words and may beſt underſtand the ſenſe) did thus generally take and expound them. Now that God is the *Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, the univerſal tenour of the Goſpel ſpeaketh, and it is the chief doctrine thereof: this God from heaven by a vocal atteſtation declared (*this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed;*) our Saviour profeſſed; the Apoſtles preached; the miracles (performed by our Saviour) were intended to confirm. In this God manifeſted his tranſcendent love and mercy and goodneſs to mankind, that *he gave his only begotten Son, that no believer in him ſhould periſh, but have everlaſting life; that he did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all*: His own Son ἴδιος υἱός, his peculiar Son, in a more proper and peculiar manner ſo: his μονογενὴς, only begotten Son (in a reſpect, according to which no other can pretend to that relation;) his ἀγαπητὸς, his darling, (whom he loves with a ſuperlative dearneſs.) So that God is *the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; and that it is a fundamental point of our religion and belief; and that it is mainly deſigned here, doth ſufficiently appear. Now the grounds of this paternity are ſeveral: his temporal generation by the Spirit and power of God. *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the moſt High ſhall overſhadow thee: therefore that Holy thing which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. When the fulneſs of time came, God ſent forth his Son born of a Woman.* His reſtoral from death to life: we preach the promiſe made to your fathers, that God hath fulfilled it to us their children, raiſing up Jeſus; according alſo to what is written in the ſecond Pſalm, *Thou art my Son this day have I begtten thee.* Whence he is called πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, *the firſt-born from the dead*: His deſignation of him to ſovereign power and authority: *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael* (was *Nathaniel's* confeſſion;) *whom God appointed* (or made heir *of all; putting all things under his feet. Father* (our Saviour prays) *glorify thy Son, as thou haſt given him power over all fleſh: All power is given me in heaven and upon earth.* But the moſt eminent ground of this paternity (and moſt proper to this place) is that eternal generation, whereby God the Father did in the beginning, before all time imaginable

* Κατὰ τίνα ἀρίστην ὑπόληψιν, (as Nazianzen ſpeaks) Orat. 37.

Joh. 10. 38.
Joh. 3. 16.
Rom. 8. 32.
Luk. 1. 35.
Gal. 4. 4.
Act. 13. 32. 33.
Joh. 1. 50.
Col. 2. 18.
Heb. 1. 2.
Compare Joh. 17. 1, 2 vid. Joh. 5. 25 &c. Matt. 28. 18. Epheſ. 1. 22. Heb. 1. 6.

ginable or poſſible (in a manner unconceivable and ineffable) communicate his own divine eſſence to God the Son: His eſſence, not ſpecifically the ſame (ſuch as men impart, when they beget a Son in their own likeneſs) but the ſame individually; begetting him perfectly like himſelf, without any ſo much as accidental diſſimilitude or diſparity; (by an unconceivable irradiation of his glory, and impreſſion of his ſubſtance, as the Author to the *Hebrews* ſpeaks.)

Heb. 1. 3. Col. 1. 15. ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

Which doctrine (though full of deep myſtery, and tranſcending the capacity of our underſtanding to comprehend) as we are obliged, becauſe it hath been God's good pleaſure to reveal it unto us, with a firm faith and humble adoration to embrace, ſo it is of great conſequence and (even practical) uſe; ſerving to illuſtrate the wonderful grace of God in the diſpenſation Evangelical, and thereby to beget ſuitable gratitude in us; encouragement and enforcement to our duty, ſtrong faith and hope in God; as alſo to direct and order our devotion toward him.

But theſe conſiderations (with the farther probation of this great truth againſt ſome, who have dared to oppoſe it) I ſhall referr to that Article, in which we moſt expreſsly confeſs, that *Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God*, and conſequently that *God is his Father*. And therefore proceed to the next word,

Omne nomen dictum de Deo reſpectu creaturæ indicat eſſentiam, adeóque prædicatur de tribus perſonis ſimul, exceptis quæ pertinent ad unionem ſeu diſpenſationem, id eſt ad incarnationem ſive aſſumptam carnem. *Forb. p.* 24.

Almighty.

THough all the divine perfections (being intrinſecal unto and identified with the divine nature or eſſence) do really and equally belong to each Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity, yet are eminently in ſome reſpect attributed to the Father, as the firſt Perſon in order of nature, the original fountain and root of the Deity: likewiſe although all divine operations *ad extra* (as proceeding from the ſame divine will and power) do proceed from all the three Perſons, conſpiring in them, yet are ſome κατ' οἰκονομίαν (by way of myſterious diſpenſation) appropriated to one, ſome to another: as Creation and Dilection to the Father; Reconciliation and Redemption to the Son; Illumination and Sanctification to the Holy Ghoſt. Omnipotency therefore is here aſcribed to God the Father not excluſively, but eminently, (for the Son and the Holy Ghoſt by participation of the divine nature from the Father are alſo omnipotent.) And God the Father is called *the Maker of heaven and earth*; although by the Son (or eternal Word) alſo *all things were made, and without him was made nothing that was made*; and *all things were created by him, both things in heaven and things in earth, and things upon earth; both things viſible and things inviſible*: and the Spirit of God is ſaid to have *garniſhed the heavens*, (Job 26. 13.) and, *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hoaſt of them by the ſpirit of his mouth*, Pſal. 33. 6. This I premiſe, to prevent miſtake, in ſuppoſing the glorious perfections, of works attributed to *God the Father*, to be aſcribed to him in diſtinction, and excluding the other Perſons. Now to the attributes themſelves.

Vid. Rom. 16. 27.

Quando unus trium in aliquo opere nominatur, univerſa operari Trinitas intelligitur. *Aug.*

Una voluntas eſt Patris & Filii & inſeparabilis operatio. *Id.*

Sancta & inſeparabilis Trinitas nunquam aliquid extra ſe ſigillatim operare noverit. *Ambroſ. in Symb. cap. 9. Forb. p.* 23.

Joh. 1. 3. Col. 1. 16.

John 5. 19. Matt. 12. 28.

Almighty.] The title or epithet παντοκράτως (which we render *Almighty* (or *Omnipotent*) there being no other word more properly and fully to expreſs it) is often (in a manner peculiar and characteriſtical) aſcribed to *God* in the Scripture; but in the New Teſtament from *imitation* (as it ſeems) or *tranſlation* of the Greek in the Old, where it anſwers to two famous and uſual names of God, *Sabaoth* and *Shaddai*, (eſpecially to the former, for the latter is only ſo rendred in ſome places of the book of *Job*,) the name *Sabaoth* I ſay, (for that it is ſo, we have expreſsly affirmed in ſeveral places; *Their Redeemer is ſtrong; Jehovah Sabaoth is his Name*, Jer. 30. 54. (ſo alſo *Iſa.* 48. 2.) and *Amos* 4. 13. *He that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought——Jehovah Elohei Sabaoth is his name*: from whence ſome Criticks deduce Ζεὺς Σαββάσιος, mentioned in ſome heathen * Writers.) Now the name *Sabaoth* doth ſeem to import God's Univerſal dominion over the world: for all things of the world, as being ranged in a goodly order (like an army marching in array, or marſhalled to battel) are called *armies*: Thus the heavens and earth were finiſhed, and all the hoſt of them, (ἡ πᾶς κόσμος αὐτῶν, ſaith the Greek: and all the world, or the furniture of them:) *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hoſt of them*:

Jer. 50. 34. Amos 4. 13. Iſa. 18. 7. 48. 2.

Seld. de Diis S. cap. 3. * Ariſtoph. & Cicero.

Gen. 2. 1.

Bleſs

Isa. 40. 26. Isa. 45. 12. * Compare Psal. 147. 4. *Bless the Lord all ye his hosts*: that is, all creatures: *Lift up your eyes on high*, saith the Prophet *Isaiah*, *and behold who hath created these things; that bringeth out their host by number*: * *he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth*: Where God is represented bringing forth, and ordering his creatures, as a General summons together to rendezvous, and musters, and embattels his host. Hence I say this title of *God* (παντοκράτωρ) seems derived; (which in the Revelation of St. *John* is most frequently attributed to him: *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty*, (ὁ παντοκράτωρ) *who was, and is, and art to be*; is that heavenly hymn there resounded to God.) But not dealing so strictly, but taking the word παντοκράτωρ in its common latitude for ὁ πάντων κρατῶν (or ὁ πάντων κράτος ἔχων) it may import, either right and authority over all (*omnipotestas*;) or power and ability to do all things (*omnipotentia*;) or actual exercise of such authority and power, in ruling and disposing all things (*omnipotentatus*;) also the possession or holding all things (*omnitenentia*,) and the preservation or upholding all things (*omnicontinentia*,) for κρατεῖν hath in propriety and ordinary use all these significations, and according to them all God is truely παντοκράτωρ. He hath first a just right and authority over all things; he is naturally the soveraign Lord and King of the World; *The Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*; the spring and original of all right and authority. Whatever imaginable reason or ground there is of authority, it doth in respect of all things agree to God. *Aristotle* in his Politicks discourseth thus. Government doth aim at and tend to the mutual benefit of the governour and governed; that therefore which is most able and best disposed to provide for and procure the common benefit in natural reason and justice deserves to be, and is fitly the governour; whence the soul hath a right to govern the body, and men naturally do rule over beasts; and were there any such men as did so eminently exceed others in wisdom and goodness, to them, according to natural congruity, the government of others should appertain: If then such excellency of nature be a foundation of authority, God, who in wisdom and goodness doth incomparably exceed all things, hath a right to govern all: He is only * wise (and thence able,) only good (and thence willing to manage all for the general welfare and benefit of the world †) If eminency of power do qualifie for dominion (as surely it doth, for what cannot be withstood, must in reason be submitted unto; 'tis vain to question that authority which by force altogether irresistable can maintain it self,) God hath the only right; nothing in the world being able to dispute his title: *For who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord? who among the Sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord? O Lord God of Hosts, who is a strong Lord like unto thee?* All things are weak and feeble in comparison; are in his hand; lie under his feet; are wholly at his discretion and disposal: *The Lord is the true God* (saith the Prophet) *and the everlasting King, at his wrath the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide his indignation. How terrible art thou in thy works? through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee*: *He ruleth by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations; let not the rebellious exalt themselves.* If to have made all things and to preserve them, do create a right of governing, as it must needs: (for what can we challenge justly a dominion over if not over our own works; over that which we feed and nourish continually; over that which depends altogether upon us, and which subsists but at our pleasure?) then well may the Elders acknowledge: *Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive the glory and the honour and the power*, (that is, the royal majesty and dominion over the world,) *for thou hast made all things, and for thy will they are, and were made.* Well might every creature that is in the heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth, and those things which are in the sea; and all things, in them cry out: *To him that sitteth upon the throne* (and to the Lamb) *be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory, and* * *the dominion for ever and ever*: And *Nehemiah*: *Thou, even thou art the Lord alone, thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their hosts, the earth and all things that are therein, the sea, and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all, and the host of heaven worshippeth thee*: and King *Hezekiah*: *O Lord of Hosts—thou art the God, thou alone of all the Kingdoms of the earth, thou hast made heaven and earth.*

Thus is God παντοκράτωρ, the rightful Soveraign (upon all accounts) of all things ——*Divúmque hominúmque æterna potestas* (as the wise heathen Poet could acknowledge and call him:) He is also so in regard of his infinite power (Omnipotent:)

Pol. l. 1. 3. 4. Τὸ δυνάμενον φύσει προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει, καὶ δεσπόζον φύσει. l. 1.

Psal. 136. 3. Deut. 10. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Apoc. 19. 16.

Rev. 1. 8. 4. 8. 11. 17. &c.

Apoc. 4. 11.

Apoc. 5. 13. * Τὸ κράτος. Neh. 9. 6.

Psal. 89. 6, 8.

Jer. 10. 10.

Psal. 66. 3, &c.

Isa. 37. 16.

* Rom. 16. 27. † Luk. 18. 19.

Virg. 10. Æn.

Natural

Natural light affords us pregnant arguments and experiments of the *greatneſs of his power*, demonſtrated in the conſtitution and conſervation of the world; (diſpoſing ſo ſtupendiouſly vaſt, ſo innumerably various creatures into ſo comely and ſtable a poſture; by them his eternal power and divinity are diſcerned, as St. *Paul* tells us; Rom. 1. 20. he that could effect ſo much, his power muſt needs be greater than we can imagine or comprehend; but holy Scripture declares more fully and clearly the extent of his power; that it reaches unto the utmoſt poſſibility of things: that whatever is not repugnant to his nature (to his eſſential perfections, his wiſdom and goodneſs; doth not misbecome him to do, or to the nature of things to be done; that doth not imply a contradiction, and thereby is impoſſible, and no object of any power,) he can eaſily atchieve: there is nothing ſo difficult, but he can perform it; nothing ſo ſtrong or ſtubborn, but he can ſubdue it. *Is any thing too hard for the Lord?* ſaith God Gen. 18. 14. to *Abraham*, when *Sarah* doubted or admired concerning God's promiſe, that ſhe in ſo extreme an age ſhould become fruitful. *Behold* (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy* in his prayer to God) *thou haſt made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and* Jer. 32. 17, *thy ſtretched-out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee*: οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ 27. σοὶ πᾶν ῥῆμα *Nothing* (that can be ſaid, or conceived, or done) *ſhall be impoſſible* Luke 1. 37. *to God* (if he pleaſes to undertake it) ſaid the Angel to the Bleſſed Vigin, when he delivered ſo ſtrange a meſſage to her, concerning an event ſo wonderful and ſupernatural. That a rich man ſhould be induced to part with all and ſubmit to God's Job 42. 2. will, our Saviour affirmed exceedingly difficult, (*harder than for a Camel to paſs* Mat. 19. 26. *through the eye of a needle*:) but to ſatisfie his diſciples ſcruple thence ariſing, he ſubjoins: *With men this is impoſſible; but with God all things are poſſible. In thine hand* 2 Chr. 20. 6. (ſaid *Jehoſaphat*) *there is power and might, ſo that none is able to withſtand thee. He doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabi-* Dan. 4. 35. *tants of the earth, and none can ſtay his hand, or ſay unto him, What doeſt thou? Nebuchadnezzar* (having felt an experiment of his power, and being returned to a right underſtanding) did ſo confeſs. *The Lord of Hoſts hath purpoſed, and who ſhall* Iſa. 14. 27. *diſannul it? his hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back?* He is *El Shaddai*, the God all-ſufficient; able to do whatever he pleaſes. He made the World at firſt with a word: (*By the word of the Lord were the heavens made* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *and all the* Pſal. 33. 6, 9. *hoſt of them by the breath of his mouth — Let the earth fear the Lord — for he ſpake, and it was done; he commanded, and it ſtood faſt;*) and by a word he doth preſerve it, *upholding all things*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *by the word of his power*; or by his Heb. 1. 3. mighty word: and by a word he can deſtroy all things; yea more eaſily, in a manner, by his ſilence; by withdrawing that ſalutary breath, which cheriſheth all things: (*Thou hideſt thy face, they are troubled; thou with-holdeſt thy breath, they die, and* Pſal. 104. 29. *return to their duſt*:) for even in this reſpect is God all-powerful, for that all power is derived from and depends upon him: He not only can do all things, but nothing can be done without him. *Without me you can do nothing*, is true not only in ſpiritual matters, but in all others: *He gives* (as St. *Paul* preached at *Athens*) *life* (or being with all vital faculties) *and breath* (all natural powers) *and all things unto all.* Callim. 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He is indeed the only Governour, abſolutely and directly ſo; (μόνος δυνάστης, the *only Potentate*) all Authority 1 Tim. 6. 15. and Power are imparted by him, are ſubordinate to him; by his diſpoſal and direction all Potentates receive them, and in his behalf, by vertue of his commiſſion and command, as his delegates and officers they adminiſter any dominion or power: It was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s doom to be driven from men untill he did know this truth (ſo neceſſary for all Princes to know and conſider) *that the moſt High ruleth in the* Dan. 4. 25.

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Pſal. 33. 6, 9.

Heb. 1. 3.

Pſal. 104. 29.

Εἰ θεὸν οἶδα, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ δαίμονι ῥέξαι πᾶν δυνατόν.

Callim. Plut. de plac. I. 1.

John 15. 5.

Acts 17. 24. 28.

Ῥᾴδια πάντα θεῷ τελέσαι καὶ ἀδύνατον οὐδέν.

Pſal. 103. 19.

Vid. Pſal. 47.

Pſal. 103. 4.

1 Chron. 20. 11, 12.

1 Tim. 6. 15.

Dan. 4. 25.

Dan. 7. 27. Pſal. 72. 6, 7. *Kingdoms of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will: His Kingdom is an everlaſting Kingdom, and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him.* Promotion cometh

Rom. 13. 1. John 19. 11. *neither from the eaſt, nor from the weſt, nor from the ſouth: but God is the Judge, he putteth down one and ſetteth up another: There is no power but from God; the powers*

Deut. 1. 17. *that are, are appointed by God. The Judgment is God's* (ſaid *Moſes* in his charge) exerciſed in his behalf, and according to his appointment. Thus is God παντοκράτως; the only direct ſoveraign commander; the author and fountain of all authority, *the Lord of Lords and King of Kings.* He alſo is παντοκράτως, as the true

Gen. 14. 19. proprietary, and juſt poſſeſſor of all things. (*Omnitenens*) *Bleſſed be Abram of the moſt high God poſſeſſor of heaven and earth,* ſaith *Melchiſedech. The earth is the*

Pſal. 24. 1. 50. 12. *Lord's and the fulneſs thereof, the world and they that dwell therein; for he hath*

Deut. 10, 14. *founded it upon the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the floods. Behold, the Heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lords thy God, the earth alſo with all that therein is* (ſaith

Pſal 89. 11. 1 Chro. 29. 11. *Moſes*:) and the Pſalmiſt again: *The heavens are thine, the earth alſo is thine, as for the world and the fulneſs thereof,* (that is, all which the world contains, which

Pſal. 95. 5. it is repleniſhed with) *thou haſt founded them. The ſea is his, and* (that is, *for*) *he made it, and his hands formed the dry land.* All things are God's goods and poſſeſſions (for that he hath made and by creation purchaſed them to himſelf; ſo we ſee the Pſalmiſt argues) and ſo the diſpoſal of them do belong unto him: he may and doth apply them to what uſe he pleaſeth. He is alſo *Omnitenens* ('tis St. *Auſtine*'s word) as containing all things in his hand, encircling and comprehending them (as it were) in his arms. *Whither I ſhall go from thy ſpirit* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *or whi-*

Pſal. 139. 7, 8, 9, 10. *ther ſhall I flee from thy preſence? if I aſcend up into heaven thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermoſt parts of the ſea, even there ſhall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand ſhall hold me.*

Iſa. 40. 12. *Who hath meaſured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meeted out heaven with the ſpan, and comprehended the duſt of the earth in a meaſure.*

Iſa. 48. 13. *Mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my hand hath ſpanned the heavens.*

He laſtly is, παντοκράτως, in regard that he ſuſtains and preſerves all things: ἔχειν (ſaith *Gregory Nyſſen*) ὅταν τὸ παντοκράτως φωνῆς ἀκούσωμεν τοῦτο νοῶμεν τὸ πάντα τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ εἶ) συνέχειν: when we hear the word *Almighty*, we underſtand that God doth

Neh. 9. 6. contain all things in being. *Thou, even thou* (ſay the *Levites* in *Nehemiah*) *art Lord alone; thou haſt made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their hoſt, the earth and all things that are therein, and thou preſerveſt them all; and the hoſt of heaven worſhippeth thee.* In all theſe reſpects is God truly Almighty.

The belief of God's power. For it juſtified *Abraham* &c. in the Goſpel. The belief and conſideration of which truths are of great importance and uſe to us: if God be the ſoveraign Lord of all things (which is the chief ſenſe of this article) and we conſequently his ſubjects and vaſſals; then is all awful reverence, worſhip, and obedience due from us to him: we are in juſtice bound humbly to adore his majeſty, and readily to perform his commands, and patiently to ſubmit to his will. We muſt not think to guide our actions according to our own will or

ἀγδιομοδετήσουσες πάρεσμεν, &c. Plut. ad Apoll. p. 193, 194. fancy, as if we had no Lord over us; but conform them we muſt to the decrees and determinations of our moſt good and wiſe Governour. 'Tis our duty to do thus, and we have reaſon to do it willingly and cheerfully: for 'tis alſo our happineſs to be under ſo juſt and gracious a Government; 'tis no cruel tyrant, no unjuſt uſurper, but a moſt gracious and equal King, whom we are in ſubjection to: of whom 'tis

Pſal. 89. 14. ſaid truly, *Juſtice and judgment are the eſtabliſhment of his throne; mercy and truth go before his face*; whom we are exceedingly obliged to thank that he will vouchſafe to undertake the tuition and overſight of us: ſo that in this consideration the

Pſal. 47. 1. Pſalmiſt might well excite the world to joy and Jubilation: *O clap your hands all ye people, ſhout unto God with the voice of triumph; for the Lord moſt High is terrible, he is a great King over all the earth.* All the world hath reaſon not only to

Conſ. Socrates in Plato's Phædo, &c. be content and acquieſce but to rejoice and triumph in being ſubject to ſuch a Governour, ſo able ſo willing to maintain good order, peace and equity there.

Alſo, If God be Omnipotent, able to do all things and of irreſiſtible power, have we all reaſon, 1. To hope in his providence and rely upon his promiſes; for

Τεχνὺς μονάρχης, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος θεοῖς. Æſchyl. Prom. that he is able to ſupply us with all we need, and perform whatever he hath promiſed. It was *Abraham*'s virtue (ſo acceptable to God and ſo richly rewarded by him) that he

he did not *ſtagger at the promiſe of God through unbelief, but was ſtrong in faith, giving glory to God; being fully perſwaded, that what he had promiſed he was able to perform.* It was the *Iſraelites* great offence that ſo incenſed God; that *they ſpake againſt God, ſaying, Can God furniſh a table in the Wilderneſs? Behold, he ſmote the rock, that the waters guſhed out, and the ſtreams overflowed: can he give bread alſo? can he provide fleſh for his people?* Our Saviour upon this account took it ill of his Diſciples, that in the greateſt dangers they ſhould be afraid, or in the leaſt manner diſtruſt. Since nothing is impoſſible, nothing difficult to him (that can be done, or which he will promiſe) we ſhould not in reſpect of any difficulty or improbability of appearing, doubt in the leaſt; 'tis injury to him, 'tis folly, 'tis blaſphemy to do it.

——ἐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον, ἐδ' ἀπρήκτον,
Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον γνώσεται κὲν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω.
Hom. Il. α 526.
Rom. 4. 20, 21.

Pſal. 78. 19 20
Matt. 8. 26. 14. 31.
Ὀλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίσασας, &c.

2. We ſhould hence dread God; fear to oppoſe his will, or provoke his diſpleaſure. Is it not a madneſs for impotency (ſuch as ours) to contend with, or withſtand Omnipotency, that can ſo eaſily cruſh us into miſery, into nothing? *Foraſmuch as there is none like unto thee, O Lord; thou art great, and thy Name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of nations?* (Jer. 10. 6, 7.) *Fear you not me, (ſaith the Lord?) will ye not tremble at my preſence, which have placed the ſand for the bound of the ſea,* &c. (Jer. 5. 22.) 'Tis the argument by which *Moſes* enforces obedience to the law, for that *the Lord is a great God, a mighty and a terrible,* (Deut. 10. 17.) Our Saviour admoniſhes and inculcates earneſtly, *Fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell: I ſay unto you, Fear him,* (Luke 12. 5.) *Do we provoke the Lord to jealouſie,* (St. *Paul* urges) *are we ſtronger than he?* No, let us follow St. *Peter's* advice, (1 *Pet.* 5. 6.) and *humble our ſelves under the mighty hand of God.* But I leave theſe and other applications eaſily emergent from theſe points of doctrine, to your further meditation.

It may be demanded, why, beſide that of *Almighty*, no other attribute of God is expreſſed in our Creed; why, for inſtance, the perfections of infinite wiſdom and goodneſs are therein omitted. I anſwer, 1, That all ſuch perfections are included in the notion of a God, whom, when we profeſs to believe, we conſequently do aſcribe them to him; for he that ſhould profeſs to believe in God, not acknowledging thoſe perfections, would be inconſiſtent and contradictious to himſelf; *Deum negaret* (as *Tertullian* ſpeaks) *auferendo quod Dei eſt*; he would deny God, withdrawing what belongs to God. 2dly, The title παντοκράτωρ, as implying God's univerſal providence in the preſervation, and government of the world, doth alſo involve or inferr all divine perfections diſplayed therein; all that glorious majeſty and excellency, for which he is with higheſt reſpect to be honour'd and worſhipped by us; which added to the name of God doth determine what God we mean, ſuch as doth in all perfection excell, and therewith doth govern the world. I might add, 3dly, That the doctrine of God's univerſal providence being not altogether ſo evident to natural light, as thoſe attributes diſcovered in the making of the world (more having doubted thereof and diſputed againſt it with more plauſibility) it was therefore convenient to add it, as a matter of faith clearly and fully (as we did *ſhew*) atteſted unto by divine revelation. So much may ſuffice to remove ſuch a ſcruple. I proceed:

Adv. Marc. I. 3.

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

THIS clauſe is one of thoſe, which was of later times inſerted into this Creed, none of the more ancient expoſitors thereof (*Auguſtine, Ruffin, Maximus Taurinenſis, Chryſologus,* &c.) taking any notice thereof. But *Irenæus, Tertullian,* and other moſt ancient Writers in their rules of faith exhibit the ſenſe thereof; and the confeſſions of the General Councils (the *Nicene* and thoſe after it) expreſs it. And there is great reaſon for it, not only thereby to diſavow and deſcry thoſe prodigious errours of *Marcion* and *Manichæus,* and other ſuch hereticks, which did then aſcribe the Creation of the world (or of ſome parts thereof, ſeeming to their fancy leſs good and perfect) to another God (or principle) inferiour in worth and goodneſs to that God, which is revealed in the Goſpel; or did opinionate two principles (not diſtinct only, but contrary to each other) from one whereof good things did proceed, from the other bad things. But alſo for that the creation of the world is that peculiar, auguſt and admirable work of God, by which, we learn that he is, and what he is; by which (I ſay) his exiſtence is moſt ſtrongly proved, and in which his di-

vine perfections are moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed; which is the prime foundation of his authority over the world; and conſequently is the chief ground of natural religion; of our ſubjection, and duty and devotion toward him. This title alſo moſt eſpecially characterizing and diſtinguiſhing that God whom we believe and adore from all falſe and fictitious Deities: for, as the Pſalmiſt ſings, *All the Gods of the nations are idols, but the Lord made the heavens.* And the Prophet *Jeremy*: *The Gods that have not made the heavens, and the earth, they ſhall periſh from the earth, and from under theſe heavens. And we preach unto you* (ſaid St. *Paul* to the ignorant *Lycaonians*) *that ye ſhould turn from thoſe vanities unto the living God, which made heaven and earth.* There was reaſon therefore more than ſufficient that the Creed ſhould be enlarged and enriched with this ſo material inſertion; that we ſhould be obliged explicitly to acknowledge a point of ſo grand conſideration and uſe. For the explication whereof and the terms wherein it is conceived, we may obſerve firſt, that the ancient *Hebrews* having (as it ſeems) in their language no one word properly ſignifying *the World* (or univerſal ſyſtem of things created*) did uſe inſtead thereof a collection of its chief parts (chief either abſolutely in themſelves, or in reſpect to us) *the heaven and the earth*; adding ſometimes *the ſea*, (yea ſometimes for fuller explication ſubjoining *to heaven its hoſt, to earth its fulneſs, to the ſea its contents,*) but moſt frequently *heaven and earth* are put to deſign the whole. *In ſix days* (ſaith *Moſes*) *the Lord made heaven and earth. Do not I fill heaven and earth, ſaith the Lord? It is eaſier for heaven and earth to paſs, than one tittle of the law to fail: God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that made the world and all things therein, ſeeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth*: where the world and all things therein doth ſignify the ſame, with *heaven and earth*; God's dominion being co-extended with his creation, as being grounded thereon. By *heaven and earth* therefore I ſay we are to underſtand thoſe two Regions, ſuperiour and inferiour, into which the whole frame of things is divided, together with all the Beings that do reſide in, belong unto, are comprehended by them; as we ſee ſometimes fully expreſſed. *O Lord, thou art the God that haſt made the heavens, the earth, the ſea, and all things being in them* (pray the Apoſtles in the *Acts*); and with utmoſt diſtinction the angel in the Apocalypſe *ſwears by him that liveth for ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are; and the earth with the things that therein are, and the ſea with the things therein.*

* Σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων, 'tis *Ariſtotle*'s definition of the word, *de Mund.* 2.

Pſal. 96. 5. Jer. 10. 11. Vid. 2 Kings 19. 15. Act 14. 15. 17. 24. Pſal. 69. 34. Neh. 9. 6. Gen. 1. 1. Exod. 20. 11. 2 King 19. 15. Jer. 23. 24. Luke 16. 17. Acts 17. 24. Vid. Iſ. 42. 5. Acts 4. 24. Rev. 10. 6.

By *heaven* is then underſtood, all the ſuperiour Region, encompaſſing the earth, and from it on all ſides extended to a diſtance unconceivably vaſt and ſpacious, with all its parts, furniture, and inhabitants; not only thoſe that are viſible and material, but alſo thoſe that are immaterial and inviſible. *By him* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *were created all things which are in heaven, and which are in earth, both thoſe that are viſible, and thoſe that are inviſible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him*: That is, not only the material and ſenſible parts (thoſe bright and beautiful Lamps of light expoſed to our ſight) but thoſe beings of a more pure and refined ſubſtance, indiſcernible therefore to our ſenſe, how eminent ſoever in nature, mighty in power, exalted in dignity, whoſe ordinary reſidence * is in thoſe ſuperiour regions (as being God's courtiers, and domeſtick officers, attending upon and miniſtring unto him; † *encircling his throne* (as it is in the Apocalypſe) and *always beholding his face* (as our Saviour teaches us, *Matt.* 18. 10.) even theſe all were made by God: for they are included in the univerſal term *all*: if God made all things, in heaven (as we heard it told us by the mouth of an Angel in St. *John*'s revelation) then certainly the Angels (the moſt conſiderable things therein.) And they are expreſly called *the ſons of God*; (as deriving their being from him) and they are ſubject to God's government and juriſdiction (which argues their proceeding from him and dependence upon him:) and St. *Jude* tells us, they did not retain, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν, their beginning or primitive ſtate; wherefore they had a beginning, and whence that but from God, who alone (originally, intrinſecally, and neceſſarily) hath immortality, and conſequently (as *Ariſtotle* proveth by ſeveral reaſons againſt *Plato*) alone hath eternity: and the Pſalmiſt calls them *God's works*; *Bleſs the Lord* (ſaith he) *ye his Angels, that excell in ſtrength, that do his commandments, hearkning unto the voice of his word.*

* Ἴδιον οἰκητήριον (as St. *Jude* 6. hath it) *proper habitation.*
Heb. 1. 14. Dan. 7. 10. Rev. 5. 11. Matt. 18. 10.
† Κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου.

Col. 1. 16. Job 2. 1. 38. 7. Pſal. 89. 6. 29. 1. Jud. 6. 1 Tim. 6. 16. 1 de Cœlo, cap. ult. Pſal. 103.

Bleſs

Bleſs the Lord all his hoſts, ye miniſters of his, that do his pleaſure: then concluding and recapitulating, he adds: *Bleſs the Lord all his works in all places of his dominion*: and again in the 148 *Pſalm*, ſummoning all the creation to a conſort of doxology; he begins with the heavens; and then proceeds to the earth; making a very particular recitation of the chief parts, and inhabitants belonging to each: and in the firſt place reckoning the Angels, then the ſtars, then the heaven of heavens; he ſubjoins the reaſon, why they ought all to praiſe God: *Let them* (ſaith he) *praiſe the name of the Lord, for he commanded and they were created; he hath alſo ſtabliſhed them for ever and ever; he hath made a decree* (concerning them) *which ſhall not paſs*. Thus doth the Scripture teach us concerning the exiſtence and original of thoſe ſublime beings, to the knowledge of whom (that they are, what they are, whence they are) natural light could not reach; although from primitive tradition even the heathens themſelves did in a manner acknowledge this truth, calling all the inferiour and ſecondary Gods the children of the firſt and ſupreme God, as we did formerly touch, Θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε: ſo God ſpeaks to them in *Plato*'s *Timæus*. And for all other things, both in heaven and earth; the material frame of the world, with all its parts (compacted together in ſo fair, ſo fit, ſo faſt an order) we have before ſufficiently diſcourſed, that they ſpeak themſelves (even to natural underſtanding) to have been produced by a moſt wiſe, moſt powerful, moſt beneficent author; that is, by God; which is confirmed by teſtimonies of holy writ innumerable and which need not be repeated.

Pſal. 148.

Vid. Comment. in Ant. pag. 145.

And thus much (as we did alſo formerly ſhew) the generality of mankind hath always conſented unto; as alſo the moſt and beſt reputed Philoſophers did (in general terms) avow it. There is only one particular, wherein they ſeem to have diſagreed (ſome or moſt of them) from what Chriſtian piety obliges us to acknowledge; which concerns the matter of corporeal things; for even *Plato* himſelf (who ſo poſitively and expreſly doth aſſert the world to have been framed by God) is yet conceived to ſuppoſe the matter of things to have been eternal and uncreated; aſcribing only to God the forming and diſpoſing it into a good order, agreeable to ſome patterns pre-exiſtent in his wiſe underſtanding; even as a good artiſt doth out of an unſhapen lump of matter frame a handſome piece of work, conformable to ſome idea preconceived in his mind. (*Socrates* and *Plato*, ſaith *Plutarch*, did ſuppoſe three principles of things, τὸν θεὸν, τὴν ὕλην, τὴν ἰδέαν, *God, Matter, Idea*: God is the Mind, Matter the firſt ſubject of generation and corruption, Idea an incorporeal ſubſiſtence in the conceptions of God. *Anaxagoras* alſo (the ſame Author tells us, and *Ariſtotle* confirms it (in his *Metaphyſicks*, commending his opinion,) did affirm two principles, One *paſſive*, Matter; (conſiſting of an infinite number of ſmall particles like to one another in ſhape;) the other *active*, Underſtanding; and to the ſame effect he reduces *Pythagoras* his conceits, though with much obſcurity expreſſed*.) And *Ariſtotle* tells us, that generally all natural Philoſophers before him did conceive and aſſume it for a principle, (it was κοινὴ δόξα πᾶσι φυσικοῖς, ὡς ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος γίνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.) † that nothing was made out of nothing, or that every thing made had neceſſarily ſome pre-exiſtent matter, out of which it was made; [Which principle *Ariſtotle* himſelf not only ‡ admits (in his ſenſe) but extends farther, affirming it impoſſible, that any thing ſhould be produced out of matter not pre-diſpoſed to admit the form to be introduced, οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι ὁτιοῦν ἐξ ὁτουοῦν: Every thing is not made of every thing; but out of ſome ſubject fitted thereto, or capable thereof; as Animals and Plants of their ſeeds.] Which Principles, being deduced from obſervation of natural effects (or works of art) performed always by alterations, and tranſpoſitions of ſome ſubjacent matter, we may ſafely in reſpect only to ſuch kind of effects admit; allowing no natural agent, no created artificer able to produce any thing without ſome ſubject, aptly qualified and prepared to receive its influence. But hence to conclude generally, that every action poſſible doth neceſſarily require a matter pre-exiſtent, or pre-diſpoſed ſubject, is no wiſe reaſonable; becauſe ſuch a thing doth not uſually according to the courſe of

Vid. Tertull. adv. Valent. cap. 15. & adv. Hermog. I.

Cic. de div. II. ſect. 37. Quis hoc phyſicus dixit unquam.

De placitis. I. 3. Anton. IV. ſect. 4. Metaph. I. 3, 4.

* *Thales* his conceit was alſo in a manner the ſame; who (as *Tully* tells us *de Nat. D.* I) Aquam dixit eſſe initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret. The *Stoicks* alſo had this opinion; as *Lipſius* by many teſtimonies proves in his *Phyſiologia Stoica*.

† Δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τὰ ὅλων δύο. τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον· τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον ὕλην· τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν. Laert. in Zen. vid. Sen. Epiſt. 65.

Ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίγνεται ἀδύνατον πρὸς τὰς ταύτης ὁμολογουμένως τῆς δόξης ἁπάσης οἱ περὶ φύσεως.

‡ Phyſ. I. 5. Phyſ. I. 9. Vide locum luculentum. *Metaph.* I. 3.

Ἀεὶ ἐστί τι ὑποκείμενον, ἐξ οὗ γίγνεσθαι τὸ γιγνόμενον, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ σπέρματος. I. 8.

Cic. de div. II.

—— Erit aliquid quod aut ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum ſubitò occidat? Quis hoc phyſicus dixit unquam? *Vid. Anton.* IV. *ſect.* 4.

nature

nature happen, therefore it is in it ſelf abſolutely impoſſible to be, is no good collection; no Logick will allow us from particular experiments to eſtabliſh general concluſions; eſpecially ſuch as concern abſolute impoſſibility of things to be otherwiſe, than ſometimes they appear to be: There may be, for all we can know, agents of another ſort, and powers much differing in kind and manner of efficacy from thoſe which are ſubject to our obſervation; eſpecially to ſuppoſe the Supreme Being (that made the world) can himſelf act no otherwiſe, than we ſee theſe inferiour things do, is groſly vain; nor from any certain principle of reaſon can it ever appear, that it is impoſſible ſome ſubſtances ſhould be totally produced *de novo*: or receive an exiſtence, which they had not. We cannot derive any ſuch propoſition from ſenſe; it aſſures us that ſome effects are poſſible, but cannot help us to determine what is impoſſible: that which we ſee done is poſſible; but what we cannot perceive done, is not therefore impoſſible: nor can any reaſon of ours reach the extent of all powers and poſſibilities. That opinion therefore of the ancient Philoſophers, that the matter of the World, or of natural things, is eternal and uncreated, had no certain foundation: We may ſay to them, as our Saviour once did to the Sadduces: *Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God*: and that their opinion was indeed falſe, and contrary to our faith, may appear, 1. Becauſe it is ſo often generally affirm'd in holy Scripture, that *God did make all things; all things that are in heaven and in earth*: It is unſafe, and not without great reaſon ever to be done, to make limitations, and reſtrictions of univerſal propoſitions, often (yea conſtantly) ſo ſet down. And like as St. *Paul* ſomewhere diſcourſes: Becauſe it is ſaid in the Prophets, *Every one that believeth in him, ſhall not be aſhamed*: *Whoſoever ſhall call upon the Name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved*; therefore both *Jews* and *Greeks* (in caſe of belief and calling upon God) are capable of ſalvation and acceptance: ἐ γάρ ἐϛι διαϛολὴ, for that there is no diſtinction or exception made: So it being ſaid univerſally and without any limitation, all things were made, therefore the matter of things was alſo made; the matter being one thing, yea, in the opinion of moſt Philoſophers, as well ancient as modern, the principal thing, the only ſubſtantial thing in nature; all other things being only the modes and affections thereof. Whence *Ariſtotle* tells us, that moſt of the firſt Philoſophers did affirm nothing to be made, nothing to be deſtroyed, becauſe matter did always exiſt and abide the ſame; as if nothing elſe in nature had any Being conſiderable. If God therefore did not produce matter it ſelf, he could hardly be accounted author of any thing in nature: how then is he truly affirmed the maker of all things? 2. Again, God is in like manner affirmed generally the true poſſeſſour and propietor of all things, excepting none; how ſo, if he did not make them? is not this expreſſed the foundation of his right and dominion? *The heavens are thine, the earth alſo is thine*: *as for the world, and the fulneſs thereof, thou haſt founded them*: How is God (I ſay) Lord and Owner of matter, (at leaſt by the moſt excellent ſort of right;) but for that he did produce and doth ſuſtain its being, and therefore may juſtly uſe and diſpoſe of it according to his pleaſure? 3. Again: Suppoſing any Being eternal, unmade, and independent upon God, doth advance that Being in ſome reſpect to an equality with God, (imparting thoſe great attributes of God thereto,) and it deprives him of thoſe perfections, making him to depend upon it in his operations, and not all-ſufficient in himſelf without it: it derogates from his prerogative, and limits his power. 4. Farther, as *Ariſtotle* well diſcourſeth againſt the ancient Philoſophers, who before *Anaxagoras*, did aſſign but one principle to things, (that material and paſſive one;) as if no active principle were required; ſo may we argue againſt him and them together; if God did produce and infert an active principle into nature, (as who can well imagine thoſe admirable works of nature, the ſeminal propagation and nutrition of Plants; the generation, motion, ſenſe, appetite, paſſion of animals to be performed by a meer blind agitation of matter, without ſome active principle diſtinct from matter, diſpoſing and determining it toward the production of ſuch ſpecifick effects?) If God could, I ſay, produce ſuch an active principle (ſuch an ἐντελέχεια, to uſe the Philoſopher's word,) why might he not as well produce a paſſive one, ſuch as the matter is? 5. Farther, If God did produce immaterial Beings (ſimple and

Matt. 22. 29.

Rom. 10. 11, &c.

Metaph. I. 3. Phyſ. I. 8.

Vid. Lactantii libro II. (p. 179, &c.) diſputationem hac de re.

Pſal. 89. 11.

——de re non ſua, ſcilicet non facta ab ipſo. *Tert. ad Herm.* 9. De alieno uſus, aut precariò uſus eſt quâ egens ejus, aut injuriâ quâ prævalens ejus. *Ib.*

Quis alius Dei cenſus quàm æternitas?

Veritas ſic unum Deum exigit defendendo ut ſolius ſit quicquid ipſius eſt. *Tertull. adv. Hermog.* 4, 5.

Nemo non eget eo, de cujus utitur; nemo non ſubjicitur ei cujus eget, ut poſſit uti: Et nemo qui præſtat de ſuo uti, non in hoc ſuperior eſt eo, cui præſtat uti. *Ib.* 8.

Metaph. I. 3.

Niſi quòd jam non omnipotens, ſi non & hoc potens ex nihilo omnia proferre. *Ibid.*

and uncompounded ſubſtances, diſtinct from all matter) ſuch as angels and the ſouls of men, meerly out of nothing, (for out of what pre-exiſtent ſubſtance could they be made?) then may he as well create matter out of nothing. What greater difficulty can we conceive in making ſuch a lower imperfect thing, than in making theſe more excellent Beings, ſo much farther (as it were) removed from non-entity? If any thing be producible out of nothing, why not all things capable of exiſtence, by a virtue omnipotent*? But that ſuch immaterial Beings were produced by God, we ſaw before from many plain teſtimonies of divine revelation. 6. I add, That the manner of God's making the World, delivered in Scripture, by meer will and command: (*He ſpake, and it was done; he commanded, and it ſtood faſt*:) that by only pronouncing the word *fiat*, all things ſhould be formed and conſtituted in their ſpecifick natures and perfections, doth argue that matter might be produced out of nothing by divine power: as alſo the effecting miracles, contrary to the courſe of nature (without any preparation or pre-diſpoſition of the ſuſcipient matter) in the ſame manner (by ſaying only, as our Saviour did, θέλω καθαρίσθητι, *I will, be thou cleanſed.*) *Woman, great is thy faith*; γενηθήτω σοι ὡς θέλεις, (*Be it to thee as thou deſireſt*) *doth ſhew the ſame. For it is no wiſe harder, nor more impoſſible to produce matter it ſelf, than to produce a form therein without or againſt its aptitude to receive it: Nay, it ſeems more difficult to make children to *Abraham* out of ſtones, than to make them out of nothing: there being a poſitive obſtacle to be removed; here no reſiſtance appearing; there being as well ſomewhat preceding to be deſtroyed, as ſomewhat new to be produced. [Eſpecially, I ſay, conſidering that God uſes no other means or inſtruments in theſe productions, than his bare word and command; which why ſhould we not conceive as able immediately to produce the matter, as the forms of things?] 7. Laſtly; the text of *Moſes*, deſcribing the manner and order of the creation, doth inſinuate this truth: *In the beginning* (ſaith he) *God made heaven and earth: Now the earth was without form*: Firſt, it ſeems, God made the matter of heaven and earth, devoid of all form and order; a confuſed and unſhapen Maſs; then he digeſted and diſtinguiſhed its parts; by ſeveral degrees raiſing thence all thoſe various kinds, thoſe well arrayed hoſts of goodly creatures. From theſe premiſes we may conclude (againſt thoſe Philoſophers, who deſtitute of the light of revelation, did conceive otherwiſe; and againſt ſuch Chriſtians as have follow'd them; as *Hermogenes*, whom *Tertullian* hath upon this occaſion writ a diſcourſe againſt, and ſome *Socinians*, *Volkeim*, &c.) that God did create (in the moſt ſtrict and ſcholaſtical ſenſe of that word) produce out of nothing, either immediately or mediately beſtow total exiſtence upon every thing that is, not excepting any one; and that this is the true meaning of theſe words, *Maker of heaven and earth*; which is aſcribed here to *God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; a truth, which as all good Chriſtians have always acknowledged, and the holy Scriptures do moſt plainly avouch, (For *to us there is but one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we from him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt* (his Son) *by whom are all things, and we by him*; though *Marcion* of old (and other Gnoſtical hereticks before and after him) did contradict it, affirming that the God who made the World, and enacted the law (whom *Moſes* did declare) was a worſe conditioned, a rigid and angry God; but the God of the Goſpel was another more benign and harmleſs God, void of all wrath and ſpleen. [*Tertullian* thus in Verſe deſcribes this conceit.

Prædicat hic duos eſſe patres, diviſâque regna,
Eſſe mali cauſam Dominum qui condidit orbem;
Quique figuravit carnem ſpiramine vivam;
Quique dedit legem, & vatum qui voce locutus;
Hunc negat eſſe bonum, juſtum tamen eſſe fatetur,
Crudelem, durum, belli cui ſæva voluptas,
Judicio horrendum, precibus manſueſcere nullis.
Eſſe alium ſuadens, nulli qui cognitus unquam,
Hunc ait eſſe bonum, nullum qui judicat, æquè
Sed ſpargit cunctis vitam, non invidet ulli.]

*——Cur non omnia ex nihilo, ſi aliquid ex nihilo, niſi ſi inſufficiens fuit divina virtus omnibus producendis quæ aliquid protulerit ex nihilo, &c. *Tert. adv. Herm.* 15.

Pſal. 33. 9.

Luk. 5. 13. Matt. 15. 28. *Νεάνισκε, λέγω σοι ἐγέρθητι. Luk. 7. 14.

Mat. 3. 9.

Scriptura terram primò factam edicit, dehinc qualitatem ipſius ediſſerit; ſicut & cœlum primò factum profeſſa, dehinc diſpoſitionem ejus ſuperinducit. *Tertull. contra Hermog.* 26.

Nihil ſine origine, niſi Deus ſolus. *Tertull. adv. M. V.* 1.

1 Cor. 8. 6.

Adv. Marc. Poem. I.

Of

Of affinity to this was the error of the *Manichees*, who ſuppoſed two firſt cauſes of things, one of *good*, the other of *bad*, taken it ſeems from the *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, or other *Ethnical* doctrines, which to this purpoſe we may ſee recited by *Plutarch* in his Tractate *de Iſide & Oſiride*: the *Perſian* from *Zoroaſter*, he tells us, had their *Oromazes* and *Arimanius*; the *Egyptians* their *Oſiris* and *Typhon*; the *Chaldæans* their good and bad Planets; the *Greeks* their *Zeus* and *Hades*; the *Pythagoreans* their Μονὰς and Δυὰς; *Empedocles* his Concord and Diſcord, *&c.* The common reaſon or ground upon which erroneous conceits were built, was this, that there being in nature ſome things imperfect and bad, theſe could not proceed from perfect goodneſs; it would have produced all things in higheſt perfection, and in indefectible ſtate of goodneſs. (If, diſcourſeth *Plutarch* there, expreſſing the main of their argument, nothing naturally can ariſe without a cauſe, and good cannot afford cauſality to evil, it is neceſſary that nature ſhould have a proper ſeed and principle of evil, as well as good: and thus it ſeems to the moſt and wiſeſt; for they indeed conceive two Gods as it were counter-plotting each other; one the contriver and producer of good things, and the other of bad; calling the better one, *God*; the other, *Dæmon*.)

Plut. de Iſ. & Oſir. p. 659. Steph. Gr.

Εἰ γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἀναιτίως πέφυκε γενέσεως αἰτίαν ἢ κακοῦ τ' ἀγαθὸν εἶναι παρέχοι, δεῖ γενέσιν ἰδίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ κακοῦ τὴ φύσιν ἔχειν, &c.

But this diſcourſe hath two great faults; it ſuppoſeth ſomething imperfect and evil, which is not truly ſo; and that which is truly imperfect and evil, it aſſigneth to a wrong cauſe; it ſuppoſeth ſome things, according to their original conſtitution imperfect and evil; which is falſe: there was no creature, which did not at firſt paſs the divine approbation: *God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* Good; that is, convenient and ſuitable to its deſign; fair and decent in its place and proportion: Very good; that is, altogether perfect in its degree; without any blemiſh or flaw; not liable to any juſt exception: there be indeed degrees of perfection, (it was fit there ſhould be ſuch, in great variety; that things might commend and illuſtrate each other,) ſome things may comparatively be ſaid to be imperfect, or leſs excellent in reſpect of others; but nothing is poſitively bad or imperfect, void of that perfection due to its nature and kind. Every thing contributes ſomething to the uſe and ornament of the whole; no weed that grows out of the earth; no worm that creeps upon the ground, but hath its beauty and yields ſome profit; nothing is deſpicable or abominable, though all things not alike admirable and amiable. There is nothing therefore unfit or unworthy to have proceeded from God; nothing which doth not in ſome ſort and degree conferr to the manifeſtation of his glorious wiſdom, power, and goodneſs. *O Lord* (ſaith the devout Pſalmiſt, after particular conſideration of them) *how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches. He created all things that they might have their being, and the generations of the world were healthful; and there is no poiſon of deſtruction in them*; ſaith the *Hebrew* Wiſe-man.

Gen. 1. 31.

Pſal. 104. 24.

Sap. 1. 14.

As for thoſe real imperfections and evils (moral evils; habitual diſtempers, irregular actions, with all the miſchiefs conſequent on them) we need not ſeek any one eternal cauſe for them: [though order and uniformity do, diſorder and confuſion do not argue any unity of cauſe, whence they ſhould proceed:] the true cauſes of them are notorious enough; Men (or other intellectual agents) their voluntary declining from the way God doth preſcribe them; diſobeying his laws and precepts; tranſgreſſing the dictates of their own reaſons; abuſing their own faculties; perverting themſelves and others (by their bad example, perſuaſion, allurement, or violence,) theſe cauſes of ſuch evils are moſt viſible and palpable, they are called our ways, our works, our inventions; they are imputed altogether to us; we are blamed, we are puniſhed for them. Nor need we to inquire any other principle of them; no *Arimanius*, no uncreated *Cacodæmon*, no eternal fate to father them upon.

Mali nulla natura eſt, ſed amiſſio boni mali nomen accepit. *Aug. de Civ. D. XI.* 9.

As for other evils of grief and pain incident to the nature, or conſequent upon the actions of any being, they are ſuch as God himſelf (without any derogation to his goodneſs) may in his wiſdom or juſtice be author of; for ends ſometimes apparent to our underſtanding, ſometimes ſurpaſſing its reach; It may ſuffice that God challengeth to himſelf the being cauſe of them: * *Shall there be any evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* † *Doth not evil and good proceed out of the mouth of the moſt High?* ‖ *I am the Lord and there is none elſe, I form the light and create darkneſs, I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all theſe things.* For theſe evils therefore is it in vain to ſearch for any other cauſe, than God's juſt providence.

Rom. 11. 33.
* Amos 3. 9.
† Lam. 3. 38.
‖ Iſa. 45. 57.

vidence. But I will not trouble you farther in conſidering the miſtakes of thoſe blind Philoſophers or blaſphemous Hereticks.

I will only briefly touch upon a conſideration or two (concerning the manner how and the reaſon why God did make the world) which will commend it to us, and ground ſomewhat of our duty, and direct our practice in reſpect thereto. The manner of God's producing the World was altogether voluntary, abſolutely free: It did not proceed from him as heat doth from the fire, or light from the ſun by a natural or neceſſary emanation (as ſome Philoſophers have conceited, ſome later *Platoniſts*, and ſome *Stoicks*) but from his wiſe counſel, and free choice. (He could have abſtained from making the World, he could have made it otherwiſe.) *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power, for thou haſt created all things, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημα σου, and for,* or *by thy will* (or *pleaſure*) *they are and were created*, ſay the Elders in the Revelation. 'Tis the property of God (St. *Paul* tells us) *to perform all things according to the counſel of his will.* He could not be fatally determined, there being no ſuperiour cauſe to conſtrain him. He could not be obliged to impart any perfection, being maſter of all, and debtor to none: it would deſtroy all ground of our thankfulneſs and devotion if God was not a free agent. And 'tis plain if the world had been produced by neceſſary emanation, that it ſhould have been eternal; as if the ſun had been eternal, the light had been ſo. But that the world was produced in time, and that not long ſince (within five or ſix thouſand years,) not only faith and divine Chronology aſſures us, but reaſon alſo ſhews, and all hiſtory conſpires to make us believe; there being no monuments, or probable memory of actions beyond that time, and by what progreſſions mankind was propagated and diſperſed over the world; how, and when, and where nations were planted, and empires raiſed, and cities built, and arts invented or improved, it is eaſie enough to trace near the original times and places. The world therefore in reſpect of time conceivable by us is very young, and not many ſucceſſions of men's lives have paſt between its beginning and ours. Whence 'tis evident that is was freely produced by God. And how he produced it the Scripture farther teaches us; not with any laborious care or toil; not with help of any engines or inſtruments ſubſervient; not by inducing any preparatory diſpoſitions, but φιλῷ τῷ βέλεσθι (as *Clem. Alexand.* ſpeak) by his meer will and word (theſe were theſe hands (as *Tertullian* expounds it) by which 'tis ſaid *God made the heavens*) at his call they did all immediately ſpring up out of nothing; at his command they obediently ranged themſelves into order. It was not only a high ſtrain of Rhetorick in *Moſes* (as *Longinus* ſuppoſed) but a moſt proper expreſſion of that incomprehenſible efficacy, which attends the divine will and decree.

Non poteſt aliter facere qui non facit niſi optima. Ipſo eſt neceſſitas ſua. *Sen. Nat. Qu. præf.* Vid. Baſil. pag. 10.

Rev. 4. 11.

Eph. 1. 11.

Adv. Herm. 45.

Pſal. 102. 25.

Sect. 7.

But (ſince God did not only make the world freely but wiſely, and all wiſe agents act to ſome purpoſe, aim at ſome end) why did God make the world, it may be asked, what reaſon induced him thereto? I anſwer with *Plato*, ἀγαθὸς ἦν, (*Quæris quid propoſitum ſit Deo? Bonitas: ità certè Plato ait: Quæ Deo faciendi mundum cauſa fuit? Bonus eſt, nulla cujuſquam boni invidia eſt*:) He was good: His natural benignity and munificence was the only motive that incited (or invited) him to this great action of imparting exiſtence, and ſuitable perfection to his creatures reſpectively. No benefit or emolument could hence accrue to him; no acceſſion of beatitude: he did not need any profit or pleaſure from without himſelf; being full within, rich in all perfection, completely happy in the contemplation and enjoyment of himſelf. Our goodneſs doth not extend to God, we cannot any wiſe advance or amplifie him thereby: *Can a man* (ſaith *Eliphaz*, can any creature) *be profitable to God?* no: goodneſs is freely diffuſive and communicative of it ſelf; love is active and fruitful; higheſt excellence is void of all envy, and ſelfiſhneſs, and tenacity: theſe being intrinſecal to God's nature (*for God is love*; that is, eſſentially loving and good) did diſpoſe him to beſtow ſo much of being, beauty, delight, and comfort upon his creatures. Hence, *the earth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *is full of the goodneſs of the Lord*; that is, every creature therein is an effect thereof; partakes thereof in its being and enjoyments. *The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works* (his tender mercies, *rachamavi*, his bowels of affection) Good and tender over all his works, as well in producing them as preſerving them; in rendring them at firſt capable to receive Good, as in providing for and diſpenſing good unto them. *That thou giveſt them, they gather* ('tis ſpoken in reſpect to the whole univerſity of creatures:) *Thou openeſt thy hand, they are all filled with good*;

Sen. Epiſt. 65.

Pſal. 16. 2.

Job 22. 2.

1 Joh. 4. 8, 16.

Pſal. 33. 5. 119. 64.

Pſal. 145. 9.

Pſal. 104. 28.

'tis from God's open hand (his immenſe bounty and liberality) all creatures do receive all that good, which fills and ſatiates them. A glimpſe of which truth the ancient heathens ſeemed to have, when they delivered (as *Ariſtotle* tells us,) that love was the original principle of things: [πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μετίσαλο πάντων,] is a verſe he cites out of *Parmenides*.

Ariſt. Metaph. 1. 4.

But I will not inſiſt longer upon this point; only I ſhall briefly touch ſome Uſes the belief and conſideration thereof will afford to us.

The belief thereof muſt neceſſarily beget in us the higheſt eſteem, admiration and adoration of God and his excellencies: what a power muſt that be (how unconceivably great both intenſively and extenſively?) that could erect ſo ſpeedily, ſo eaſily, ſuch a ſtupendiouſly vaſt frame (vaſt beyond the reach of our ſenſe, of our imagination, of any rational collection we can make) the earth we dwell upon, divided into ſo many great empires, full of ſo many inhabitants, bearing ſuch variety of creatures different in kind, having in reſpect to the whole but the like proportion as a little ſand to the earth it ſelf, or a drop to the great Ocean? What a wiſdom muſt that be, (how incomprehenſibly large and penetrant,) that could contrive ſuch an innumerable number of creatures (the artifice that appears in one in the leaſt of which doth ſo far tranſcend our conceit) could digeſt them ſo fitly, and connect them ſo firmly in ſuch order? what a goodneſs and benignity muſt it be (how immenſe and boundleſs) that did extend it ſelf in affection and care, for ſo many creatures, providing abundantly for the needs and comfort of them all? how tranſcendently glorious is the Majeſty of him that was author of all thoſe beauties and ſtrengths, thoſe ſplendours and magnificencies we with ſo much pleaſure and ſo much aſtoniſhment behold? Well might the devout Pſalmiſt and the divine prophets hence ſo often take occaſion to excite us to praiſe and celebrate the perfections of God. Well might even heathen philoſophers from the contemplation of the World be raiſed unto the compoſing of Hymns and Elogies of the Great Maker of the World.

It alſo will conferr to the begetting of humble love and affection and gratitude toward God: what can be more efficacious to this purpoſe than to conſider, that all we have, all we with ſo much content and pleaſure enjoy (our ſelves firſt, then all the accommodations and comforts we find) did proceed from him; did proceed with particular intention from eſpecial good-will toward us; a moſt free good-will, moved with no merit of ours, no profit to himſelf: *when I conſider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and ſtars, which thou haſt ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him?* was the Pſalmiſt's contemplation; that the author of ſo great and glorious a work ſhould vouchſafe to regard ſo mean a thing as we, to viſit us with a provident care of our welfare, what a demonſtration of admirable condeſcenſion, grace, and goodneſs is this? what an argument of love and thankfulneſs toward him? What is man? what in compariſon of him that made the world? what is our ſtrength in reſpect of his, what our wit, what our goodneſs, what any quality of ours? how weak, vain, narrow, poor and wretched creatures muſt we needs ſeem to our ſelves, when we ſeriouſly conſider thoſe excellencies diſplayed in the creation? how ſhould this humble and depreſs us in our conceits concerning our ſelves? eſpecially if we reflect upon our ingratitude, our unprofitableneſs, our unjuſtice toward the author thereof: how none, or how ſcant returns we have made to him, who gave to us and all things their being, their all; how faint in our acknowledgments, how negligent in our ſervice we have been; how frequently we have oppoſed his will, and abuſed his goodneſs. Farther, it is an inducement to truſt and hope in God, and a great conſolation in all needs and diſtreſſes. He that was able to do ſo great things, and was willing to do ſo much for us; he that becauſe he made all things can diſpoſe of all and doth whatever pleaſeth him in heaven and earth; ſhall we diſtruſt or doubt of his protection and ſuccour in our need? *My help* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth*, well might he be aſſured, having recourſe to ſo potent and faithful an aid: and again, *Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whoſe hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the ſea and all that therein is.* The prophet *Jeremy* begins his prayer thus: *O Lord God behold thou haſt made heaven and earth by thy great power and ſtretched-out Arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee.* The creation of the world is ſuch an experiment of God's power and goodneſs, as may well ſupport our faith in the greateſt difficulties and diſtreſſes, it is finally a general incitement to all obedience: which from God's production of all things doth

Cogitavit res ante natura, quas fecit. *Sen. de benef.* 2. 23.

Pſal. 8. 3.

Sen. de Ira 27. Nimis nos ſuſpicimus ſi digni nobis videmus propter quos tanta moveantur.

Dan. 4. 35.

Pſal. 121. 2. 124. 8.

Pſal. 146. 5.

Jer. 32. 17.

doth appear due and reaſonable. All other things obey the law impoſed on them; inſiſt in the Courſe preſcribed to them; and ſhall we be only diſobedient and refractory, irregular and exorbitant? ſhall all the hoſts of heaven readily and punctually obey God's ſummons? ſhall the pillars of heaven tremble and be aſtoniſhed at his reproof? ſhall the ſea, with its proud waves, be confined by his decree? ſhall fire and hail, ſnow and vapour, and ſtormy winds (ſuch rude and boiſterous things) fulfill his word? and ſhall we be unruly and rebellious? But I leave the farther improvement of this doctrine to your meditation: Concluding with that exhortation of the angel in the Revelation: *Fear God, and give glory to him: worſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains of water:* Even to him be all obedience, adoration, and praiſe for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Iſa. 48. 13. 40. 26. Job 9. 5. 26. 11. Job 38. 11. Jer. 5. 22. Pſal. 48. 8. Rev. 14. 7.

THE Firſt part of the Creed, concerning *God the Father*, we have largely inſiſted upon; next in order (as is fit) ſucceeds that part thereof, which relates to *his ever Bleſſed Son, our Lord and Saviour*: the faith in whom, that is, the believing him to be, what he profeſſed himſelf, what he and his firſt Diſciples did teach concerning him, is the principal and peculiar duty of our Religion as Chriſtian, and diſtinct from all other Religions; the ſum of which doctrine is contained in what follows; wherein our Saviour, the object of this faith, is deſcribed and determined unto us, firſt by his proper name *Jeſus*; next by his moſt notable and comprehenſive title *Chriſt*; then by his relations, unto *God* firſt, *His only Son*; then unto us, *Our Lord*; laſtly by ſeveral illuſtrious accidents, and circumſtances appertaining to him, (his *conception, nativity, paſſion, crucifixion, death, burial, deſcent into hell, reſurrection, aſcenſion, ſeſſion at God's right hand:*) which particulars I ſhall endeavour to proſecute ſomewhat more briefly.

JESUS.

THIS Name (not unuſual among the *Jews*; for we read of divers in Scripture, that bear it; who, according to his Name (ſaith *Siracides*) was great for the ſaving of God's elect; *Jeſus the ſon of Juſtus, Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, Bar-Jeſus*; and eſpecially the famous *Jeſus the ſon of Nun*; and many others ſo named occur in *Joſephus*:) this name, I ſay, was, by God's direction, impoſed upon our Saviour, at his *Circumciſion*, for the ſignificancy of it, as importing the performance of that great deſign, for which he was ſent into the world, the ſalvation of mankind from ſin and miſery:) for it is ſaid, *The ſon of man came to ſave the ſouls of men; and to ſave that which was loſt: that God ſent him into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world by him ſhould be ſaved: that he came into the world to ſave ſinners:*) that is the reaſon rendred by the Angel of this name being aſſigned to him: *She ſhall bear a ſon, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus; for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins:* from their ſins, taking in all the cauſes and conſequences of them: from all thoſe ſpiritual enemies, which draw or drive us into them: from the guilt and obnoxiouſneſs to puniſhment; the terrour and anguiſh of conſcience; the wrath and diſpleaſure of God following upon them; the ſlavery under their dominion; the final condemnation and ſufferance of grievous pains for them: from all thoſe miſchiefs he came to free and ſave us from, and did actually perform his part in accompliſhing that ſalvation; and was therefore properly called *Jeſus*, or *the Saviour. To ſave us from our enemies* (I ſay) *and from the hands of all that hate us*, (ſo *Zachary* in his *Benedictus*) from the Devil firſt; *For this purpoſe*, (ſaith St. *John*) *the Son of God did appear, that he might diſſolve the work of the Devil*, thoſe works of tempting, and impelling us to ſin. *He went about* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *doing benefits, and healing all that were* * *over-powered* (or *over-ruled*) *by the Devil*, (poſſeſſed by him whether in body or mind:) *By his death* (the Author to the *Hebrews* tells us) *he did defeat him who had the power of death*; that is, *the Devil*: He combated and conquered this ſtrong one (this dreadful and mighty foe of ours) and bound him, and diſarmed him of his † panoply; and ‖ ſpoiled all his baggage; leaving him unable (without our own fault, our baſeneſs or negligence) to do us miſchief, (as is inſinuated in *Matth.* 12. and *Luk.* 11.) Our own fleſhly deſire, inclining us to vicious exceſs, in ſenſual enjoyments, (another powerful and miſchievous enemy of ours) he by his grace (enlightning and ſtrengthening us) doth ſave us from: *The law of the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *hath freed me from the law of ſin and death*: and the world (which often ſollicits, and ſometimes would force us to wickedneſs)

Eccl. 46. 1. Coloſſ. 4. 11. Luk. 2. 21. Luk. 9. 56. Matt. 18. 11. Joh. 3. 17. 12. 47. 1 Tim. 1. 15. Mat. 1. 21. Luk. 1. 71. 1 Joh. 3. 8. Act. 10. 38. * καταδυναστευομένους. Heb. 2. 14. Matt. 12. 42. Luk. 11. 21, 22. † παναπλίαν αὐτῦ ‖ σκεῦη διαρπάσαι. Rom. 8. 2.

Joh. 16. 33. 1 Joh. 5. 4. he delivers us from, vanquiſhing it in our behalf: *Be of good courage* (ſaith he) *for I have overcome the world: In all theſe things* (in the temptations and perſecutions of all our enemies) *we do more than conquer, through Chriſt that loved us.* As Rom. 8. 37. Heb. 9. 14. for our conſcience, 'tis the blood of Chriſt that cleanſes it from the ſtain of guilt; Heb. 2. 15. that delivers it from the fear of puniſhment; as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* doth aſ- Rom. 5. 9, 10. ſure us. And the wrath of God towards us he hath appeaſed; ſo that *being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*: and, *If being enemies, we were reconciled by the death of his Son; much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life*: We ſhall be ſaved from all condemnation and Rom. 8. 1. 1 Theſ. 1. 10. vengeance due to us: for *there is now no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Je-* * ὁ ῥυόμενος. *ſus:—Jeſus,* that delivers us from the wrath to come.* In ſo many reſpects is this bleſſed Perſon *our Jeſus*; ſaving us from all our enemies, our ſins, our miſeries; which he performs ſeveral ways; and in ſeveral reſpects may therefore be ſtyled *our Saviour.*

1. By his conduct of us into, and in the way of ſalvation: It is a very proper title, and moſt due to thoſe brave Captains, who by their wiſdom and valour have freed their people from ſtreights and oppreſſions. So generally were thoſe Judges and Captains, who anciently delivered *Iſrael*, called: *In the time of their trouble* Neh. 9. 27. (ſaid the *Levites* in their prayer in *Nehemiah*) *when they cried unto thee, thou heardeſt them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mercies thou gaveſt them Saviours, who ſaved them out of the hand of the enemy*: So particularly are *Othni-* Judg. 3. 9, 15. *el* and *Ehud* called; and *Moſes* ſignally: *The ſame* (ſaith St. *Stephen*) *did God ſend* Acts 7. 35. *to be* (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν) *a Commander and a Saviour* (or *Redeemer*:) as he who by his happy conduct did free them from *Egyptian* ſlavery. So is *Jeſus* called ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, (*the Captain of our Salvation*, Heb. 2. 10.) ἀρχηγὸς ζωῆς, (*the Captain of life, the chief leader of us into the way of eternal life and ſalvation*, Acts 3. 15.) ἀρχηγὸς πίστεως (*the Captain of our faith*, he that brought us into the belief of that ſaving doctrine, which is *the power of God to ſalvation*, Heb. 12. 2. Rom. 1. 16.) and theſe titles we find together attributed to him, (*Acts* 5. 31.) *Him hath God exalted,* ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα, *as a Captain and Saviour.* And thus hath he conducted us, firſt by inſtruction, ſhewing and teaching us the way of ſalvati- Rom. 11. 14. 1 Cor. 9. 22. 1 Tim. 4. 16. Jam. 5. 20. on, (the doing of which we ſee often called *Saving*; becauſe it hath ſo much efficacy towards the effecting Salvation) God's gracious intentions of mercy toward us; the conditions of duty required by God from us; the great encouragements to ſaving obedience, and determents from deſtructive diſobedience; the whole will of Joh. 1. 18. God, and concernment of man reſpecting ſalvation, he hath revealed unto us: *No man hath ever ſeen God*, (not his face or nature; not his purpoſe and pleaſure) *the only begotten Son, being in the boſom of the Father,* (ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο) *he hath reported and expounded him unto us:* all that excellent doctrine, which he that heartily believes, and faithfully practiſes according to, ſhall infallibly be ſaved, he was 2 Tim. 1. 9. the firſt author and doctor of: *God ſaved and called us* (as St. *Paul* tells us) *with a holy call* (called us out of the way of errour and wickedneſs and miſery, into the Ἵνα γένηται πρωτότοκος ἐν νεκρῶν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσῃ τῇ ἀνθρώπου φύσει εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ὁδόν. Cyr. Alex. way of truth and righteouſneſs and happineſs), *according to his purpoſe and grace* (his gracious deſign) *that was beſtowed upon us in Chriſt Jeſus before the world began*; but being now made manifeſt by the appearing of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, who hath aboliſhed death, and brought life and immortality to light by the Goſpel. By him the σωτήριος χάρις (*the grace of God that bringeth ſalvation*) *did appear to* Tit. 2. 11, 12. *all men; teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, and righteouſly, and piouſly in this world*: Neither by his doctrine only, but by his example and real performance he hath conducted us in the ſame bleſſed path: He hath reſolutely marched before us through all the moſt difficult and dangerous paſſages; charging, beating back and breaking through all the forces of our enemies; enduring painfully the moſt furious aſſaults of the world, and powerfully ſub- 1 Cor. 15. 55, 57. duing the moſt malicious rage of hell. *O death, where is thy ſting? O hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God who hath given us the victory by our Lord Jeſus* 1 Pet. 2. 21. Heb. 12. 2. *Chriſt.* Victory and ſalvation (from death and hell) we ſhall be certain of, if we *purſue his ſteps*, and do not baſely or falſly deſert ſo good a leader—— *If with patience we run the race that is ſet before us, looking unto the captain and perfecter of our faith, Jeſus, who for the joy propoſed unto him, endured the croſs, deſpiſed the ſhame, and hath ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.* Would it not

Thus *Demetrius*, by the *Athenians*, was entituled εὐεργέτης καὶ σωτὴρ; for delivering them from the *Macedonian* ſubjection, and reſtoring to them their liberty.

raiſe

raiſe and enflame any courage to ſee his Commander adventure ſo boldly upon all dangers, to endure ſo willingly all hardſhips.

2. But he was alſo farther (in a more excellent and peculiar manner) our Saviour, in that he purchaſed for us ſalvation; freeing us from the captivity we were detained in; from the obnoxiouſneſs to punishment, we were ſubjected to; by yielding himſelf a ranſom for us, offering his life a ſacrifice for our ſins; procuring by his merit and ſuffering, in our ſtead and behalf, the pardon of our ſins, and reconciliation with God. *Him* (ſay *Peter* and the Apoſtles) *hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Iſrael and remiſſion of ſins.* He gave himſelf, ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων (a ranſom inſtead of all.) We have redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace. He bare himſelf our ſins in his own body upon the tree. He by the eternal ſpirit offer'd up himſelf a ſpotleſs (ſacrifice) to God; being thereby a propitiation for our ſins and the ſins of the whole world. God by him did reconcile the world unto himſelf, not imputing unto them their tranſgreſſions. Thus doth the Scripture declare *Jeſus* to have been our Saviour: For he not only leads us in the way, but (as a gracious reward of our faithful and conſtant adherence to him) has given us the promiſe of eternal joy and happineſs.

Acts 5. 31. 1 Tim. 2. 6. Matt. 20. 28. Epheſ 1. 7. Col. 1. 14. Vid. 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Heb. 9. 14. 1 John 2. 2. 4. 10. ἱλασμὸς. ἱλαστήριον.

3. He is, thirdly, our Saviour, by communication of ſpiritual ſtrength and power, whereby we are enabled to reſiſt and overcome the enemies of our ſoul and our ſalvation; freeing us from the dominion of ſin and Satan. Our own reaſon, however aided by exteriour inſtruction and excitement, being unable to deal with thoſe powerful temptations, oppoſitions and diſcouragements we are to encounter with, he hath given us a wiſe and powerful ſpirit, to guide and adviſe us; to excite, and encourage us; to relieve and ſuccour us, in all our religious practice and welfare; ſo that all deliverance from the prevalency of temptation and ſin, we owe to his grace and aſſiſtance: By our faithful embracing Chriſt's doctrine and yoke —— *Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of ſin may be deſtroyed, ſo that we henceforth ſhould not ſerve ſin:* Sin ſhall no longer lord it over us, becauſe we *are not under the law, but under grace; being freed from ſin, we are ſubjected to righteouſneſs: and made ſervants to God; having our fruit unto holineſs; and the end everlaſting life: The law of the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus hath freed us from the law of ſin and of death:* Thus is Jeſus our Saviour.

Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Col. 1. 20. Rom. 6. 6, 14 18, 22. Rom. 8. 2.

4. He is ſo, laſtly, by final conferring upon us, and crowning us with ſalvation! He not only leads us in the way, and hath purchaſed for us the means, and helps us in the proſecution, and hath promiſed unto us, but will actually beſtow upon us (as a gracious reward of our faithful and conſtant adherence to him) eternal joy and happineſs. *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed the race, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous judge ſhall give me at that day; and not to me only but to all them alſo that ſhall have loved his appearance. He is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them. Thou haſt given him* (thou, O father, to thy Son Jeſus haſt given) *the power of all fleſh, that he ſhould give eternal life to all that thou haſt given him* (that is to all, who by God's grace have perſiſted in faithful obedience to him.) *The glory which thou haſt given me, I have given unto them.* Thus is he the ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτὴς, the *beginner, carrier on,* and *accompliſher* of our ſalvation: and therefore moſt appoſitely was named *Jeſus*; the name, which anciently that moſt valiant and ſucceſsful Captain did bear, who did of all moſt livelily repreſent and preſignifie him, and had therefore queſtionleſs by God's ſecret Providence this name aſſigned him.

2 Tim. 4. 8. Heb. 7. 25. Joh. 17. 2, 24. Heb. 12. 2.

I need not now much to mind you, what reſpect, what love, what gratitude the very mention of this name, the conſideration of theſe benefits towards us imply'd thereby, ſhould beget in us. He that ſhould freely, with great inconvenience to himſelf, come out of his own way, to ſhew us ours, bringing us out of a road tending unto certain deſtruction, into a moſt pleaſant and ſafe way, ſurely leading unto the end of our deſires, we ſhould think our ſelves much obliged unto: He that ſhould draw us out of a wretched ſlavery, deſtitute of all eaſe, comfort or hope, by frankly yielding up himſelf a ranſom for us, we could not know how ſufficiently to value his kindneſs toward us: He that, when we were ſentenced to death, (a death of torment endleſs and remedileſs) ſhould not only expoſe his life for our delivery, but undergo willingly a painful and diſgraceful execution in our ſtead; what ſhould we

Joha 15. 13.

think

think of his friendſhip? what expreſſion could reach it? He, laſtly, that from a ſtate of extreme penury, baſeneſs, and diſconſolacy, ſhould raiſe us to the higheſt pitch of wealth, dignity, and happineſs, how could we worthily thank him? how love or honour him enough? This and much more, much more than we can conceive or expreſs, hath Jeſus done for us: well therefore ought our hearts to melt with affection in thinking of him, our knees to bend with reverence at the mention of his Name. It concerns us alſo to take care, that his ſo excellent endeavours for our ſalvation be not fruſtrated, that he be as well in effect, as deſign and virtue, our Saviour: what a folly were it, what a crime *to neglect* (to render uſeleſs and ineffectual) *ſo great ſalvation*?

Heb. 2. 3.

CHRIST.

'TIS a title, or name, importing office and dignity; the ſame with *Meſſias*; this in Greek, that in Hebrew ſignifying *The Anointed*. Of ancient times in the Eaſtern countries (abounding as with good oil, ſo with many delicate odoriferous ſpices) it ſeems, by *Hazael* his inunction, to have been the manner (it was ſo however among the Jews) to ſeparate (or conſecrate) perſons (and things too, I might add) deſigned to great and extraordinary employments, by anointing them with ointments compoſed of thoſe ingredients; ſymbolizing (or devoting) it ſeems thereby both a plentiful effuſion upon them of gifts, qualifying them for their employment, and a comfortable and pleaſant diffuſion of good and grateful effects expected from them; from the uſe of things, and the performances of perſons ſo ſanctified. *Thy Name* (ſaith the Spouſe in the *Canticles*) *is an ointment powered forth*; that is, very delightful and acceptable; and ſo were thoſe offices hoped to be, to which men by ſuch unction were conſecrated. We find eſpecially three ſorts of perſons, to whom this conſecration did belong, by divine appointment: Kings, and Prieſts, and Prophets; who are therefore (all of them) ſtyled *God's anointed*: Kings and Prieſts more frequently; but ſometimes alſo Prophets: *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*; where *prophets* and *anointed* do ſeem to denote the ſame thing, and to expound one the other; (for *Abraham*, whom with the other Patriarchs thoſe words do concern, is called a **Prophet*, and becauſe ſo, ſeems here ſtiled *God's anointed*.) Of *Prieſts*, (though at firſt all the ſons of *Aaron* were thus conſecrated, according to that law) Exod. 30. 30. *Thou ſhalt anoint Aaron and his ſons, that they may miniſter unto me in the Prieſts Office*; yet they tell us, that afterward in all courſe of times only the High-prieſt was ſo conſecrated, whence *the Anointed*, or the Prieſt that is anointed did ſignify *the high-prieſt* (in diſtinction to other inferiour Prieſts.) Of *Kings*, all that ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in a legal and orderly courſe; and thoſe whom God did himſelf by extraordinary deſignation conferr that dignity upon, were ſo ſeparated; (as *Hazael*, and *Jehu**.) *Prophets*, we do not find that they were commonly or according to any rule *anointed*: but one plain inſtance we have of *Eliſha*, ſubſtituted to *Elijah* in this manner; it ſeems as being a prophet more than ordinary, endued with higher gifts, and deſigned to greater performances than common prophets were. Now whereas the people of the Jews were by prophetical admonitions brought into an opinion and hope, that in times to come God would ſend an extraordinary prophet: *I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him*; a prophet, who ſhould eſtabliſh a new covenant with the houſe of *Iſrael*; and is therefore called *the meſſenger of the covenant*, Mal. 1. 3. who ſhould propagate the knowledge and worſhip of God; ſhould enlighten and convert the Gentiles; who ſhould inſtruct the ignorant, ſtrengthen the faint, comfort the afflicted; according to many paſſages concerning him in the prophets: as for inſtance, that in *Iſaiah* 61. 1. cited by St *Luke*, Luk. 4. 18. *The ſpirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath ſent me to bind up the broken-hearted*, &c. And that in the ſame prophet, Chap. 42. 1. alledged by St. *Matthew*, Matt. 12. 18. *Behold my ſervant, whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my ſoul delighteth; I have put my ſpirit upon him, he ſhall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He ſhall not cry*, &c. Which being inſpired, is the qualification of a prophet; and ſuch promulgation of God's will; ſuch miniſtration of comfort and council from God are the proper offices of a prophet, (that is, of an eſpecial miniſter and agent ſent by God

1 King. 19. 15.

Vid. Exod. 30. 23, &c.

Cant. 1. 2.

Vid. Pſal. 133.

1 Chro. 16. 22.

* Gen. 20. 7.

Exod. 40. 15.

Exod. 30. 30.

Levit. 4. 3, 5. 16.

* 1 King 19. 15.

1 King. 19. 16.

Deut. 18. 15, 18.

God to tranſact his affairs with men and ſhew them his pleaſure.) This perſon alſo the Jews did from the ſame inſtructions expect to be a Prince, who ſhould govern them in righteouſneſs and in proſperity; endued with power to deliver them from all oppreſſion and ſlavery; to ſubdue their Enemies; and reduce all nations under ſubjection to their laws; according to thoſe predictions; Iſa. 32. 1. *Behold a King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs*, &c. Pſal. 110. 2. *The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy ſtrength out of Sion, rule thou in the midſt of thine enemies.* Jer. 23. 5. and 33. 15. *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto David a righteous branch; and a King ſhall reign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth; in his days Judah ſhall be ſaved, and Iſrael ſhall dwell ſafely*: and Jer. 30. 8. *It ſhall come to paſs in that day, ſaith the Lord, I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burſt thy bonds, and ſtrangers ſhall no more ſerve themſelves of him: But they ſhall ſerve the Lord their God, and David their King, whom I will raiſe up unto them.* Iſa. 11. 1, 10. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch ſhall grow out of his roots: And the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall be upon him*, &c. —— *he ſhall ſtand for an Enſign of the people, to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek, and his reſt ſhall be glorious*: and many more places clearly ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe. That this Great perſon alſo ſhould be a Prieſt, they did or might have learned from the ſame Prophets: for of him *Zechariah* thus foretold: *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts; Behold the man whoſe name is the Branch*, (a name in ſo many places appropriated to the Meſſias) *and he ſhall grow up out of his place, and he ſhall build the temple of the Lord; even he ſhall build the Temple of the Lord, and he ſhall bear the glory; and ſhall ſit and rule upon his throne; And he ſhall be a prieſt upon his throne, and the counſel of peace ſhall be between them both.* Of him alſo *David* ſpake: *The Lord hath ſworn and will not repent; Thou art a prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck:* From diverſ paſſages alſo concerning his performances of propitiation and benediction they might have collected the ſame. It is no wonder then, that the ancient Jews (although the text of Scripture does not, except once in the 9th of *Daniel*, apply this name of *Chriſt* or *Meſſias* to this perſon, ſo promiſed and propheſied of) did attribute eſpecially this title to him, it ſeeming moſt proper of any, and moſt comprehenſive; implying all the privileges, endowments, and performances belonging to him: 'tis obſerved that the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe (compoſed by the Prieſts, as an interpretation of the leſs exactly underſtood ancient Hebrew Scripture, for the benefit and inſtruction of the people) doth expreſly mention the *Meſſias* in above ſeventy places; and according to their Expoſitions we ſee that the People did confidently expect a Perſon (under this name and notion) ſhould come; *I know* (ſaid the Woman of *Samaria*, ſo far had this belief extended) *that the Meſſias comes; and when he ſhall come, he will tell us all things*: (Obſerve, that they did promiſe to themſelves a full declaration of all truth by the *Meſſias*.) And when St. *John* the Baptiſt did live and teach in a manner extraordinary, 'tis ſaid, *That the People did expect, and all men muſed in their hearts concerning him whether he were the Chriſt, or not*: And when our Saviour's admirable works and diſcourſes had convinced divers, they ſaid, *When Chriſt cometh, ſhall he do greater miracles than this man hath done?* So that 'tis evident, the belief and expectation of a *Meſſias* to come was general among them. And that indeed *Jeſus* was ſuch, in correſpondency to all thoſe prophecies, and the characters in them deſcribed and preſignified, that he was ſignally choſen and conſecrated by God, in a manner ſuperiment, to all theſe offices Prophetical, Regal, and Sacerdotal, the New Teſtament doth abundantly ſhew us. *Him* (ſaith St. *Peter* in general) *God anointed with the holy Spirit, and Power*: not with external effuſion of material oil (that did only ſignifie, as *Cyrus* alſo was not, who yet is called *God's Meſſias*) but with real infuſion of divine grace and power, enabling him to execute all thoſe great and extraordinary functions: with this gladſome oil he was thoroughly perfumed and repleniſhed, without meaſure: with this he was ſanctified from the womb; when the *power of the higheſt did overſhadow him*, at or in his conception: with this, at his Baptiſm, he was ſolemnly and viſible inaugurated; when the Heavens were opened unto him, and the ſpirit of God *deſcended upon him as a Dove, and came upon him*: with this in all the courſe of his life and miniſtry he was continually accompanied; the virtue of it being in moſt ſenſible effects of wiſe and gracious diſcourſe; holy and blameleſs converſation; miraculous and glorious performances, for the good and benefit of mankind, to the delight and conſolation of all well-diſpoſed minds, diſcovered and diffuſed. He was by this made (in right

Vid. Ezek. 34. 23, &c. 37. 24. Hoſ. 3. 5.

Vid. Iſa. 9. 7. 16. 15.

Zech. 6. 12.

Pſal. 110. 4.

Vid. Neh. 8. 8.

Joh. 4. 25.

Luk. 3. 15.

John 7. 31.

Act. 10. 38.

Pſal. 45. 5. Luk. 4. 1. John 3. 34. Matt. 3. 16. Acts 10. 38.

and

and in effect) a *Prophet*, a *King*, a *Prieſt*. 1. A *Prophet*; for they were not miſtaken, who (upon our Saviour's admirable raiſing the Widow's child) were *amazed, and glorified God, ſaying, That a great Prophet was raiſed up among them,* and that *God had viſited his people:* nor the diſciples, who called him *a Prophet, mighty in deed and ſpeech before God and all the people:* nor they, who confeſſed (in St. *John*'s Goſpel) *This is in truth the Prophet, that is to come into the world:* an extraordinary commiſſion he had from God, declared by vocal atteſtation of God himſelf from Heaven, by the expreſs teſtimony of St. *John Baptiſt*, by the performance of innumerable great ſigns and miraculous works (arguments in the higheſt degree, to utmoſt poſſibility ſufficient to aſſert and confirm it) he was in greateſt perfection qualified for the exerciſe of that function; by inſpiration complete and unlimited; by diſpoſition of mind altogether pure and holy, declared in a continual practice of life void of all ſin and guile; by an inſuperable courage and conſtancy, an incomparable meekneſs and patience; a moſt winning goodneſs and ſweetneſs; a tranſcendent wiſdom and diſcretion; a moſt powerful awfulneſs and majeſty, expreſſed in all his demeanour and actions. And ſuitable to the authority of his commiſſion and the qualifications of his perſon was the weight and the extent of his doctrine, concerning no leſs than the ſalvation of mankind; the reconciliation of God to the world; the entire will of God, and whole duty of Man, with all the covenants and conditions, the promiſes and threatnings relating to our future ſtate; myſteries never before revealed, decrees never to be reverſed. He did not (as other Prophets have done) propheſie about the conſtitution of one particular law or religion; the reproof or reformation of one ſtate; the judgment and fate determined to this or that nation; but to the inſtruction and converſion of all people; the ſettling of a law univerſal and perpetual; the final doom of all the world, did his prophetical revelations extend. So was he a Prophet. 2. And a *King* alſo he is; ſuch as the Prophets foretold he ſhould be; who ſhould *raiſe the tabernacle of David that was fallen*; and *reſtore the Kingdom to Iſrael*, (Acts 1. 6.) that ſhould enact laws, and reduce the nations into ſubjection to them; ſhould erect a Kingdom, and govern it in righteouſneſs, peace, and proſperity; ſubduing and extirpating all the enemies thereof: [A King not of this world, though over it; ruling not in external pomp and ſtate; but by ſecret providence and power; not ſo much over the bodies and temporal eſtates, as in the hearts and conſciences of men; not chiefly but outward compulſion and violence, but by inward allurement and perſuaſion:] A King he is indeed over all the world; to *the lamb is to be *aſcribed all power and authority by every creature*; he is truly ſtyled *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* God hath advanced him (ὑπερύψωσε) and hath *given him a name* (that is, a title of dignity and authority) *above every name; that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bend, whether of things in heaven, or upon the earth, or under the ground.* Of him in a higher and exacter ſenſe it was ſaid, than of *Solomon, All Kings fall down before him, all Nations do ſerve him*: All men whatever (all creatures) are his vaſſals, ſubject and tributary to him: *All power is given unto him in heaven and earth.* But in eſpecial manner he is King over his Church; over that People, whom by the ſword of his word and prevalent operation of his ſpirit he hath ſubdued to himſelf, (that myſtical *Sion*, built upon the rock of his heavenly grace and truth; in which 'tis ſaid God will place his reſidence and reign for ever; from whence the law ſhall go forth; and to which all nations ſhall flow.) Over this he reigns; having eſtabliſhed moſt righteous and wholſome laws, which his ſubjects are obliged and enabled by him to obey; protecting them by legiſlation, by defence and protection, *&c.* from the invaſions and inſurrections of their enemies (inteſtine enemies, their own luſts; outward enemies, the Devil and the World,) ſupporting them in their diſtreſſes and afflictions: Alſo exerciſing judgment over all; diſtributing fit rewards and puniſhments, with exquiſite juſtice and equity; moſt juſt, though very ſevere puniſhments upon obſtinate offenders; moſt royal and liberal rewards to the faithful and obedient; laſtly, reſtraining, defeating, and deſtroying all the enemies to his royal dignity, and to the welfare of his good ſubjects; both viſible and inviſible; temporal and ſpiritual. *Out of his mouth* (Apoc. 19. 15.) *there goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron. Theſe mine enemies* (he ſhall one day ſay) *which would not that I ſhould reign over them, bring them hither and ſlay them before me: He muſt reign 'till he hath put all ene-*

Luke 7. 16. Luke 24. 19. John 6. 14. 1 Pet. 2. 22. Amos 9. 11. *Rev. 5. 13. 19. 16. Rev. 1. 5. Phil. 2. 9. Eph. 1. 21. Col. 2. 10. Pſal. 72. 11. Matt. 28. 18. 11. 27. John 3. 35. 13. 3. 17. 2. Pſal. 132. 13. Mic. 4. 7, &c. Iſa. 2. 2, &c. Apoc. 19. 15. Pſal. 2. 9. Mat. 25. 31, &c. Luke 19. 27. 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26.

mies

mies under his feet. Thus is he a King, endued with ſovereign Power, and crowned with glorious Majeſty; enjoying all pre-eminencies, and exerciſing all functions ſuitable to regal dignity. 3. He is alſo a *Prieſt*; and that no ordinary one: διαφορωτέρας τέτευχε λειτουργίας; he hath *obtained a more excellent function*, than any other Prieſt ever had. An oblation he once offered, in worth and efficacy ſurpaſſing all the ſacrifices and oblations that ever were or could be made (all the fatteſt hecatombs that were ever ſacrificed; all the gold and precious ſtones that were ever offered; all the ſpices and perfumes that ever were kindled upon the altar, were but vile and ſordid; ineffectual and unacceptable, in compariſon thereto) a willing oblation of his own moſt glorious body (the temple of the divinity;) of his moſt precious blood; of his dear life; of himſelf; his moſt innocent, moſt pure, moſt ſpotleſs and unblemiſhed ſelf; for the propitiation of our ſins, and reconciling us to God; an oblation that only could appeaſe God's wrath, and merit his favour.

Vid. Col. 2. 15. Heb. 8. 6. 1 Pet. 1. 18. Heb. 9. 9. Heb. 10. 5. Joh. 10. 16. Eph 5. 2. Heb. 7. 27. Heb. 7. 26.

He doth alſo (which is another ſacerdotal performance) intercede for the pardon of our ſins: *If any man ſin, we have an advocate with* (or *to*) *the father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous*; for the acceptance of our ſervices; for the granting our requeſts; for grace and aſſiſtance, comfort, and reward, and all ſpiritual advantages to be conferr'd upon us; thus purſuing the work of ſalvation by his propitiatory ſacrifice begun for us. Whence (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *he is able to ſave to the uttermoſt thoſe that by him come unto God, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for us.* It is the duty alſo of a Prieſt to mediate between God and man by atonement and interceſſion; ſo is he.

1 Joh. 2. 1. Vid. Heb. 5. 7. Heb. 7. 25. Numb. 6. 23. 1 Tim. 2. 5.

He doth farther, as a Prieſt, perform the office of bleſſing; bleſſing the people in God's name: bleſſing God in the people's behalf; as did that illuſtrious type of him, *Melchizedeck.* (*Bleſſed be Abram of the moſt High God, poſſeſſour of heaven and earth: and bleſſed be the moſt High God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand.*) So hath Jeſus effectually pronounced all joy and happineſs to his faithful people; he pronounced Bleſſedneſs in his Sermons; he bleſſed his Diſciples at his parting; *And God* (as St. *Peter* tells us) *having raiſed up his Son Jeſus, ſent him to bleſs us, in turning away every one of us from his iniquity*; and at the laſt day he will utter that comfortable benediction; *Come ye bleſſed of my father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*; as the great Prophet and Doctor; as the ſovereign King and Prince; as the High-Prieſt and Advocate of his Church. So in all reſpects is Jeſus a true and perfect Prieſt; and ſo finally in all reſpects is he God's *anointed*; the *Chriſt* of God: and indeed that he is ſo, is the fundamental point of our Religion; which the Apoſtles did teſtifie, and preach, and labour to perſuade the world of, the ſincere belief of which doth conſtitute and denominate us Chriſtians; the conſideration of which may ſerve to beget in us a practice anſwerable to our relations grounded thereupon: If he be ſuch a Prophet, we muſt with attention and a docile mind hearken to his admonitions and inſtructions; we muſt yield a ſteady belief to his doctrine; we muſt readily practiſe what he teaches us: if he be our King, we muſt perform all due allegiance to him; pay him honour and reverence; ſubmit to his laws and commandments; repoſe truſt and confidence in him; fly to his protection and aſſiſtance in all our difficulties and needs. If he be our Prieſt, we muſt apply our ſelves to him for, and rely upon his ſpiritual miniſteries in our behalf; ſue for and expect propitiation of our ſins by his ſacrifice; the collation of all ſpiritual gifts from his interceſſion; all ſpiritual comfort, joy, and felicity in conſequence upon his efficacious benediction; *Having* ('tis the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* his admonition) *a great Prieſt over the houſe of God, let us draw near with a true heart, in full aſſurance of faith.* In a word, if Jeſus be Chriſt, let us be Chriſtians; Chriſtians not in name only, in outward profeſſion, in our opinion; but in very deed and reality; in our heart, in our affection, in our practice. *Let every one that nameth the name of Chriſt* (that confeſſeth him to be ſo) *depart from iniquity.*

Luk. 24. 50. Act. 3. 26. Vid. Eph. 1. 3. Matt. 23. 34. Heb. 10 21, 22 2 Tim. 2. 19.

His only Son.

That the *Meſſias* deſigned by God to come for the reſtoring of the Church and reformation of the World, was in eſpecial manner to be the Son of God, ſeems to have been the common perſuaſion of the ancient *Jews* before our Saviour's appearance; as may be collected from divers expreſſions then uſed, wherein being the

Chriſt, and being the Son of God, are conjoined as inſeparable adjuncts of the ſame perſon: as in the confeſſions of *Nathaniel*, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael:* Of *Martha*, *I believe that thou art the Chriſt, the Son of God, which ſhould come into the world:* Of St. *Peter*, *We have believed, and have known that thou art the Chriſt, the Son of the living God*; and eſpecially by that examination of the High-Prieſt: *I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Chriſt, the Son of God.* And that our Saviour was indeed ſo, the New Teſtament doth every where teach us: calling him not only at large *the Son of God*, but his μονογενὴς (his *only begotten Son*,) his ἀγαπητὸς, (his *darling Son*;) his πρωτότοκος (his *firſt-born*,) his ἴδιος υἱὸς (his *proper* and *peculiar Son*;) thoſe epithets all implying ſomewhat of peculiar eminency in the kind and ground of this relation. *Adam* is called *the Son of God*; and the Angels are ſo entitled; and Princes are ſome-where ſtyled *the Children of the moſt High:* and all men, eſpecially all good men; yea all things have God, in ſome ſenſe, their father: But all theſe in a manner (if we compare them with Chriſt's relation) are improper and inferiour; for he is the *only Son*, (or the *only begotten Son*) of God. Now we find indeed ſeveral reaſons and reſpects, for which he is called the Son of God: he is ſo in regard of his temporal generation, by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin *Mary*; ſo the Angel doth expreſsly tell us: *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee: therefore alſo that Holy thing, which is begotten, ſhall be called the Son of God:* A generation, ſo wonderful, and peculiar, without intervention of any father, but God, is one ground of this relation and title. He is alſo capable of this title, by reaſon of that high Office, the which by God's ſpecial deſignation and appointment he was inſtated in: if ordinary Princes and Judges (as being deputed by God to repreſent himſelf in diſpenſation of juſtice, as reſembling him in exerciſe of power and authority) have been called *Gods*, and *the children of the moſt High*, in the holy Scripture it ſelf; with how much greater reaſon and truth may he (whom God hath ſanctified and ſent into the world; hath conſecrated and commiſſionated to the moſt eminent and extraordinary office) be ſo called? 'tis our Saviour's own argumentation. He is alſo in regard of his Reſurrection by the divine power (which is a kind of generation, or a regeneration to another immortal life) ſo ſtyled: if others are the Children of God, being the Children of the Reſurrection, how much more he, who is *the firſt-born from the dead*? and that of the Pſalmiſt, concerning Chriſt, *Thou art my ſon, this day have I begotten thee*, according to St. *Paul*'s expoſition, was fulfilled by God's raiſing Jeſus (*Acts* 13. 33.) Again; whereas it is ſaid, that God did appoint or make our Saviour *heir of all things*; did *put all things under his feet*; did *give him power over all fleſh*; did *commit to him all authority in heaven and upon the earth*; *having ſet him at his right hand*; hath exalted him to the next place of authority and dignity to himſelf, (*the right hand of the Majeſty in the higheſt*,) and given him *a name above every name*: Well may he in this reſpect be entitled *the Son of God*, as having obtained the rank and privilege proper to this relation: (*If a ſon, then an heir*, St. *Paul* argues: and reciprocally, if conſtituted *heir of all*, then in that regard *a ſon*, Rom. 8. 17.) in ſuch reſpects is our Saviour properly or may be fitly ſtyled the *Son of God:* but his being ſo expreſsly called God's *only begotten Son*, doth imply a ground more peculiar and more excellent (than any of theſe) of this relation (as do alſo thoſe eſpecial prerogatives of affection and favour from God appropriated to him; with all the glorious preferment conſequent thence argue the ſame.) For the firſt *Adam* alſo derived his Being immediately from God's power and divine inſpiration; *Iſaac*, *Samuel*, and *John* the Baptiſt, had a generation extraordinary and miraculous (as being born of aged fathers, or barren mothers, by the interpoſition of divine power;) and we cannot eaſily conceive how the production of Angels ſhould be ſo much inferiour to our Saviour's temporal generation (ſuppoſing he had no other.) And our Saviour, though he were the firſt and chief, yet was not the only Son of the Reſurrection; nor doth the arbitrary collation of power and dignity, how eminent ſoever, ſeem to ſuffice; for we ſee others in regard to their deſignment and deputation to offices of power and truſt (though ſubordinate and inferiour to him) entitled *the Sons of God:* (beſide, that this is ground of a metaphorical rather than a natural and proper Sonſhip;) And though our Saviour be *the heir of all things*, yet hath he *co-heirs*; whom (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *God hath together enlivened, and together raiſed, and together ſeated with him in thrones of glory and bliſs.* In theſe reſpects God hath *many Sons* (as the other to the

Joh. 1 49.
Joh. 11. 27.
Joh. 6. 69.
Matt. 26. 63.
Mar. 14. 61.
Luk. 3. ult:
Pſal. 82. 6.
Luk. 1. 35.
Vid. Gal. 4. 4.
Pſal. 82. 6.
Joh. 10. 36.
Luk. 20. 36.
Col. 1. 18.
Rev. 1. 5.
Act. 13. 32, 33.
Heb. 1. 2.
Eph. 1. 22.
Joh. 17. 1, 2.
Matt. 28. 18.
Act. 2. 33.
Heb. 1. 3.
Phil. 2. 9.
Eph. 1. 20, 21.
Rom. 8. 17.
Eph. 2. 5, 6.
Heb. 2. 10.

Hebrews

Hebrews tells us) and our Saviour *many Brethren* (as it is in *Romans* the 8th.) We ſhould therefore ſeek a more excellent and proper foundation of this only Sonſhip; and ſuch we may deduce from the teſtimony of divine Writ. It is evident thence, that our Saviour had an exiſtence before his temporal generation; for he did deſcend from heaven, and was there before he did deſcend: (his aſcenſion was but a returning thither, whence he had deſcended at his Incarnation) he was before St. *John* the Baptiſt; and therefore (as St. *John* confeſſes) was worthily preferred before him. Before *Abraham* was born, he did ſubſiſt (and therefore might without any abſurdity affirm, that *Abraham* and he did ſee each other, might have entercourſe together, as his own diſcourſe with the *Jews* doth declare:) nay farther, 'tis plain he was of ſtanding, and had a glory before the world had a being: for he prays thus; *And now father glorify me with thy ſelf, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was*: (Glory; that is, a moſt honourable ſtate of being, and excellent perfection, was not only deſigned him, but he really had it, before the World was) and needs muſt it be ſo; for *by him God made the World:* and himſelf made it: *By him* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers, all things were created by him and for him: And he is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt:* (He did not only create anew and reform mankind; but he created all things; and among them all degrees of Angels; all things in heaven; ſuch things as the new metaphorical Creation did not extend unto:) *All things were made by him* (or did exiſt by him) *and without him there was not any thing made, which was made* (ſaith St. *John*; and what could be ſaid more expreſsly or clearly?) In fine, he did exiſt from all eternity: πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως; that is, born before all the Creation: as, *In the beginning was the Word:* In the beginning; that is, before any point of time deſignable or conceivable; that is, from eternity; whence he is truly ſtyled *the firſt and the laſt* (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος;) and *Alpha* and *Omega*, ſeveral times in St. *John*'s Revelation: (a phraſe by which God's eternity and immortality are uſually expreſſed.) He had therefore a Being before his temporal generation, and that before all creatures, even from eternity; therefore that Being was divine; if no creature, if author of all creatures, if eternally ſubſiſtent, then God: that action is proper, that attribute is peculiar to God; only God can be the Creator of all things; (He that built all things is God; none but God can be eternal; *He only hath immortality*, and only therefore hath eternity:) He is conſequently ſaid, before he did aſſume the *form of a ſervant, and became like unto men*, to have ſubſiſted in *the form of God, and not to have deemed it robbery to be equal* (or in equality) *to God*; (ſo that as he was after his incarnation truly Man, partaker of man's nature and properties; ſo before it he was truly God, partaker of the divine eſſence and attributes;) and therefore he is frequently in the Scriptures called *God* (in the moſt proper and higheſt ſenſe:) *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.* God is ſaid to have been *manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpirit, ſeen of Angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed upon in the World, aſſumed into Glory*, (of which poſitions 'tis evident that the ſubject is *Chriſt*, he is therefore called *God*:) God is alſo ſaid (by St. *Paul*) to *have purchaſed his Church with his own blood*; who elſe did that but Chriſt? *My Lord and my God*; ſo St. *Thomas* expreſſed his faith in Chriſt (upon his conviction) which our Saviour accepts and approves, as a proper teſtimony thereof. Alſo: *We are* (ſaith St. *John*) *in the true One* (the God of truth) *in his Son Jeſus Chriſt*: This he, is the true God, and life eternal, (no falſe, no metaphorical God, but the very true ſupreme ever-living God:) *Out of whom* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *as concerning the fleſh* (according to his humanity) *Chriſt came, who is over all God bleſſed for ever*, (ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς) *the God over all, the ſupreme God; the moſt High: God, bleſſed for ever*; the ὁ εὐλογητὸς, *the Bleſſed one*, (which is a ſpecial and characteriſtical attribute or title of God.) Now this proper appellation, with the Majeſty and Worſhip due thereto, as alſo the title of Lord and King; *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*; with the reverence and authority attending them: likewiſe the moſt divine works of creation and providence, and judging the world; immediate working of miracles, remitting of ſins: the divine attributes of wiſe, good, powerful, abſolutely and perfectly: in a word, all things that the father hath (according to what our Saviour affirmed: *All things that the father hath are mine*;) we cannot imagine that God, who is ſo jealous of his honour, (who *will not give his glory to another*)

Rom. 8. 29. Joh. 3. 13. 6. 62. Joh. 1. 15. Joh. 8. 58. Joh. 17. 5. Heb. 1. Col. 1. 15, &c. Eph. 3. 9. Joh. 1. 3, 10. Joh. 1. 1. Rev. 1. 17. 2. 8. 22. 13. Iſa. 41. 4. 48. 12. 44. 6. Rev. 1. 8. Heb. 3. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Phil. 2. 6, 7. Vid. Rom 8. 33 Joh 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Acts 20. 28. Joh. 20. 28. 1 Joh. 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. Pſal. 42. 8. Joh. 16. 15.

would communicate to any creature, how eminent ſoever in nature (for the higheſt creature poſſible muſt however be infinitely diſtant from, infinitely inferiour to himſelf in perfection and dignity; nor can any be capable of it in nature, or in reaſon and juſtice accept ſuch names, ſuch characters, ſuch prerogatives.) Now our Saviour being thus God; and the whole tenour of our Religion (with teſtimonies of Scripture frequent and obvious) aſſerting but one God; therefore our Saviour hath the ſame eſſence with God; and it muſt be neceſſarily true what himſelf affirms: *I and the father am one*, Joh. 10. 30. Yet hath he not his eſſence of himſelf, but by communication: For *as the father hath life in himſelf, ſo hath he given the ſon to have life in himſelf*, Joh. 5. 26. He is the *image of the inviſible God* (an image moſt perfectly like, becauſe having the very ſame nature) an effulgency of his glory, and a character (or perfect impreſſion) of his ſubſtance; and this eternal communication of the ſame divine eſſence is that generation, in reſpect of which he is moſt properly and truly, The only begotten Son of God: If to produce a Being like (in any kind or degree) be to generate, to impart a Being without any diſſimilitude or diſparity at all, perfectly the ſame, is the moſt proper generation: And that none other (beſide our Saviour) was ſo begotten, in any manner like or comparable to this, is evident enough; for that as no reaſon could have taught us that our Saviour himſelf was thus begotten, ſo no revelation hath ſhewed us that any other was: By creation things receive a Being from God infinitely different, unlike, and unequal to the Being of God, and that filiation which is grounded upon adoption and grace is wholly divers from this: and the communication of the divine eſſence to the Holy Ghoſt, doth ſo differ in manner from this (though the manner be incomprehenſible to us) that it is never called *generation* in Scripture, and therefore we muſt not preſume it to be ſo.) But ſo much for explication of the point: For application briefly: The conſideration of this point will ſerve to inſtruct and confirm our faith concerning the myſtery of our redemption; to direct and heighten our devotion; to raiſe in us a due gratitude toward God; to beget hope and comfort in us.

Col. 1. 15. Heb. 1. 3.

1. We may firſt hence learn whence the undertaking of Chriſt (his performances and his ſufferings for us) become of ſo great worth and efficacy: it is no wonder that God's only Son his meditation ſhould be ſo acceptable and effectual with God; that his blood ſhould be ſo precious in God's ſight, and his interceſſion ſo prevalent with him. What could God deny his own Son, *the Son of his love*, ſo earneſtly entreating in our behalf? what debts might not ſo rich a price diſcharge? what anger could not ſo dear a ſacrifice appeaſe? what juſtice ſhould ſo full a compenſation not ſatisfie? We were *not redeem'd with Gold*, all the *Indies* had not been able to ranſom a ſoul; all the hecatombs in the world cannot ſatisfy for a peccadillo: Well might a perſon ſo infinitely worthy and excellent be a ſufficient ranſom for whole Worlds of miſerable offenders and captives; well might his voluntary ſuffering a bitter and diſgraceful death countervail the deſerved puniſhment of all mankind, if our diſpleaſing, and diſhonouring a perſon ſo great, ſo good, doth aggravate our offence; the equal excellency and dignity of the perſon ſubmitting in our behalf to juſtice and performance of ſatisfaction, may proportionably advance the reparation, and countervail the injury done: Well therefore may we believe and ſay with the Apoſtle: *Who ſhall criminate againſt the elect of God? 'tis God that juſtifieth* (the Son of God, as himſelf God, that ſatisfies juſtice for us) *who is there that condemns? 'tis Chriſt that hath died for us.*

1 Joh. 1. 7. Heb. 9. 14. Col. 1. 13. υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ

1 Pet. 1. 18.

Pſal. 49. 7.

Rom. 8. 33.

2. We learn what reverence and adoration is due to our Saviour; and why we muſt *honour the ſon, even as we honour the father*, (as himſelf hath taught us to do.) Whence it is, that (in St. *John*'s Revelation) every creature, which is in heaven, and on the earth and under the earth, and ſuch as are in the ſea, and all that are in them, did (and ought to) ſay, *Bleſſing, honour, glory and power be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb for ever and ever*, (aſcribing the ſame pre-eminency, and paying the ſame veneration jointly to God Almighty and to the Lamb his bleſſed Son;) why, not we men only (whom he hath particularly purchaſed and redeemed) but even *all things in heaven and earth, and beneath the earth* muſt bend the knee (yield worſhip and obſervance) to him; when the *firſtbegotten is brought into the world*, it is ſaid, *Let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* We are (we ſee) obliged to aſcribe divine glory; to yield divine adoration to Chriſt; why? becauſe he is the *only Son of God*, equal in Majeſty, One in eſſence

Joh. 5. 23.

Phil. 2. 9.

Heb. 1. 6.

eſſence with him; were he not ſo, it were injury to God and ſacrilege to do it: God would not *impart his glory*, we ſhould not *yield it to another.* Iſa. 42. 8.

3. Whence may perceive the infinite goodneſs of God unto us, and our obligation to love, and anſwerable thankfulneſs toward him. *God commendeth his love toward us*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *in that while we were yet ſinners Chriſt died for us*: *In this* (ſaith St. *John*) *was manifeſted the love of God toward us, becauſe God ſent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. In this is love* (love indeed, admirable, and inconceivable) *not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and ſent his only begotten Son to be a propitiation for our ſins.* Can there be imagined any equal, any like expreſſion of kindneſs, of mercy, of condeſcenſion, of goodneſs, as for a Prince (himſelf perfectly glorious and happy) freely to deliver up his own only, moſt dearly beloved Son (out from his boſom of glory and bliſs) to ſuffer moſt baſe contumelies, moſt grievous torments for the welfare of his declared enemies, traitours, and rebels? Such hath been God's goodneſs to us, ſuitable thereto ſhould our gratitude be toward him. Rom. 5. 8. 1 Joh. 4. 8.

4. This conſideration fitly ſerves to beget in us hope in God upon all occaſions of our need or diſtreſs: as alſo comfort in all our afflictions. *He hath ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son* for its ſalvation and happineſs; how can he be ſuppoſed unwilling to beſtow whatever elſe ſhall appear needful or beneficial for us? he that parted with a jewel ſo ineſtimable in charity and pity toward us, to him no other thing can ſeem much to give us: 'tis St. *Paul*'s conſolatory diſcourſe, *He that did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him freely give us all things?* [All things that we need, that we can reaſonably deſire, that will be good and fit for us.] Joh. 3. 16. Rom. 8. 32.

5. I might add the uſe, which St. *John* (1. 4. 12.) makes of this conſideration: *Beloved* (ſaith he) *if God ſo loved us, we alſo ought to love one another:* If God ſo lovingly gave up his only Son for us; what (in reſpect, in gratitude, in imitation of him;) what expreſſions, I ſay, of charity and good-will ought we to yield toward our brethren? what endeavours, what goods, what life of ours ſhould be too dear for us to impart for their good? So much for this point. It follows,

Our Lord.

AS the name of *God* is by a myſterious kind of peculiarity attributed to the *father*, ſo is the name of *Lord* to the *ſon*; who is ſometimes called abſolutely *the Lord* (or *the Lord Jeſus*) ſometimes *our Lord*; to acknowledge and call him ſo being the ſpecial duty and character of a Chriſtian: *There be* (ſaith St. *Paul*; there be according to popular or worldly uſe) *Gods many, and Lords many, but to us there is one God the father, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* And *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm*; *One God, and father of all things* (are by us Chriſtians profeſſed) and: *No man can call Jeſus Lord* (that is cordially embrace Chriſtianity) *but by the Holy Ghoſt.* The reaſon of which peculiar appellation may be, becauſe beſide that natural dominion over us appertaining to Chriſt as our God and Maker, that title is in ſeveral other reſpects, and upon other grounds due to him. In what notion ſoever we take Lord, as a Governour over ſubjects, as a Maſter over ſervants, as an Owner of Goods, as a Maſter of Diſciples, as a Leader of Followers, he is according to all ſuch notions *our Lord*: conſider him in whatever reſpect or capacity, as God, as Man, as Θεάνθρωπος (God and Man united;) as Jeſus, as Chriſt he is our Lord: Examine all foundations imaginable of juſt dominion: Eminence of nature; of power; derivation of being, with the preſervation and maintenance thereof; donation, acquiſition, deſert, purchaſe, redemption, conqueſt, compact and reſignation of our ſelves; upon them all his right of Lordſhip over us is juſtly grounded. As God he is our Lord; endued with ſupreme authority and irreſiſtible power, alſo hath made all things, and upholds all things; and therefore all things are ſubject to his diſpoſal (to be governed, and poſſeſſed, and uſed according to his pleaſure) hence that moſt peculiar and auguſt name of God *Jehovah* (denoting either independency and indefectibility in ſubſiſtence; or uncontrollable and infallible efficacy in action; both together; and therefore fitly rendred κύριος by the Seventy interpreters, and *Lord* by our tranſlatours*) is attributed to him, *This is his name* (ſaith the prophet) *whereby he ſhall be called, Jehovah our Righteouſneſs*; and what is in the Old Teſtament ſpoken of *Jehovah*, is in the new Teſtament by infallible expoſition applied to him: as, for inſtance, what *Malachy* did foretell concerning 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 4. 5, 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. Phil. 2. 11. Jer. 23. 6.

* For κύριος doth ſignify *to ſubſiſt*; and κύρος *efficacy, ratification, power* or *authority.*

Elias,

Mal. 3. 1. Mat. 3. 3. Luk. 1. 76. Joh. 5. 27. *Elias, that he ſhould prepare the way of Jehovah,* was verified in St. *John* Baptiſt's preparing the way to our Saviour. As man alſo God did conferr upon him Lordſhip; a power and authority of ruling and judging; of remitting offences; and puniſhing and rewarding: The father hath given him authority even to execute judgment, Act. 2. 36. ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν, *becauſe* (or whereas) *he is the ſon of man*; and, *Let all the houſe of Iſrael* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *know aſſuredly, that God hath made him Lord and Chriſt,* (even) *this Jeſus, whom you did crucify:* And, *The ſon of man ſhall come in the glory of his father with his angels, and reward every man according to his works.* And, *Being found in ſhape as a man, he humbled himſelf* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *becoming obedient unto death, the death of the croſs; therefore alſo did God exalt him —— that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bend——and that every tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus is the Lord:* And again; *To this end Chriſt both died, roſe, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living*; And, *God raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church. Thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* Thus hath God in him performed more ſignally and eminently, what the *Pſalmiſt* thankfully acknowledges, and praiſes him for in regard to man, *Thou crownedſt him with glory and honour; and didſt ſet him over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all things in ſubjection under his feet*: As God-man he is alſo Lord, and Lord of Lords; what-ever naturally did belong to God; what-ever freely was conferr'd on man (by way of gift, or reward) did accrue to the perſon, and was conſequent upon the union hypoſtatical; ſo that in this reſpect Chriſt is eternally Lord: *Lord* indeed *of all* (as St. *Peter* ſtiles him) *having all things* (excepting God himſelf, as St. *Paul* teaches us) *put under his feet*; but particularly (which moſt concerns us to acknowledge and conſider) *our Lord*; and that upon ſeveral grounds, which it will be convenient briefly to touch. An entire power over us, and a perfect ability to govern us he hath; in which reſpects it is both neceſſary to ſubmit to him, and reaſonable willingly to admit him as our Lord: (perſons ſo qualified, *Ariſtotle* himſelf in his *Politicks* tells us, have a natural title to dominion; as on the contrary perſons weak, or unwiſe; unable to protect themſelves, and unfit to manage things to their own good, are naturally ſubjects and ſervants:) Alſo; He hath made us; and he preſerves us; all we are or have is wholly derived from and depends upon him; whence he hath an abſolute right to diſpoſe of and uſe us, according to his diſcretion and pleaſure. He is the Son of God, is heir apparent, and natural Lord of all things; and ſo our Lord, by birth and privilege of nature. But farther: He hath alſo acquired us to himſelf, adding a legal to a natural right; we are called Eph. 1. 14. περιποίησις (an acquiſt made by him) and λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (a people appertaining to (or by) acquiſition.) Divers ways hath Chriſt acquired us: by donation from God; *Whom thou haſt given me,* ſaith he to his father, *I have kept*: and, John. 17. 12. Joh. 6. 39. 17. 6. *This is the will of the father that ſent me, that of all which he hath given me, I ſhould loſe nothing.* So we fall under by conqueſt; conqueſt over his enemies; conqueſt over us our ſelves, being his enemies: We were (partly by violence, partly by conſent,) enſlaved to his enemies; and lived in obedience to them: them hath Chriſt quite vanquiſhed and ſubdued, (having * *ſpoiled thoſe principalities and powers, and made a ſhew of them, openly triumphing over them,*) and ſo we rightfully fall under ſubjection to him; as acceſſions to his victory, and formerly belonging to his enemies: Yea our ſelves, being (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) ἐχθροὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, enemies in our mind and diſcourſe (diſcovering our enmity by wicked, diſobedient and rebellious practices) did he ſubdue by the power of his word and ſpirit: whence (as 'tis in the *Benedictus*) *being delivered out of the hand of our enemies,* (his enemies and ours in truth and effect,) *we* may, we *ſhould ſerve him without fear*: being *ſervati*, we become *ſervi*; being *ſubacti*, we are *ſubditi*. He might have juſtly deſtroyed us, deprived us of liberty and life as dependents upon and partizans of his enemies; as our ſelves being in actual hoſtility againſt him; but ſeeing he hath ſaved us, we thereby become his vaſſals. But farther; he hath purchaſed us; he hath delivered up himſelf a ranſom and a price for us; and ſo hath acquired us, hath redeemed us, hath bought us with his own bloud: we having forfeited our lives to God's law, and being ſentenced to a miſerable death; he procured our redemption by himſelf, undergoing equivalent puniſhment, diſcharging our debt, and ſatisfying the

Eph. 2. 2, &c. Col. 2. 15. * ἀπεκδυσάμενος. Col. 1. 21. Luk. 1. 74. Act 20. 28. 1 Pet. 1. 18. 1 Cor. 6. 20.

divine

divine juſtice for us: Whence (as St. *Paul* argues) *we are not our own; for we were bought with a price*; we are his, who ſaved our lives, freed us from captivity, drew us out of extreme and endleſs miſery; ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες, *that we (now) living ſhould not henceforth live to our ſelves, but to him that died for us, and roſe again*: In requital for mercies and favours ſo unexpreſſibly great, we cannot (not in gratitude only, but in juſtice) owe leſs than our ſelves; our ſelves to be rendred wholly into his dominion and diſpoſal. He hath alſo acquired Lordſhip over us, by deſert and as a reward agreeable to his performances, of obedience and patience highly ſatisfactory and acceptable to God; —— *he humbled himſelf, becoming obedient to the croſs: therefore alſo did God exalt him, and gave him a name above every name. To this end Chriſt both died, roſe and revived,* ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ; *that he might exerciſe Lordſhip over both the dead and living. He drank of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head: therefore did God divide him a portion with the great, and he did divide the ſpoil with the ſtrong, becauſe he poured out his ſoul to death: and we ſee Jeſus* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *for his ſufferance of death, crowned with glory and honour.* I may add, that he hath acquired a right and title over us, as our continual benefactour by the benefits he beſtows, and the hire he pays us: He affords us ſure protection, liberal maintenance, ample wages; great privileges under, rich rewards for, our ſervice: *Knowing* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that ye ſhall* (in regard to your obedience) *receive* τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν κληρονομίας, (*the recompence of an inheritance*) *for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* 'Tis no Egyptian bondage that he detains us under; requiring hard labour, and yielding no comfort or recompence; but a moſt beneficial and fruitful Service. *Doth Job fear God for nought?* the Devil could not but obſerve and envy the benefits and bleſſings, the pious man received in regard of his faithful ſervice. Chriſt hath promiſed to with-hold no good thing from his ſervants; nothing neceſſary for the ſupport or comfort even of this temporal life; but eſpecially moſt ineſtimably precious recompences he will beſtow in ſpiritual and eternal bleſſings: *He will render to every man according to his works; To them who by patient continuance in well-doing ſeek glory and honour and immortality, eternal life:* And, *Being freed from ſin, and made ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto ſanctification; and in the end everlaſting life:* [A fruit to ſanctification (all benefits conducing to our ſpiritual welfare here) and hereafter a life in perpetual joy and happineſs:] To them who have been diligent and faithful in performing their tasks, and improving the talents committed to them for his intereſt, he will one day ſay, *Euge bone ſerve, Well done good and faithful ſervant, enter into thy Maſter's joy. Bleſſed are ye, when men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all manner of evil againſt you falſly for my ſake: Rejoyce and be exceeding glad; for great ſhall your reward be in heaven.* And he that is at ſuch care and charges for us; who feeds and furniſhes us ſo plentifully; who rewards our ſmall pains, our poor works, our improfitable ſervices with ſo high and bountiful wages; him ſure moſt juſtly we ſhould eſteem, moſt willingly call our good Lord and Maſter.

1 Cor. 6. 20.

2 Cor. 5. 15.

Eph. 1. 20. Philip. 2. 8. Rom. 14. 9. Vid. Joh. 10. 17. Pſal. 110. 7. Iſ. 53. 12.

Heb. 2. 9.

Coloſ. 3. 24.

Job 1. 9. Vid. 1 Cor. 3 8. Pſal. 84. 11. Matt. 6. 33.

Rom. 2. 6. Coloſ. 3. 24. Rom. 6. 22, 23

Matt. 25. 21, &c. Μισθὸς τοῖς δέλοις σε. Apoc. 11. 18. Matt. 5. 12.

But yet farther, he is not only our Lord by nature, by acquiſition, by manifold deſerts and performances of his; but by our deeds alſo; by moſt formal and ſolemn, moſt free and voluntary, and therefore moſt obligatory acts of ours: He is our Lord and King by election; finding our ſelves oppreſſed by our cruel enemies, (groaning under intolerable ſlaveries to ſin and Satan) we had recourſe to him, upon his gracious invitation; offering us eaſe and refreſhment under his moſt gentle and equal government: *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt: Take my yoke upon you —— for my yoke is eaſie, and my burthen light.* So he inviteth us; and ſo we did (or did at leaſt pretend to) undergo his yoke, and freely ſubmit to his government: We vowed allegiance and fealty to him as our lawful Prince, promiſed ſubjection to his will, and obedience to his laws; engaged (forſaking all things) to follow him, and fight under his banners againſt the common enemies of his glory and our ſalvation: We contracted with him upon certain conditions and conſiderations (moſt advantageous to our ſelves) to be his obedient and faithful ſervants; not only renouncing all other Maſters, but reſigning up all pretence to liberty, or power over our ſelves; becoming abſolutely ſubject to his will and command: This we did at our baptiſm, in moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner; and in every religious performance we confirm our obligation; by acknowledging his right over us, and our duty toward him; by imploring his princely protection, and ſuccour, and mercy upon us; and by promiſing our humble reſpect and obedience

Matt. 11. 28.

Συμφωνήσας μισθῷ ἐργατῶν. Matt. 20. 2.

obedience toward him. Upon ſo many grounds is Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God our Lord. The general influence of which doctrine, upon our practice, is very obvious and palpable.

1. If we do truly believe Chriſt our Lord, we muſt conceive our ſelves obliged to obſerve and ſubmit to his will; to attend unto and obey his law. *Why call you*
Luke 6. 46. *me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I ſay?* 'Tis a vain and abſurd profeſſion (an irrational and illuſive pretence) we make when we confeſs and invoke him as
Matt. 7. 21. our Lord, and diſavow his authority in our practice. *Not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of heaven* (ſhall obtain the reward aſſigned to a faithful ſervant;) but he that really performs the duty of one; that does the will of
Rom. 6. 16. God. *Do ye not know* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that to whom you yield your ſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants ye are, whom ye obey?* We forfeit all pretence to the very name (as well as to the rewards and privileges) of Chriſt's ſervants, if we diſobey his commands; being really ſervants to the luſts which ſway us; to the devil, whoſe ſuggeſtions and pleaſure we comply with. We do but uſurp the name of Chriſtians, if our practice be not conformable to the laws of Chriſt.

2. If Chriſt be our Lord, then are we not our own Lords, not our own men: and therefore muſt not think to have our own will, and do our own buſineſs; pleaſe our own appetites, or gratify our deſires: except in ſubordination and reference to his
1 Cor. 6. 19, 20. ſervice. *We are not our own*, ſaith St. *Paul*; *for we are bought with a price:* (We
1 Cor. 5. 15. are by nature, by manifold acquiſition, by free choice and compact his:) *For this end Chriſt died* (and performed all for us) *that they which live, may not henceforth live to themſelves, but to him that died and roſe again for them: whether we live or whether we die* (whatever actions we undertake relating either to life or death)
Rom. 14. 8. *we are the Lords*, and ſhould direct all to his glory, his profit, his ſervice.
Vid. John 13. 13.

3. If Chriſt be our Lord, (abſolutely our Lord) then can we have no other Lords; none in oppoſition to, none in competition with him; none but in ſubſerviency and
Matt. 6. 26. reſpect to him: *No man* (our Saviour tells us) *can ſerve two Lords* (with collateral, and equal obſervance.) Serving riches, or honours, or pleaſures is inconſiſtent with our duty to Chriſt. *He that doth not forſake all that he hath, cannot be his diſciple, or ſervant*, Luke 14. 33. Nor can we therefore pleaſe and humour men; obeying any command or complying with any deſire, or following any Cuſtom
Gal. 1. 10. of theirs, contrary to Chriſt's will and precept, *If I did yet pleaſe* (or ſooth)
1 Cor. 7. 23. *men*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *I were not the ſervant of Chriſt. Ye are bought with a price; be not* (or you are not) *the ſervants of men.* That is, do not (or ye ought not to) perform ſervice, with ultimate relation to men, but out of conſcience to Chriſt, as his ſervants. We may, we are bound to obey men humbly and willingly, and diligently, and faithfully, in our ſtations, and according to our conditions, as ſubjects, or ſervants; but this in ſubordination to our ſupreme and principal Lord: *Ser-*
Eph. 6. 5, 6. *vants* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *obey your Maſters according to the fleſh with fear and trem-*
Vid. 1 Pet. 2. 16. *bling*, (that is humbly and reſpectfully) *in ſingleneſs of heart, as to Chriſt: Not in eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will of God*
Col. 3. 23, 24. *from the ſoul; ſerving with Good-will as to the Lord, and not to men —— Yea whatſoever* (ſaith the ſame wiſe inſtructor) *ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that of the Lord ye ſhall receive back the recompence of inheritance; for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.*

4. It is, we ſee, (which may be another uſe of this point) not only an engagement, but an encouragement to the performance of all duty, particularly to thoſe hard du-
1 Pet. 2. 18. ties of cheerful obedience and ſubmiſſion to men (who are ſometimes as St. *Peter* in-
Vid. 16. timates to us, σκολιοὶ, ſomewhat untoward, and harſh in their dealings with their ſervants) that therein do we ſerve a moſt equal and gentle Maſter, who will graciouſly accept our ſervice, and abundantly requite it; a Lord that will not ſuffer his ſervants to want any needful ſuſtenance, any fit encouragement, any juſt protection or aſſiſtance; who will not only faithfully pay them their promiſed allowance, but raiſe them to the higheſt preferment imaginable. 'Tis a great comfort alſo for a Chriſtian (how mean ſoever he be in this world) to conſider this relation of his; how great, how good a Maſter he doth ſerve; that the greateſt Princes, that the higheſt Angels are his fellow-ſervants; yet that his gracious Lord will not deſpiſe,
Rom. 14. 4. or neglect him. St. *Paul* alſo makes uſe of this conſideration to preſs upon ſuperiours their duties toward their inferiours; their duties of equity, meekneſs, kindneſs,
Col. 4. 1. mercy, pity, and all humanity. *Maſters*, (ſaith he) *yield unto your ſervants that*

which

which is juſt and equal, knowing that you alſo have a Maſter in heaven: And ye maſters do the ſame things to them (to your ſervants) forbearing threatning, knowing that your Maſter alſo is in heaven, and there is *no reſpect of perſons* with him: *Thou haſt not deſpiſed the lowlineſs of thy handmaid.* And we ſee how our Saviour, as he doth commend and bleſs thoſe faithful and wiſe ſervants, who being appointed over his houſhold (placed in any ſuperiour rank and office) do behave themſelves juſtly and kindly to their fellow-ſervants, diſpenſing them their food in due ſeaſon; ſo thoſe which beat and abuſe their fellow-ſervants; that are rigorous, and unmerciful in their exactions of debt, or other dealing toward their fellow-ſervants, he denounces ſevere puniſhment and vengeance upon. Pſal. 135. 14. 5. 4. Luke 6. Matt. 24. 45. Matt. 18. 28. &c.

The farther conſideration of this point our Saviour improves as an engagement to imitate him; eſpecially in charity, in humility, in patience: it is proper for a ſervant to follow, to attend upon in all places and performances, to compoſe himſelf to the example, to conform to the garb and condition of his maſter. Were it not abſurd that the ſervant ſhould be more ſtately, or more delicate than his maſter: that he ſhould deſpiſe thoſe, whom his maſter vouchſafes to regard; that he ſhould refuſe to undertake thoſe employments, ſhould diſdain to undergo thoſe hardſhips his maſter doth condeſcend to? To ſuch purpoſe our Saviour diſcourſes: *Ye call me Maſter and Lord: and ye ſay well, for ſo I am: If I then your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one anothers feet: for I have given you an example that ye ſhould do as I have done to you.* And having directed his diſciples to the patient enduring of reproaches, affronts and injuries put upon them, he enforces his precept by ſubjoining, *The diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant is not above his Lord: 'tis enough for the diſciple to be as his Maſter, and the ſervant as his Lord:* (He ought in reaſon to be very well content, if he find ſuch uſage, as his Lord hath willingly and patiently undergone.) John 13. 13. Matt. 10. 24. Luke 6. 40. John 15. 20.

Full of many ſuch practical uſes in this excellent doctrine; the which I leave to be deduced by your private meditation.

Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.

THE proper name, ſpecial title, principal relations of Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God our Lord (the peculiar grand object of our Chriſtian faith, wherein was included or implied what did eſpecially reſpect his divinity, ſo far as it is revealed unto, or may be comprehended by us) being hitherto expreſſed and in ſome manner explained and applied by us: We proceed to that which follows; thoſe illuſtrious accidents, or paſſages and circumſtances, chiefly agreeing to his humanity (what he undertook and underwent, performed and enjoyed in our nature and in our behalf) being here orderly ſet down, partly for the full and clear deſcription or determination of his perſon; partly upon deſign to inſinuate thoſe principal doctrines (depending upon or involved in thoſe paſſages) wherein the myſtery of our Religion doth conſiſt; which we are chiefly obliged to believe, and which have great influence upon our practice. In the firſt place (as good order did require) is delivered the manner of his Nativity (that is, of his incarnation, or aſſuming humane nature) which in the ancient Creeds (as we ſee in the texts of ancient Expoſitors) was expreſſed more ſimply thus: *Qui natus eſt de Spiritu ſancto ex Maria virgine*; who was born by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin *Mary*. The alteration ſeems to have been made more diſtinctly to expreſs the operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the generation of our Saviour, and what the Bleſſed Virgin his Mother did conferr thereto. We know in ordinary procreation in the influence of the father doth not extend beyond the quickning of the mothers womb (whatever that influence be; (for 'tis a deep and inſcrutable myſtery of nature, (exceeding perhaps the reach of all humane philoſophy) whether it contain an imparting of ſomewhat material, or be only the inſerting an active vital principle) the effect of which influence is called conception; the word agreeing in ſome propriety both to the mother which is ſaid to conceive; and to the child which is conceived: the father perfecting the work of generation (by forming the *fœtus* from its initial rudiments into a due integrity and fit diſpoſition of parts, nouriſhing, encreaſing, and excluding thereof) no farther immediately depending upon the father, but being carried on by the concurrence of what was firſt imparted by him and what is thenceforth communicated by

the mother. In regard to which performances, the mother is ſaid τίκτειν; that is, both *gignere*, and *parere*; to *conceive*, *bear*, and *to bring forth*: (For τίκτειν doth import as much as γεννᾶν, all that a parent doth conferr to generation; whence both parents are called τοκεῖς; and τέκνον, *a child*, is uſed indifferently as relating to both.) Now to expreſs that influence or efficacy the divine ſpirit had in the generation of our Saviour as man, by which God himſelf did in a manner ſupply the place of a father, it was ſet down *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*; and when 'tis ſaid *born of the Virgin Mary*, what the Bleſſed Virgin, as Mother, did conferr thereto, is to be underſtood; and the occaſion perhaps of thus expreſſing the thing was that ſaying of the Angel to the Virgin (in the 1ſt of St. *Luke*,) *Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth* (συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρί, καὶ τέξῃ) *a ſon, and ſhalt call his name Jeſus.* But whatever was the reaſon or occaſion of this expreſſion, 'tis evident, that the propoſition and aſſertion of theſe truths was intended. 1. That our Saviour was conceived and born. 2. That his conception was effected without any influence of man, only by the power of God and operation of the Holy Ghoſt. 3. That the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, did by the Holy Ghoſt, conceive, and bear, and bring him forth. Let us reflect and obſerve ſomewhat upon each of theſe propoſitions.

Luke 1. 31. Matt. 1. 20. τὸ γενηθὲν is tranſlated *conceived.*

1. Our Saviour was conceived and born: He, (the perſon before mentioned) Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, our Lord; the ſame who was in the beginning; and did from all eternity exiſt with God; the eternal Son of God, by whom all things were made; was in the fulneſs of time conceived and born; that is, had a production agreeable to the nature of man, and became thereby truly and entirely man; which wonderful myſtery is in Scripture variouſly expreſſed or implied by, The *Word's being made*, or *becoming fleſh*; God being *manifeſted in the fleſh; taking the form of a ſervant, being made in the likeneſs of men, and being found in faſhion as man; aſſuming the ſeed of Abraham; partaking of fleſh and blood; deſcending from heaven: God ſending his Son into the world, in likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, coming in the fleſh.* The reſult of what is ſignified by theſe and the like expreſſions, being this, that, He which before, from all eternity did ſubſiſt in the form or nature of God; being the Son of God; did by a temporal generation truly become man; aſſuming humane nature into the unity of his perſon, by a conjunction and union thereof with the divine nature incomprehenſible and ineffable: He truly became man, I ſay, *like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted*; conſiſting of body and ſoul; endued with all faculties, and ſubject to all paſſions, infirmities, neceſſities conſequent upon or incident to our nature. He did not only ſeem in ſhape and outward appearance, (as a ſpectre, deluding men's ſight and fancy) but was in perfect truth a man; having a real body; circumſcribed and figured like ours, compacted of fleſh and blood; that might be ſeen and felt; that was nouriſhed and grew; that needed and received ſuſtenance; that was frail and tender; paſſible and ſenſible; was bruiſed with blows; torn with ſcourges; pricked with thorns; pierced with nails; transfixed with an injurious ſpear. He had a ſoul too, endued with ſuitable faculties; an underſtanding capable of improvement (for he grew in wiſdom, in ſtature) a will ſubject and ſubmiſſive; he was ignorant (as man) of ſomething he might know; to the divine will; (*Let this cup paſs from me, if it be thy will: but however, not my will, but thine be done*; and, *I ſeek not my own will, but the will of the father, which hath ſent me.*) Appetites of meat, drink, ſleep and reſt: Several paſſions and affections, φυσικὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη, natural, irreprehenſible paſſions, and thoſe of the moſt troubleſome and afflictive ſort, anger, grief, and pity; and theſe ſometimes expreſſed by moſt pathetical ſignifications, in groans and tears. Upon occaſion of his friend *Lazarus* his death, 'tis ſad, * *He groaned in ſpirit, and was troubled and wept*; and ye know what heavineſs, agonies, exceſſes of ſorrow, diſturbances, and amazements (they are terms uſed by the Evangeliſts) he underwent before his paſſion: ſo that as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſpeaketh; *We have not an High-prieſt that could not ſo* † *compaſſionate* (or ſympathize with) *our infirmities, but who was in all points tempted* (or proved and exerciſed) *as we are* (yet without ſin.)

John 1. 14. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Phil. 2. 7, 8. Heb. 2. 16. Heb. 2. 14. Rom. 8. 3. John 13. 13, 31. 6. 33, 38. 50, 51, 58. John 3. 17. 10. 36. 17. 18. 1 Joh. 4. 9. 1 Joh. 4. 2, 3. Heb. 2. 17. 4. 15. Matt. 27. 2. Luke 22. 64. Matt. 26. 67. Matt. 27. 26. John 19. 1. Luk. 22. 42. John. 5. 30. Mar. 3. 5.

* Ἡ ψυχὴ μὲν τεθέαται. John 12. 27. John 11. 33. Luke 22. 44. Matt. 26. 37. Matt. 26. 38. Mar. 14. 33.

† συμπαθῆσαι.

Luke 22. 28.

Thus did the Son of God (co-eternal and co-eſſential to his Father) become the Son of man (truly and entirely of the nature and ſubſtance of man;) deficient in no eſſential part; devoid of no humane property; exempt from no imperfection or inconvenience conſequent upon our nature, (except only ſin.)

If you demand the manner how, and the reaſon why God thus became man; as to the firſt (the manner) we muſt anſwer, that we can hardly otherwiſe than by negation

tion determine, not otherwiſe than by compariſon explain it: No words perhaps we uſe to ſignifie our conceptions about theſe lower things can perfectly and adequately ſuit to a myſtery ſo far different from common objects of our knowledge, ſo far tranſcending our capacity; yet we muſt affirm that whatever manner of conceiving or expreſſing it doth derogate from the divine perfections; or is repugnant to the nature of things; diſagrees from the tenour of divine truths (connected unto or depending upon this myſtery) or contradicts (directly or obliquely; immediately or by plain conſequence) the language and doctrine of the Scriptures, is to be rejected by us; we may therefore ſay with the Council of *Chalcedon*, That in this incarnation of our Lord the divine and humane nature were in his perſon united, ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

Cujuſmodi ſit hæc communicatio, quâ natura humana communicatur verbo, non eſt hominis definire. *Alenſis.*

Ἀσυγχύτως, without commixtion or confuſion, (for that would induce a third nature different from both) ſuch as reſults from the compoſition or contemperation of the elements into a mixed body; ſo that he ſhould be neither God nor Man; but I know not what other kind of being, without any ground or authority to be ſuppoſed, that would deſtroy, diminiſh, or alter the properties belonging to each; neither can we conceive the divine nature capable of any ſuch diminution or alteration.

Ἀτρέπτως, without converſion, or tranſmutation of one nature into the other, not of the divinity into humanity; for how could God, as God, be changed, or made; become infirm, and paſſible, conſiſt of body and ſoul; ſuffer and die? Not of the humanity into divinity; for how could that before it did exiſt at all, be turned into another thing? why ſhould our Saviour be called Man, when his humanity was tranſmuted into the divinity? why is it ſaid the word was made fleſh, if the fleſh was changed into the word? To omit how unimaginable it is that one ſubſtance ſhould be turned into another, eſpecially that a finite ſubſtance ſhould be turned into an infinite one; alſo to omit many dangerous conſequences of this opinion; and its inconſiſtency with many great and plain doctrines of our Religion.

Ἀδιαιρέτως, undividedly: So that the two natures have not diſtinct ſubſiſtences, nor do conſtitute two Perſons; for there is but one Chriſt; one Perſon, to whom, being God and Man are truly and properly attributed.

Ἀχωρίστως, inſeparably; the natures being never ſeparated; the union never diſſolved; the ſame perſon never ceaſing to be both God and Man; no not, when as Man he ſuffered and died; for he raiſed himſelf from the dead; he reared the temple of his own body, being fallen: as continuing God, he was able to raiſe himſelf as Man: as being Man, he was capable of being raiſed by himſelf as God; the union between God and Man perſiſting, when the union between the humane body and ſoul were diſſolved. Joh. 2. 19.

I might add farther excluſively, that this union of the two natures was not made καὶ' ἁφὴν σασιν, (by aſſiſtance or cloſe preſence) only; nor κατ' ἐνοίκησιν (by way of inhabitation,) nor καὶ' σχέσιν (by relation) κατ' ἀξίαν ((by dignity or eſteem,) καὶ' ταυτοβουλίαν, or κατ' ἁρμονίαν, (by conſent or conformity of will and counſel,) as *Neſtorius* and ſuch ancient heterodox dogmatiſts, in oppoſition to the Catholick expoſitions of this myſtery, did conceit: but it is ſcarce worth mentioning thoſe antiquated opinions: I cannot longer dwell here: I ſhall only ſubjoin (omitting others more wide and improper; as thoſe of *Bellarmine*, the union of a man's arm to his Body; the inciſion of a bough into a tree, and ſuch like) that nature doth afford us one compariſon fit to explain or illuſtrate the manner of this myſterious union; which is the union of man's ſoul and body, by which he becomes one perſon: the ſoul and body are two ſubſtances, very different in kind, properties and dignity, (the one material, extended, diviſible, corruptible, paſſive, lifeleſs and ſenſeleſs; the other immaterial, indiviſible, incorruptible, ſelf-moving, indued with life, knowledge, paſſion) capable alſo both of ſeparate exiſtence and ſubſiſtence by themſelves; yet are theſe (though in a manner difficult for us to imagine or comprehend) united together and concurr to the conſtitution of a man, (and that ſo as to remain ſtill in ſubſtance diſtinct, retaining each its natural properties, without any confuſion, or converſion of one into the other; ſo alſo that a man is truly from them denominated both corporeal and ſpiritual, mortal and immortal;) in like manner (though more admirably and incomprehenſibly) are the divine and humane nature united in the Son of God: for (as we read in *Athanaſius* his Creed)——As the reaſonable ſoul and fleſh is one Man, ſo God and Man is one Chriſt. Vid. Salmeron. apud Gerard. in exeg. loc. pag. 441.

So much for the manner how; as for the reaſon why the Son of God did thus condeſcend to aſſume our nature, if we inquire the impulſive cauſe that moved him

Joh. 3. 16. 1 Joh. 4. 9. 3. 4.

thereto, it was only God's infinite goodneſs, mercy and pity towards us (*So God loved the world, that he thus ſent his only begotten Son:*) it was the χρηστότης and φιλανθρωπία; the beneficence and philanthropy (if I may ſo ſpeak) of God, that induced him by ſuch a debaſement, as it were, and an exinanition of himſelf to ſave us. If we deſire to contemplate the wiſdom of God in this admirable proceeding, and to know why God among other means and method (alike perhaps for all we can know poſſible to him) did chooſe by this to procure our redemption and ſalvation: I anſwer (though it becomes us rather to adore the depth of his counſels, than to ſearch or hope to ſound it, yet) ſome congruities of this method to the wiſdom of God and the reaſon of the thing are intimated to us, and in ſome manner are apparent. It became God, as his goodneſs toward us was infinite, ſo that the demonſtrations thereof to his glory, and our good, ſhould be anſwerably ſo, which perhaps could not otherwiſe be than by ſuch a condeſcention; as a Prince could not make any other ſo great atteſtation of his favour to his vaſſal, than by deſcending from his throne, laying aſide his majeſty, and putting himſelf in a like condition, converſing with him freely, ſubjecting himſelf to the ſame laws and duties; enduring the like hardſhips and inconveniencies with him: It was expedient our Redeemer ſhould be God, that he might be able by his power to ſave us; to remove ſuch great obſtacles, to ſubdue ſo potent enemies, (to command and contravene nature; to vaquiſh hell; to aboliſh death in our behalf,) that by the nearneſs of his relation, the dignity of his perſon, and the value of his merit, he might fully appeaſe God's wrath, and perfectly ſatisfie his juſtice for us: that his doctrine might carry with it the higheſt certainty and ſtrongeſt efficacy; his example might challenge greateſt regard and imitation; his laws might have ſupreme authority, and perfectly oblige: the redemption and ſalvation of man was an honour too high for any creature to ariſe to; a work too hard for any but God himſelf to perform: It was not fit that any creature ſhould intercede or intermeddle in an affair of ſuch importance and eminency: It was alſo requiſite he ſhould be man; that he might procure favour toward man, by perfectly obeying God's commands, and ſubmitting patiently to God's will, as man; that as man had deeply offended and wronged God, ſo man ſhould highly pleaſe and content him; that (in St. *Paul*'s language) *as by one man's obedience many were made ſinners*, (condemned and expoſed to death; God being diſpleaſed with mankind for that man's tranſgreſſion,) *ſo by the obedience of one man many ſhould be made righteous*, (abſolved from guilt, and exempted from puniſhment; God being well-pleaſed with and reconciled to mankind in regard to that man's dutiful obſervance.) 'Twas decent, that as man did approve, ſo man ſhould condemn ſin in the fleſh: as man by wilfull ſelf-pleaſing was brought to miſery; ſo by voluntary ſuffering he ſhould be reſtored to happineſs; ἔπρεπε, *it became him* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many ſons unto glory, to make the captain of their ſalvation perfect through ſuffering*: It was alſo fit, that he who was deſigned to intercede for our welfare, and propitiate for our faults, to ſuccour and relieve us in our diſtreſſes, ſhould be tender of our good, and ſenſible of our needs; (ſhould by nature and experience be diſpoſed συμπαθεῖν, to compaſſionate our infirmities, and μετριοπαθεῖν, to be gently affected towards us in reſpect of our ignorances and errours:) Whence (ſaith the ſame divine Apoſtle) *it behoved him* (ὤφειλε, he ought according to the deſign appointed and undertaken by him) *to be in all things made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-prieſt toward God, in things pertaining to God, that he might propitiate for the ſins of the people: for in that he hath himſelf ſuffered, being tempted, he is able to ſuccour thoſe that are tempted.* I might add, that by appearing in humane ſhape (viſible and audible; familiar and agreeable to us;) he was qualified for that great deſign of declaring God's will and intention toward us, in a leſs amazing and a more obliging way, than could otherwiſe have been, that thus with more advantage he could deſcribe an exact copy of righteouſneſs for us to follow; ſhewing us how we ſhould as men behave our ſelves, how moderate our appetites, how govern our paſſions; how uſe and order all the powers of our ſoul and members of our body: neither was it poſſible otherwiſe that ſo lively a pattern of tranſcendent charity, meekneſs, patience, and humility could have been exhibited.

Rom. 5. 19. &c. Rom. 8. 3. Heb. 2. 10. Heb. 4. 15. 5. 2. Heb. 2. 17.

ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι. Eph. 1. 10. Col. 1. 20.

In fine, it was moſt congruous, that he who was intended to recapitulate and reconcile (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, and ἀποκαταλλάξαι) all things in heaven and earth; ſhould be the great mediatour and peace-maker between God and Man; ſhould repair God's honour,

honours and diſpenſe his grace, purchaſe man's peace and procure his ſalvation; that he ſhould be the moſt nearly related to both parties; even if poſſible (and what is to God impoſſible?) be himſelf both God and man; the Son of God, and our brother; the ſame in nature with God, in kind with us.

The proper uſe and influence of which great doctrine upon our ſouls ſhould be to cauſe us with higheſt degrees of love and thankfulneſs to adore the infinite goodneſs of that God, who hath been pleaſed himſelf to ſtoop ſo low, that he might raiſe us up from the loweſt depth of meanneſs and wretchedneſs to the higheſt pitch of honour and happineſs we are capable of. What words can expreſs, what thought can reach a favour ſo ineffable and inconceivable. Well might St. *Paul* call it ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην, love tranſcending all knowledge. Well may heaven and earth be aſtoniſhed, and hell tremble at ſuch a miracle of mercy. The ſovereign Majeſty of heaven; the Lord of glory; the World's Maker; the only Son of God and heir of all things, to become a poor, ſmall, weak, and frail man; to dwell in a tabernacle of fleſh; to converſe with vile, ſilly, wretched mortals; to be ſubject to want, reproach, and pain: ὦ Βαθὸς! O depth of love and goodneſs unſearchable! if this will not, what conſideration can raiſe us? what benefit affect or oblige us? what prodigious ingratitude will it be to be inſenſible or neglectful of ſuch kindneſs?

Eph. 3. 19. Vid. Lu. 1. 73.

1 John. 14.

Another great uſe of this doctrine is, to engage us as to univerſal obedience and ſubmiſſion to God's will, ſo particularly to humility, and patience, and charity. Did God thus ſubmit, thus abaſe himſelf; and ſhall we be refractory, ſhall we exalt our ſelves, ſhall we repine at any diſpenſation or proceeding of God? To theſe purpoſes St. *Paul* applies it: *Let the ſame mind be in you, which was in Chriſt Jeſus* ——*who being in the form of God, emptied himſelf, and took upon him the form of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men: and being found in the faſhion of man, humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death*—— *And know* (or conſider) *the grace* (or graciouſneſs) *of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that for your ſake* (ἐπτώχευσε) *he became poor* (a beggar) *being himſelf rich; that ye by his poverty might become rich:* ('Tis a conſideration by which he incites them to charity.)

Phil. 2.

2 Cor. 8. 9.

Thus and to ſuch purpoſe are we to believe our Saviour's conception and nativity. Of which, ſecondly, it is affirmed, and we are to conſider that he was *conceived by the holy Ghoſt*; that is, by the vertue and operation of the holy Ghoſt the Bleſſed Virgin became impregnated, and did conceive him, without intervention of any man or father: *Joſeph* was (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) in outward eſteem and carriage, but God only was in truth his father; which is ſo perſpicuouſly and fully aſſerted in the Goſpels, that thoſe who dare (upon weak pretences of diſcourſe) to contradict it, deſerve not to be conſidered otherwiſe, than as perverters of the Scripture and ſubverters of its authority and uſe: nothing can be certainly known thence, if this truth be not.

Luk. 3. 23. Vid. Epiſcopium de Joſephilis.

The manner of this operation as by St. *Luke* expreſſed, is by the ſupervention of the Holy Ghoſt, and the divine power's overſhading the bleſſed Virgin: words of ſo general ſignification, and ſo little, as to their full extent, intelligible by us, that they well ſerve to bound our curioſity and forbid farther inquiry. Some indeed have been ſo bold as to determine, that the Holy Ghoſt did bring from heaven and inſtill a body into the Virgin *; that our Saviour's fleſh was made of a divine ſeed; and of the ſubſtance of God; that the Holy Ghoſt did in his conception create and impart ſomewhat of matter; 'tis enough to ſay that theſe are raſh and groundleſs conceits: the fathers more ſoberly (to prevent dangerous and unbecoming thoughts and ſpeeches in this matter) ſay, that our Saviour was *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, not σπερμαϊκῶς (ſeminally,) but δημιουργικῶς (operatively) οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως; not by copulation, but by power; *Non de ſubſtantia: Spiritûs Sancti, ſed de potentia*; Not out of the ſubſtance, but by the vertue of the Holy Ghoſt. Farther than ſo, *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?* Who can declare the τὸ πῶς, the perfect manner of a generation ſo ſublime and wonderful? The reaſons of his being thus conceived are more obvious: *Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt.*

Luk. 1. 35.

* *Valentinus* and his Sect of old. *Menno, Servetus*, &c. *Smalcius*, &c. *Socinus*, his followers. Damaſc. III. 2. Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Aug. 9. ſerm. de tempore, 53. *Iſa.*

In my endeavour to ſhew the reaſons why our Saviour was thus conceived, I was interrupted the laſt time: I ſhall therefore, reſuming a little what was ſaid, proceed.

1. It was the moſt fit way of effecting that ſo neceſſary conjunction of the divine and humane nature; a work of ſuch glory and grandeur, of ſuch grace and goodneſs, was not to be atchieved by any other agent than him, who is the ſubſtantial virtue and love of God; by whom we ſee all extraordinary and moſt eminent

works

works managed and attributed to him. In the creation of the World he moved upon the waters, forming and actuating the World; by him thoſe ſignal works of providence, revelation of divine truth, prediction of future events, performance of miracles, renovation of men's minds, and reformation of their nature are in particular manner aſcribed; and ſo to him this moſt high and glorious performance was proper and due.

2. It being neceſſary that our Saviour ſhould be conſecrated to his great offices, and perfectly ſanctified in his perſon; and thoſe performances being appropriated to the Holy Ghoſt, (the natural ſpring and author of all derived Sanctity) his efficacy therefore muſt needs intervene. If *Jeremy*, St. *Paul*, St. *John Baptiſt* (perſons deſigned to offices and employments, in dignity and importance ſo far inferiour) were ſanctified, and ſeparated, and filled with the Holy Ghoſt from their mother's womb; in how more excellent a kind and degree was it requiſite that he ſhould be ſanctified, who was ſent to redeem and purifie the world from all filth and fault? It was neceſſary that his humane nature, which God vouchſafed ſo highly to advance (to aſſume into ſo near a conjunction and union with himſelf) ſhould be free from all ſtain and pollution, (ſuch as adheres to our ſinful fleſh and corrupt nature in ordinary propagation,) that he whom God ſhould ſo dearly love and be ſo entirely pleaſed with, ſhould be void of the leaſt inclination to iniquity or impurity; *for God*, as the *Pſalmiſt* tells us, *is not a God that hath pleaſure in wickedneſs; neither ſhall evil dwell with him: He is of purer eyes than* (ſo much as) *to behold evil, and cannot look upon iniquity*, much leſs would he receive any defiled thing into ſo near an union, ſo dear a reſpect and complacence with himſelf. It was alſo neceſſary, that he who was appointed to appeaſe God's diſpleaſure, and reconcile him fully toward us; to redeem mankind from the guilt and power of ſin; to ſatisfie and expiate for all our offences; with full authority to teach, command and exemplifie all righteouſneſs; ſhould himſelf know no ſin: *Such a High-prieſt became us, who was holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeparate from ſinners——Who had no need firſt to offer up ſacrifices for his own ſins:* The ſacrifice expiatory of our ſins was and ought to be *a lamb* (ἄμωμος καὶ ἄσπιλος) *without blemiſh and without ſpot*; therefore was he fully ſanctified, and became τὸ ἅγιον, that *holy thing*, as he is called by the Angel; (*therefore that holy thing, which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God*; therefore from the fountain of holineſs, the Holy Ghoſt (whoſe proper name doth import holineſs, whoſe proper work it is to ſanctifie) did he derive a perfect ſanctity and purity in his ſacred conception.

Jer. 1. 5. Gal. 1. 15. Luk. 1. 15. Rom. 8. 3. Pſal 5. 4. Heb. 1. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 2. 26, 27. 1. Pet. 1. 19. Luk. 1. 35.

3. I might add as obſervable, the analogy (or reſemblance) that is between the conception of our Saviour for us, and his formation in us; his generation and our regeneration; his becoming our brother in the fleſh; our becoming his brethren in the ſpirit; both being performed by the ſame agent; as Chriſt was made true man, and partaker of our nature, ſo we become true Chriſtians and (θείας φύσεως κοινωνοὶ) *partakers of the divine nature* by the operation of the ſame divine ſpirit: As he by nature, ſo we by grace are born *not by blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God*: Hence accrues a new relation, and we become his brethren, not only as he was *made like us*, but as we become like him; and are begot of God, by the ſame heavenly vertues, by the ſame incorruptible ſeed.

Gal. 4. 19. 2 Pet. 1. 14. Joh. 1. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 23. 1 John. 3. 9.

The proper uſe of this doctrine is to cauſe us farther ſtill to adore the goodneſs and wiſdom of God ſo fully, ſo fitly carrying on that infinitely merciful and gracious work of our redemption; all the divine perſons, in a particular manner conſpiring as in the deſign, ſo in the execution thereof: The Father ſending his Son; the Son condeſcending to come; the Holy Ghoſt bringing him into the world: To which Bleſſed Trinity therefore rendring all praiſe and thanks; We proceed to that which is farther contained in theſe words: *Born of the Virgin* Mary.

Born of her. Being *born*, doth not barely denote his nativity, but includes his whole humane generation, (with the parts and progreſs thereof;) implying all that ſhe, as a Mother, did conferr thereto; and comprehending, 1. His conception of her ſubſtance; whence he is called *the fruit of her womb*, *rod* (or *branch*) *ſprouting from the ſtem of Jeſſe*; and *behold* (ſaith the Angel) συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, *thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb.* 2. The nutrition, augmentation, and entire conformation of his body, alſo of her blood and ſubſtance; whence her womb is ſaid to bear him, (*Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee,*) that ſhe was ἔγκυος (*gravidated*, or) *great with*

Luk. 1. 41. 31. Iſa. 10. 1. Luk. 11. 27. 2. 5.

with child of him; and εὑρέθη, *ſhe was found* (ſhe was obſerved by apparent ſigns) ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, *to be of child* with him. 3. His nativity it ſelf; thus expreſſed by the Evangeliſt: *The days were accompliſhed that ſhe ſhould be delivered, and ſhe brought forth her firſt-born Son.* Whatever therefore any Mother doth conferr to the entire production of a child, is attributed plainly to the Virgin; whence ſhe is truly and properly (and is accordingly frequently called in the Goſpels) *the Mother of our Saviour*; *the Mother of our Lord*; and hath been (may be in ſome propriety of ſpeech) ſtyled Θεοτόκος, *Deipara*; *Dei genetrix & Dei mater*; the Bearer and Mother of God, (that is, of him who is God; though not of him, as God.)

Mat. 1. 18. Luke 2.

But let us farther obſerve what the words afford to us conſiderable: *Born of the Virgin* Mary: They imply our Saviour born of a Woman; born of a Virgin; born of *Mary*. Of a Woman, that was neceſſary or requiſite to be; of a Virgin, that was convenient, decent and wonderful; of *Mary*, that determines the Perſon, and involves many circumſtances of importance.

1. I ſay, *born of a Woman*, ἐκ σοῦ (as it is in the beſt copies of St. *Luke*, *chap.* 1. 35.) and ἐκ γυναικὸς (as it is in St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 4. 4.) not *in* a woman only (ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν, *Matt.* 1. 20.) or *through* a woman, but *of* a woman; that is of the matter and ſubſtance of a woman; ſo as thereby to bear the relation of a kinſman, to become conſanguineous to all mankind, (whom God did *make of one blood.*) We may eaſily conceive that God could have immediately created (as he did our firſt parents) a Nature in kind and properties like to ours, and aſſumed it; but that would not have ſo fitly ſerved his deſign of reconciling himſelf to us and redeeming us; to the effecting that, not only a reſemblance in nature, but a cognation and proximity of blood was requiſite, or at leaſt more convenient and ſuitable. Our blood being tainted, our whole ſtock degraded by the diſloyalty and rebellion of our common anceſtours, it was fit it ſhould be purged and reſtored by the ſatisfactory merit and fidelity of one who was of our race and kindred. We being to be adopted and received into God's family, it was fit it ſhould be by intervention of a common relation: Such is St. *Paul*'s diſcourſe: *God ſent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem thoſe that were under the law; that by performing the obedience due to the law, he might redeem thoſe, who being obliged to obey the law, did yet tranſgreſs it,* (ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν; that we might be conſtituted ſons; receive the ſtate and quality of ſons to God.) It was congruous that the Devil, who by the weakneſs of a Woman, had ſeduced Man from his duty to God, (had overthrown and triumphed God's creature) ſhould, in juſt revenge, and for reparation of God's honour, by the ſtrength and conſtancy of one proceeding from a Woman, be himſelf defeated, and debaſed; according to the prophetical promiſe: *The ſeed of the Woman ſhall break the Serpent's head*: Of the woman; the man is not mentioned, for (that which is next to be conſidered) he was *born of the Virgin Mary*. So it was of old pre-ſignified and propheſied: *A Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a ſon*: A Virgin: *Alma*, (ſo *Aquila* renders it) ἀπόκρυφος, a recluſe; that perhaps ſeldom had ſeen, had never however known a man.

Ex. 19. 11, &c. Jer. 31. 22. Gal. 4. 4. 5. Gen. 3. 15. Is. 7. 14. Matt. 1. 23. Luke 1. 34.

2. *Born of a Virgin.* So it was; and ſo it was fit it ſhould be: It was decent that the Tabernacle in which God himſelf would dwell ſhould be wholly proper, and encloſed; that the temple of the divinity ſhould be holy and ſeparate; that the ſoil whence holineſs it ſelf would germinate, ſhould be clear and free from all ſordid mixtures; that none ſhould touch the *border of that mountain*, where God would *manifeſt himſelf*; nor the luſt of man approach that place, whence the glory of God ſhould ſo illuſtriouſly ſhine forth. It was alſo more than convenient to excite admiration; to get faith, to procure reverence in us, that our Saviour ſhould be born in a manner ſo peculiar and miraculous; it could not otherwiſe appear plainly that he was the Son of God: Who that hears of ſuch a paſſage can forbear to wonder and conſider? who can doubt him to be the Son of God, whom by ſufficient and certain atteſtation he learns to have been conceived without any concurrence of man? who can do otherwiſe than adore him, that was born in a manner ſo glorious and ſupernatural? This, it ſeems, was that new thing (ſo ſtrange and admirable) which in the Prophet *Jeremy* God did foreſhew he would create in the earth, (than when he would reſtore *Sion* and make a new covenant with *Iſrael*) *a woman ſhall compaſs a man*; that is, a woman (in a manner extraordinary, without man's concourſe) ſhall conceive and contain a man: a man, who ſhall accompliſh thoſe great things there propheſied of and promiſed.

But

But farther; born of *Mary*; of that particular perſon determined and deſcribed in the Goſpel; her that was eſpouſed to, and lived with *Joſeph*; (*Joſeph* the Carpenter, that was born in the Town of *Bethlehem*, lived in *Nazareth*; was deſcended in a direct lineage from King * *David*, (according to both a natural and legal deſcent,) and conſequently from *Abraham*; ſhe being alſo of the ſame ſtock and family (as may be collected from ſome circumſtances intimated in the ſtory, but more certainly deduced from the prophecies concerning our Saviour's ſtock, and the aſſertions implying their accompliſhment.) *Mary* (I ſay) a Princeſs by blood and progeny; and extracted from the moſt illuſtrious ſtem upon earth, (not only famous among men, but (which is infinitely more) moſt dear to God; yet ſhe, ſuch as was very mean and poor in conditition; humble and meek in ſpirit; religious and devout toward God; ſuch the paſſages occurring in the Goſpel concerning her do ſhew her; ſuch that moſt excellent hymn of hers in St. *Luke* (dictated by a ſpirit raviſhed with the moſt ſprightly devotion imaginable; devotion full of ardent love, paſſionate thankfulneſs, hearty joy tempered with ſubmiſs reverence) do demonſtrate her to have been. Of a Mother ſo related and ſo qualified was our Saviour born. So related, that was neceſſary, for the declarion of God's truth and fidelity, performing thoſe ancient predictions and promiſes made to the fathers; to * *Abraham* (*that in his ſeed all the families of the earth ſhould be bleſſed*) to † *David*; to whom God had ſworn (as ‖ St. *Peter* tells us) that of *the fruit of his loins, according to the fleſh, he would raiſe up Chriſt, to ſet upon his throne*; who (as appears by many paſſages in the Goſpels) God's people did expect and believe that he ſhould be the *rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, aud a branch growing out of his roots*; in whom the horn of *David* ſhould bud; who ſhould * *raiſe the tabernacle of David that was fallen*; and *rule over the Kingdom of Jacob for ever.* So was the Bleſſed Virgin related, and to ſuch purpoſe (that all God's predictions and promiſes concerning the circumſtances of our Saviour's birth might be verified) and ſo qualified; ſuch in outward condition; holy in diſpoſition of mind; homely in ſtate of life; to teach us, that God doth not ſo much regard the outward pomps and appearances of this world, as the inward frame and temper of ſpirit: 'Tis ſome diſparagement to thoſe vain glories, by men ſo greatly admired; and it may induce us but moderately to eſteem them, to conſider, that God did not chuſe for the Mother of his Son and Saviour of mankind any great Princeſs; any honourable or wealthy perſonage; but her that was eſpouſed to a mean artizan, rich only in grace, ſplendid in ſpiritual endowments; *adorned with that hidden man of the heart in the incorruptibility of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great price.* Such an one the Son of God choſe to bear himſelf, to bear duty unto; to confer that great favour, that high honour upon (an honour among exteriour ones, the higheſt that ever was vouchſafed to any perſon, to any meer creature; for ſpiritual Bleſſings our Saviour himſelf doth prefer even above this great privilege: *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *ſhall do the will of my Father, which is in heaven, the ſame is my brother, and ſiſter and mother:* the ſame is ſo according to a more excellent kind of relation. By the way we may obſerve, that although the Bleſſed Virgin was in that reſpect κεχαριτωμένη, *ſpecially favoured and bleſſed among women*; though *all nations* muſt needs therefore eſteem and *call her bleſſed*; though ſhe juſtly acknowledged *God had done* μεγαλεῖα, (*mighty* and magnificent *things for her*,) yet in reality to have Chriſt born in our ſouls, to partake of his divine grace and preſence in our hearts is a higher honour, a truer happineſs than that: for when the good woman, raviſhed by our Saviour's diſcourſe, did cry out: *Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee: yea rather*, ſaid he, *Bleſſed are they that hear the Word of God and keep it.*

We muſt not alſo neglect to obſerve, that our Saviour choſe ſo mean a parentage, partly that he might taſte and undergo the hardſhips and inconveniences incident to our nature, (thereby more fully meriting and ſatisfying for us,) partly to give us example of the moſt difficult virtues and duties (of humility, meekneſs, and patience,) ſhewing us how we ſhould cheerfully endure wants, pains, diſgraces; contentedly want all the pleaſure, wealth, and ſplendour of the world.

The uſe of this point concerning our Saviour's birth of the Bleſſed Virgin is not to beget in us fond opinions, or to ground ſcandalous practices in reſpect to her; attributing to her (I cannot ſay leſs than ſacrilegiouſly and profanely) ſuch ſwelling, vain, falſe titles and elogies, *Regina Cœli, ſalus Mundi, mater miſericordiarum, Domina*

Luke 1. 4. Ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ. Vid. Luk. 2. 4.

* Gen. 26. 4. 12. 3. 18. 18. 22. 18. Gal. 3. 8. Act. 3. 15.
† Pſal. 132. 17.
‖ Acts 2. 15.
Vid. Matt. 22. 42. 20. 30. 2. 5. 21. 15. 23. 9. 15. 25. Rom 1. 3. Eſ. 11. 1, 10. Rom. 15. 12. Apoc. 22. 16. 5. 5.
* Amos 9. 11. Acts 15. 16. Luk. 1. 32, 33.
1 Pet. 3. 4.
Matt. 12. 50.
Luke 1. 28. 48. 49.
Οὐδὲ τὸ χυροφορῆσαι τὴν Χριστὸν καὶ τεκεῖν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον τόκον τεκεῖν ἔφη τι κέρδος.
Luk. 11. 27.

mina noſtra, ſponſa Dei, and the like; aſcribing to her the moſt ſublime attributes and actions of God, Providence and protection over us, yea redemption it ſelf; performing acts of religious veneration, (and thoſe in a very high manner and ſtrain,) and all this without any good reaſon, any plauſible authority, or conſiderable example; I ſay from ſuch groundleſs conceits and dangerous practices we ſhould beware; which as they derogate from God's honour and prejudice his ſervice, ſo they do rather injure, abuſe and diſcredit the bleſſed Virgin, than do any right or honour to her; whoſe greater honour indeed it was to be a meek and humble ſervant, than to be the mother of her Saviour, and Lord; the greateſt and trueſt honour we can do her is to imitate her grace, and to obey him, who vouchſafed to be her Son. But I will not proſecute that matter; nor farther inſiſt upon this point; ſome practical uſes thereof I have in the precedent diſcourſe inſinuated; the reſt I leave to your meditation.

Next our Saviour's incarnation (his conception and nativity) with the cauſes and manner thereof (partly expreſſed, partly implyed) doth ſucceed his paſſion. It might be inquired, why ſomething concerning his life interceeding, is not mentioned; ſince we ſee the Apoſtles in their preachings declaratory concerning the principal matters of our faith take eſpecial notice of thoſe things: *Ye know* (ſaith St. *Peter*, in his catechetical diſcourſe to *Cornelius* and his friends) *the thing that was done throughout all Judæa,* Act. 10, 37, 38. *beginning from Galilee, after the baptiſm, which John preached; Jeſus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Ghoſt and with power, who went about doing good and healing all that were oppreſſed of the devil, for God was with him.* And the ſame Apoſtle in his ſpeech to the Jews: *Ye men of Iſrael* (ſaith he) *hear* Act. 2, 22. *theſe words, Jeſus of Nazareth a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and ſigns, which God did by him in the midſt of you, as ye alſo know. Him being delivered*, &c. Why therefore is not ſome ſuch mention made here concerning the manner of our Saviour's life, the quality of his works and actions? I anſwer; that it did ſuffice to deſcribe our Saviour (as the object of the faith we profeſs) by ſuch characters as did moſt notoriouſly determine and diſtinguiſh his perſon; and withal did involve and intimate the moſt ſignal myſteries of our faith, the moſt important doctrines of our religion, the main deſign of his undertaking, the fit Method in which he proſecuted it, and the moſt effectual means by which he accompliſhed it. The belief of which doth virtually contain (or conſequentially inferr) our belief of whatever beſide it is neceſſary or expedient for us to believe concerning him; there was nothing about our Saviour's perſon more conſpicuous and viſible than his trial, condemnation and execution, in the time, under the preſidency of *Pontius Pilate*; nor was any paſſage of his life, any performance of his more conducible to the accompliſhment of that deſign, which God was pleaſed he ſhould undertake: It was therefore ſufficient and fit to deſcribe him by this and other ſuch paſſages; (well atteſted, important and influential;) and if we believe in him, who ſo ſuffered, we conſequently believe all that he did or ſaid; all that is in the Goſpels (the moſt certain and authentical teſtimonies) delivered concerning him; and that he truly was whatever we ſee there he did pretend and teach himſelf to be; (the true *Meſſias* the only Son of God and Saviour of the world:) by this paſſage therefore (aſſuming his reſurrection) the Apoſtles do characterize him: for inſtance: *Be it known to you all* (ſaith St. Act. 4. 10. *Peter*) *that in the name of Jeſus Chriſt of Nazareth, whom you have crucified, whom God hath raiſed from the dead, in that doth this man ſtand before you whole: Neither to us only is the Lamb ſlain*, a periphraſis fully and clearly denoting his Perſon, but the Jews themſelves (though out of hatred and in contempt) call him ordinarily *Talui* (*Suſpenſus*, him that was hanged) and ὁ ἀνασκολοπισθεὶς (you know) Apoc. 13. 8. Grot. de Ver. II. 2. in the Pagan ſcoffers language doth ſignify him. But as to the thing it ſelf.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead —

THis part of our Saviour's humiliation, is in the ancient Creeds expreſſed more conciſely by one word *crucifixus: Crucifixus ſub Pontio Pilato & ſepultus*: Crucified under *Pontius Pilate* and buried; ſo it goes in the text of *Ruffinus*, and agreeably in other ancient expoſitors. But this alteration (or acceſſion) it ſeems was made, (as for the expreſs diſclaiming of ſome heretical conceits that afterward ſprung up, denying the real truth of our Saviour's death, ſo) for the more full and clear repreſentation of the thing; by implying the manner, and main circumſtances,

and complete effect thereof: for by ſuffering (I conceive) was intended to expreſs that what he underwent was in way of judicial proceſs, and ſentence of law, obtaining force and effect upon him, (that he was proſecuted, adjudged, and puniſhed as a malefactor;) (for the word πάσχειν, applied as in this caſe, did, I ſuppoſe (as *to ſuffer* doth now in common uſe with us) by an εὐφημισμὸς (a mild and modeſt kind of ſpeech) bear this emphaſis, (importing to be puniſhed with death in a legal courſe;) then being *crucified* doth ſhew the kind and manner of that ſuffering, which was moſt painful and diſgraceful; and being dead, was added to declare the full effect and extreme complement of all; (he ſo ſuffered, was ſo crucified, as thereby to loſe his life.) Let us ſomewhat ponder upon theſe particulars diſtinctly, then conſider all together.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate. *Suffered*: that is (I ſay in my apprehenſion) underwent judgment, and puniſhment as a malefactor. I deny not but the word may in ſignification extend to all the infirmities, inconveniencies, pains, and ſorrows that
See Mat. 16. 21. Luke 9. 22. our Saviour did undergo both in the courſe of his miniſterial performances, and chiefly before his death; but I think thoſe ſufferings of his rather conſiderable upon other accounts (as conſequents upon our nature aſſumed, adjuncts to his condition, and concomitants of his paſſion) than here directly intended; for to interpret ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, in *Pontius Pilate* his time, ſo as to reſpect any time before our Saviour's being accuſed and arraigned before him, ſeems a ſtretch and a ſtrain. *Suffered* here, I therefore take for *puniſhed*, in way of ſeeming juſtice as a malefactour.
Luk. 22. 37. Mar. 15. 28. Iſa. 53. 12. That he ſhould thus ſuffer, God had determined, and it was foretold by the Prophet *Iſaias*; *that he ſhould be numbred among the tranſgreſſours*: and St. *Paul* tells
2 Cor. 5. 21. us, *that God made him ſin for us*; (that is, ordered that he ſhould be dealt with as a ſinful or criminous perſon) *who knew no ſin*, (was perfectly innocent and free from the leaſt tendency to any fault:) And we ſee in the hiſtory that he was impea-
John 5. 18. 10. 30 Matt. 26. 61, 65. Luke 23. 2. Matt. 27. 63. John 7. 12. John 18. 30. ched of high crimes; as a blaſphemer againſt God, (aſſuming to himſelf the title, power and properties and prerogatives of God) as a ſeditious and rebellious perſon, (perverting (or ſtirring up) the nation, and hindring to give tribute to *Cæſar*, and pretending that he was Chriſt a King) as a deluder and ſeducer of the people; in general, as a κακοποιὸς, a criminal perſon and malefactour; and that he was condemned (though by a ſentence extorted, againſt the conſcience of the judge, by malicious importunity of the accuſers) and ſuffered in pretence as ſuch, is clear and confeſſed on all hands. And that we may the better admire the wiſdom and goodneſs of God in this diſpenſation, let us meditate upon the reaſons why it was ſo ordered. To which purpoſe we may conſider:

1. That as our Saviour did chuſe to live a life of greateſt meanneſs and hardſhip, ſo for the ſame reaſons he would die a death of all moſt bitter and uncomfortable: Such is to our nature the death of a malefactour; there is nothing to man's nature (and eſpecially to honeſt, ingenious and well-diſpoſed nature, wherein natural modeſty is not extinguiſhed or decayed) more abominable. God hath put into us, for good purpoſes, a lively ſenſe of all diſgrace; and of all diſgraces, that which proceeds from imputation of odious crimes is moſt diſguſtful and pungent; and being conſcious of innocence, doth increaſe the ſmart; and to perceive our ſelves to die under it (to leave this world with ſuch an irreparable ſtain upon our reputation and memory) is ſtill more grievous: to languiſh by degrees, and endure the torments of a long and ſharp diſeaſe, all ingenuous perſons would much rather chuſe, than in this manner, being eſteemed and dealt with as a villain, to find a preſent and eaſie diſpatch: We ſee ſomewhat of this reſentment breaking forth in our Saviour; and
Luke 22. 52. Matt. 26. 55. how man's nature diſcovered it ſelf in that queſtion: *Be ye come out as againſt a thief with ſwords and ſtaves?* Yes; he loathed to be ſo treated, yet choſe it as he did other the worſt inconveniencies incident to our nature and to that low condition, which he put himſelf into (to endure want and fare hardly; to be contemned, envied, hated, ſcorned and reproached in all the courſe of his life;) he had not been ſo
John 5. 18. 10. 31. 32. 39. 40. 8. 33, 40. 59. 7. 19, 25. complete and extreme a ſufferer if he had died any other way. He was oftentimes in danger of death both from the ſecret machinations, and open violences of thoſe which envied and hated him; but he induſtrouſly declined a death ſo eaſie, ſo honourable, (if I may ſo ſay: for it is not ſo great a diſgrace to periſh by private malice, or by ſudden rage, as by the ſolemn and deliberate proceeding of men in publick place, credit and authority:) He ſhewed his diſciples, (ſay the Goſpels) that it was incum-

incumbent upon him (ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν) to ſuffer many things, *to be rejected* or reprobated (ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι, ἐξουδενωθῆναι, to be vilified and made nothing of) *by the chief prieſts, and elders, and ſcribes; to be condemned to death, and delivered to the Gentiles,* εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι, *to be mocked and ſcourged and crucified.* Thus would our Saviour ſuffer not only in his body by bruiſes and wounds; in his ſoul by moſt bitter ſorrows; but in his name and reputation by the worſt of ignominies; undergoing as well all the infamy, as the infirmity that did belong to, or could befall us; thus by all means ſhewing his charity, and exerciſing his compaſſion, and advancing his merit for us. Matt. 20. 18. 16. Luke 9. 22. Mar. 9. 12.

2. Again, Death by publick judgment, as a malefactour, did agree to the nature of his undertaking, was congruous to his deſigns in dying; did aptly repreſent what he was doing, and ſignifie why he did it. We were guilty; we deſerved condemnation; extreme pain and ſhame were due to us for our ſins: he undertook to ſatisfie for us, and therefore underwent the like judgment and puniſhment; was reputed, was called, was dealt with as a malefactour in our ſtead. What we had really done, diſhonoured and uſurped upon God; diſordered and troubled the world; deceived and ſeduced our ſelves and others (by our negligent miſtakes and our wilful miſcarriages; our evil practices and examples) that was imputed to him: *All we like ſheep have gone aſtray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all:* He not only bore an equivalent puniſhment, but in a manner an equal blame with us. Iſa. 53. 6.

3. Add hereto; that ſince it was determined he ſhould die for us; and that not in a natural, but a violent manner; and that to ſatisfie divine juſtice; it was fit he ſhould do it in that way wherein God's right is moſt nearly concerned, and his providence moſt diſcernable; wherein it might moſt plainly appear that God did exact and take; Chriſt did yield unto and undergo puniſhment: *All judgment is God's* (as *Moſes* tells us) performed by authority derived from him; All Magiſtrates are his officers; by them he orders and governs the world; what therefore is done in a way of formal judgment by perſons of authority, God himſelf may be ſaid in an eſpecial manner to do, (as being done by his commiſſion, in his ſtead, in his behalf.) It was therefore an act of ſubmiſſion to God's juſtice, becoming the perſon he ſuſtained (of our Surety and our Saviour) to undergo ſuch a judgment and ſuch a puniſhment. Seaſonably therefore did our Saviour anſwer *Pilate,* vouching his authority: *Thou hadſt no power at all over* (or *againſt me*) *except it were given thee from above*: It was in regard to that ſupreme and original authority of God that our Saviour ſubjected himſelf to theſe inferiour and ſubordinate powers, as the proper inſtruments of God's juſtice. Had he ſuffered in any other way (by any private malice or paſſion of men) God's providence had been leſs viſible, Chriſt's obedience not ſo remarkable; and if he muſt die by publick hands, it muſt be as a criminal; upon pretence of guilt: there muſt be teſtimonies produced, however falſe; there muſt be a ſentence pronounced, though partial and unjuſt: no man is proſecuted or perſecuted by authority, without ſome colour of deſert. Deut. 1. 17. John 19. 11.

4. Farther, in no other way perhaps could our Saviour diſplay (with ſuch advantage) all manner of virtue and goodneſs, to the honour of God, and our benefit: whether we conſider the occaſions to exerciſe his virtue, or the means of ſhewing it. The Judgment-hall (with all the ſtreets that lead him thither, and thence to execution, attended by guards of ſouldiers, and accompanied by clamours of the people) were ſo many theatres, whereupon he had opportunity (convenience and leiſure) publickly to act the parts of the higheſt and hardeſt virtues; to declare his courage and conſtancy in defence of truth, and maintenance of a good conſcience; his meekneſs and patience in bearing the greateſt affronts and reproaches, injuries and calumnies the worſt imaginable; his entire reſignation to God's will; his ſubmiſſion and obedience to man's law and authority; his admirable charity in pitying, in excuſing, in praying for, yea in ſuffering all this for the good of thoſe, who in a manner ſo deſpitefull, injurious and cruel did perſecute him: all theſe graces and virtues, by the matter being thus ordered, were in a degree moſt high, in a manner moſt conſpicuous demonſtrated to the praiſe of God's name and the advancement of his truth; for the confirmation of our faith; an inſtruction, encouragement, and inducement of good practice to us.

Neither muſt we omit to conſider the farther emphaſis that lies in the word *Suffer,* which implies our Saviour not only to have been dealt with as a malefactour, but to

have really endured what a man in that caſe might or ſhould do: that he was ſenſible and affected (according to the frame of humane nature) with the pain, diſgrace, and ſhame, and all evils whatever did appear to attend his paſſion: as his complexion was moſt pure and delicate; his ſpirit moſt vivid and apprehenſive, accordingly were the pains that he felt, both in body and ſoul moſt ſharp and afflictive: Some Men may fondly pretend to, or falſely glory in a ſtupid apathy; or a ſtubborn contempt of all thoſe evils, to which our nature is ſubject: Our Saviour did not ſo, but with a quiet ſubmiſſion and ſweet compoſedneſs of mind reſented them; as God intended we ſhould do when he implanted ſenſe and paſſion in our natural conſtitution, and ordered objects to affect and afflict them, for our uſe and advantage.

Thus and for ſuch reaſons and to ſuch purpoſes (as I conceive) did our Saviour ſuffer, or undergo judgment and puniſhment: It is added, *under Pontius Pilate*, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; where the prepoſition ἐπὶ may either denote the circumſtance of time when our Saviour's paſſion did happen (in the time of *Pontius Pilate* his government or preſidency over *Judæa*; ſo ἐπὶ is very frequently uſed) or it may farther imply a reſpect to that perſon, as an inſtrument of our Saviour's paſſion (by, or under *Pontius Pilate* as preſident and judge; ſo the word is ſometimes uſed.) Neither of theſe ſenſes, I ſuppoſe, were diſtinctly, but both conjunctly intended here; in relation to the Goſpel-hiſtory; the which here (as to the main paſſages) we are ſuppoſed to know, and profeſs to believe: neither do I think any more of myſtery deſigned, beyond the full and clear determination of our Saviour's perſon, the declaration of whom we believe in, by circumſtances moſt apt and ſuitable to that purpoſe; the time when; the perſon under whom; and conſequently the place where, and ſomewhat of the manner how he ſuffered. However, all theſe circumſtances are in themſelves conſiderable, and afford ſome matter of edification to our faith, and practice: The time (in it ſelf moſt fit, and agreeable to divine predictions) doth illuſtrate the wiſdom of God in his providence, and confirm his veracity, conſtancy and fidelity: when the fulneſs of time was come; he grieved at preſent evils, even to a degree of exceſſive anguiſh, trouble and agony, (περίλυπος, ἀδημονεῖν γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἡ ψυχή μου τετάρακται, are words uſed to expreſs his ſorrowful reſentment) he feared future evils, to a degree of horrour and amazement (to an ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι; that is, to be affrighted and aſtoniſhed:) ſuch height of paſſion did the ſenſe of preſent pangs, the fore-ſight of impending evils, the apprehenſion of his own, the conſideration of our ſtate raiſe him to: ſuch a burthen, all the ſins of mankind to lie upon his ſhoulders, no wonder if he groaned under it: God's diſpleaſure flaming out againſt ſin, no wonder it did terrifie him: ſuch a father (whom he ſo dearly loved) frowning upon, and hiding his face from him, it might well trouble him: ſuch a pity, ſuch a love contemplating man's ſinfulneſs, feeling his miſery, 'tis not ſtrange that it ſhould affect him. But I muſt paſs over this moſt large and fruitful ſubject of meditation. When the World was in the moſt general peace and deepeſt calm; and conſequently men's attention more ready, and their minds more capable of inſtruction; when the greateſt (or the moſt conſiderable) part of the World was united under one Empire; and ſo more fit to be incorporated into a ſpiritual Common-wealth; (to communicate in offices of piety; to impart and receive inſtruction;) when mankind generally was better civilized, inquiſitive after knowledge, and receptive of truth; when the ſcepter of legiſlation and ſupreme authority was juſt departed from *Judah*; while the Jewiſh Temple yet ſtood, but not long before its deſtruction; when the Se-
Dan. 9. 26. venty hebdomades (of years) were near expiring, (the time when the Meſſias ſhould be cut off;) in ſhort, when all things were duly prepared and ſuited for the great effects deſigned by God to proceed from our Saviour's paſſion and other performances, then did he ſuffer and do what God had in his wiſdom and goodneſs pre-determined, pre-ſignified and predicted.

I might add, the time was fit to be ſet down, as a character apt to confirm the truth of the hiſtory; for direction to a fair inquiry and trial concerning it; to exclude all confuſion and uncertainty about it. As for the perſon whom; if we conſider him as a *Roman* ſtranger, as a Governour and Judge, according to his perſonal qualities; or according to his deportment in this affair, ſomething in all theſe reſpects may offer it ſelf obſervable. He was an alien from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; ſo Jews and Gentiles conſpired in violence and injury againſt their common Saviour; that ſo (in type and myſtery) *every mouth*
Rom. 3. 19. *might be ſtopped, and all the world might become guilty before God.* Neither was

it

it for nothing decreed by God, that the Jews ſhould deliver our Saviour up to the Gentiles (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) *to mock, and ſcourge, and crucifie him.* The Jews out of envy and malice delivered up, accuſed, proſecuted, inſtigated and importuned againſt him: the Gentiles out of ignorance, profaneneſs, and unjuſt partiality condemned, and executed him: whereby the ingratitude, iniquity, and impiety of all mankind in ſome ſort did appear and was aptly repreſented, and in conſequence thereof his infinite goodneſs is demonſtrated, who for ſo impious, unjuſt, flagitious a generation, for ſuch malicious enemies, and cruel perſecutors, did willingly ſuffer: he ſuffered for them, by whom he ſuffered. I might add, that a ſtranger was more likely to be a fair and indifferent judge; and to do what was deſigned and fit to be done in our Saviour's trial. Conſider *Pilate* as a Governour and Judge, for ſo he was: *Cæſar*'s Procurator, and preſident of *Judæa*, (ἐπίτροπος and ἡγεμών,) and therein we may diſcern the wiſdom and ſpecial providence of God puniſhing our Saviour for us by his own Officer in a courſe of juſtice; the loyal obedience of our Saviour ſubmitting both to God and Man, (though in a caſe of plain outrage and higheſt injuſtice againſt himſelf,) the heinouſneſs of that wicked proceeding, wherein that ſacred power committed to him by God, and the venerable name of juſtice were ſo abuſed. So that if ever, then one might have ſaid with the Wiſe-man: *I ſaw the place of judgment, that wickedneſs was there; and the place of righteouſneſs, that iniquity was there.* As for this *Pilate* his perſonal qualites; he is reported by the hiſtorians near thoſe times to have been a man of a harſh and rough temper; wilfull and haughty in ſpirit; rapacious, violent and cruel in his proceedings; and was therefore a proper inſtrument of providence for the execution of ſuch a buſineſs, ſo holy and gracious in God's purpoſe, ſo villanous and barbarous according to man's intention: Such an one deſerved to bear the guilt of a fact ſo baſe and execrable; was worthy to be employed; might be ready to undertake therein: It had not been ſo plauſible in it ſelf, that ſuch an act ſhould, nor ſo credible that it could, proceed from any perſon of good diſpoſition, or right intention. But of him it could not be improbable, who by his former violences (ſuch as upon their complaints did ſoon after remove him from his charge) had ſo incenſed the Jews, that he ſhould not ſtick to gratifie them in a matter, that they ſo earneſtly concerned themſelves in, and which in ſemblance (ſetting apart conſiderations of juſtice and honeſty ſo little material in ſuch a perſons regard) ſo little touched his own intereſt; in yielding up ſo poor and inconſiderable (in outward ſhew) a perſon, however in his own conſcience moſt innocent, as a boon or ſacrifice to their importunate rage. Such he was, and yet it is obſervable, that he behaved himſelf, in compariſon of the furious Jews, with ſome moderation and ingenuity. He was ſo fair in examination of the caſe, as notwithſtanding their eager and clamorous proſecution, to diſcern the right and declare our Saviour guiltleſs: He was ſo far conſtant and true to his conſcience, as to expoſtulate with the Jews, and once, twice, a third time to challenge them, *Why, what evil hath he done?* As often did he diſcover his inclination and readineſs (yea his will and intention) to free the innocent perſon: yet had he not the heart or the honeſty thoroughly to reſiſt their importunity; they were more obſtinate in their wicked, than he reſolute in his good purpoſe; ſo out of fear to offend them, and favour to oblige them (thoſe uſual corrupters of right judgment) he yielded to them, ſuffering himſelf baſely to be overborn by their wicked ſolicitations, ſacrificing acknowledged innocence to his own private intereſt, and their implacable malice. Thus did this heathen Judge behave himſelf, ſerving divine providence not only in the publick and formal condemnation of our Saviour to the puniſhment due to us, but in the ſolemn and ſerious abſolution of him from all blame in himſelf; in outward ſhew he condemned our Saviour, in truth he condemned himſelf (his corrupt judge) and the Jews (his malicious accuſers;) though he took away his life, yet he cleared his reputation, and afforded a teſtimony moſt valid and convincing of his innocence; ſuch as was requiſite to confute all the Jewiſh calumnies and aſperſions, and to confirm our faith.

Mat. 20. 19.
Matt. 27. 1, 2.
Rom. 5. 6.
ἀσεβῶν. v. 8.
ἁμαρτωλῶν 1 Pet. 3. 18.
ἀδίκων. Rom. 5. 10.
Col. 1. 21.
Mat. 27. 2, &c
Eccleſ. 3. 16.
Philo, Joſephus, &c.
Joſeph. Antiq. 18. 5.
Mat. 15. 15.
Joh. 19. 6.
Luk. 23. 14. & Act. 3. 13.

Farthermore; the name of *Pontius Pilate* intimates the place of our Saviour's paſſion; he being well known to have been Governour of *Judæa*, and to have his Tribunal of juſtice at the mother-city thereof *Hieruſalem*; at *Jeruſalem*, that *bloody city*, (as the Prophet calls it) whoſe character it was to be *the killer of the prophets and ſtoner of them that were ſent unto her; out of which it was* (in a manner) *impoſſible that a prophet ſhould periſh*: yet the place of all the world moſt favoured and graced by God by ſpecial benefits and privileges: *his own proper ſeat* (the city of

Ezek. 22. 2. 24. 6. Luk. 13. 33, 34.
Pſal. 48. 2. 87. 3.

God;

Deut. 12. 5. Neh. 1. 9. 1 King. 11. 30. Eſt. 6. 12. Matt. 4. 5. 27. 53. &c. Apoc. 20. 9.

God; the city of the great King, ſo 'tis ſtiled) *which he had choſen out of all the tribes of Iſrael* (out of all the people upon earth) *to put his name* (to place his eſpecial preſence) *there*; the holy, the beloved city: there at his own doors, as it were, before his own ſacred palace, where moſt eſpecial reſpect and veneration were due to him, was the King of heaven adjudged and executed; by procurement of his own ſervants, peculiarly related to him, the chief Prieſts and Elders of his choſen people, perſons wholly devoted to his ſervice, and highly dignified by him (whoſe office and eſpecial duty it was to maintain truth and encourage righteouſneſs, to procure honour to God and obedience to his commandments) which as it greatly advances the goodneſs of him, who willingly ſuffered there and by ſuch, ſo it much aggravates man's ingratitude and iniquity.

It follows, *Crucified*; whereby is expreſſed the manner and kind of our Saviour's paſſion; which was by being affixed to a croſs, (that is, to a kind of gibbet or *patibulum*) mainly conſiſting of two beams (or pieces of wood) one erect, to which the length of his body was applied and faſtned by nails, the other tranſverſe, to which (his arms being ſtretched out) his hands were nailed; which kind of ſuffering we may briefly conſider as moſt bitter and painful; as moſt ignominious and ſhameful; as agreeable and advantageous to the deſigns of our Saviour's ſuffering; as ſignificant and emblematical; as completory of divine predictions and pre-ſignifications; in fine, as inſtructive, admonitory of duty, and excitative of devotion, to us.

1. We may eaſily imagine what acerbity of pain muſt be endured in his limbs being ſtretched forth, racked and tentered: and continuing in that poſture; in the piercing his hands and his feet (parts moſt exquiſitely tender and ſenſible) with ſharp, hard iron nails; ſo that (as it is ſaid of *Joſeph*) the iron entred into his ſoul, or his ſoul entred into iron, in abiding expoſed to the injuries of Sun ſcorching, wind beating upon, weather ſearching his grievous ſores and wounds: ſuch a pain it was; and that no ſtupifying, no tranſient pain, but very acute and withal lingring: we ſee in the ſtory he and thoſe that ſuffered with him had both preſence of mind and time to diſcourſe; three long hours and more he continued under ſuch torment, ſuſtaining every minute beyond the pangs of an ordinary death. So that well may that in the *Lamentations* be applied to his ſuffering ſtate: *Behold and ſee if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.* Such a kind of ſuffering did our Saviour chooſe to undergo, declaring the exceſs of his love (in being ready to endure the ſaddeſt afflictions and ſmarts for us) ſignifying the heinouſneſs of our ſins (deſerving ſo extreme puniſhment) exemplifying the hardeſt duties of obedience and patience to us.

Pſal. 105. 18. Heb. & Septuag. Lam. 1: 12.

2. And as moſt ſharp and afflictive in pain, ſo moſt vile and ſhameful was this kind of ſuffering. It was *ſervile ſupplicium* (*quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente videatur indignum,*) a puniſhment never by the *Romans* (under whom our Saviour ſuffered) legally inflicted upon freemen, but only upon ſlaves, (ſuch as were ſcarce regarded as men, or in life, having forfeited, as it were, made away, or quite loſt themſelves) and among the Jews that puniſhment which approached neareſt and in part agreed therewith (for they had no ſuch cruel or inhumane kind of puniſhment appointed by their law) hanging up the dead bodies of ſuch as had been executed, was accounted moſt infamous and abominable: *Curſed is every one that hangeth upon the tree*, upon a *patibulum*, ſays the law: Curſed, that is, addicted to reproach and malediction? Curſed of God (the Hebrew hath it) that is doth ſeem to be deſerted and rejected and afflicted of God. In the very nature of the thing to be raiſed on high, and for a good continuance of time offered to the view of all that paſs by, doth beget ill ſuſpicion and provoke cenſure; invites obloquy, ſcorn, and contempt; draws forth language of deriſion, deſpight and deteſtation (eſpecially from the rude and hard-hearted multitude, who think and ſpeak according to event and appearance; who ——*ſequitur fortunam ſemper & odit Damnatos*——) ſo we ſee that the people did mock, and jeer, and revile (ἐξεμυκτήριζον, ἐνέπαιζον, ἐβλασφήμουν) drawing up their noſes, ſhooting out their lips, and ſhaking their heads, and letting looſe their tongues againſt him; in this condition (the ſame men perhaps who had formerly admired his glorious works, and had been affected with his excellent diſcourſes; who had followed, and favoured, and bleſſed, and glorified him.) *They look, and ſtare upon me*; is a part of the deſcription of his ſuffering; (anſwering to that in St. *Luke*, εἰστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν; the people ſtood gazing upon him; and διατελεῖσθαι, to be made a gazing

Lact. IV. p. 436. Deut. 21. 23. Gal. 3. 13. Luk. 23. 35, 36. Matt. 27. 38. Vid. Pſal. 22. Luk. 14. 25. Matt. 27. 39. Pſal. 22. 17.

ſtock

ſtock (or object of reproach) we ſee is reckon'd by the Apoſtle as an aggravation of affliction. Hence became it ſuch a ſcandal, *&c.* Luk. 23. 35. Heb. 10. 33.

Thus did our Saviour endure the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame; (deſpiſing, that is, not ſimply eſteeming it as no evil, but not eſteeming it ſo great an evil, as for the avoiding it to neglect the accompliſhment of his great and glorious deſigns;) there is in man's nature an averſation or abhorrency of diſgrace; perhaps more ſtrong than that of pain: mockings and ſcourgings we find joined together; nor doth pain more grievouſly affect the animal ſenſe, than being inſulted over and deſpiſed goes againſt the grain of men's fancy and natural conſtitution of ſoul; and generally men will more contentedly endure one than the other. We need not therefore doubt but our Saviour was ſenſible of this natural evil, and that ſuch indignity did add ſome degree of bitterneſs and loathſomeneſs to his cup of affliction; yet in conſideration of the glory that would accrue to God, the benefit to us, the reward to himſelf, he willingly underwent it. *He became a curſe for us* (was expoſed to all malediction and reviling from ſinful men; (*deſpiſed and rejected and diſeſteemed of men*, in the Prophet's language) did alſo ſeem deſerted and rejected by God himſelf, (himſelf in a manner concurring in ſuch an opinion, as by his woful out-cry *Lamaſabacthani* doth appear.) [*We did eſteem him ſtricken, ſmitten of God and afflicted.*] So did he become a curſe for us, that we might be redeemed from the curſe of the law, (that is, from that exemplary puniſhment due to our tranſgreſſion of the law, with the diſgrace before men, and the diſpleaſure of God attending it;) He was contented to be dealt with as a ſlave (as a wretched miſcreant) *making himſelf of no reputation*, that we might be free not only from the pain, but from the ignominy we deſerved, and with our lives recover both our honour and liberty, which we had forfeited and loſt. Gal. 3. 13. Heb. 12. 3. ἀντιλογία. Isa. 53. 3, 4. Phil. 2. 7.

3. Farther, This kind of ſuffering had ſome advantages, and did conduce toward our Saviour's deſign in being notorious, and in continuing a competent time: If he had been privately made away, or ſuddenly diſpatched, no ſuch great notice had been taken of it, nor could the matter of fact it ſelf have been ſo fully proved (for the confirmation of faith and conviction of infidelity;) nor had not that excellent deportment of his under ſuch affliction (his moſt divine patience, meekneſs, and charity) ſo illuſtriouſly ſhone forth. God's providence therefore did order it ſo, (to prevent all exceptions and excuſes of unbelief) that as the courſe of his life, ſo the manner of his death ſhould be moſt open and conſpicuous: *Theſe things* (as St. *Paul* told King *Agrippa*) *were not done in a corner*; [nor preſently huſhed up; but were done leiſurely in the face of the world:] *I ſpoke freely* (ſaith our Saviour) *to the world*; *I always taught in the ſynagogue and in the temple, where the Jews from all places reſort, and in ſecret have I done nothing*: His proceedings were not cloſe or clanculary; but frank and open: and as he lived, ſo he died; publickly and viſibly; the world being witneſs of his death, and ſo prepared to believe his reſurrection, and to embrace his doctrine; according to what himſelf foretold: *I being lifted up from the earth, ſhall draw all men unto me*; (all men to take notice by the remarkableneſs of it, ſome to believe upon me by the wondrous conſequences of it:) and, *As Moſes did exalt the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, ſo muſt the Son of man be exalted*; (that as by beholding the Serpent elevated upon a pole, men were cured of thoſe mortiferous ſtings they had received; ſo by believing on him crucified men ſhould be ſaved from thoſe deſtructive and deadly ſins they had committed.) Act. 26. 26. John 18. 20. John 12. 32. Joh. 13. 14, 15.

4. This kind of ſuffering alſo ſeems in many reſpects ſignificant, and full of inſtructive emblems: His poſture repreſented that large and comprehenſive charity which he bare in his heart toward us, ſtretching forth his arms of kindneſs, pity and mercy, with them (as it were) to embrace the whole world, and receive all mankind under the wings of his gracious protection; it ſhewed him earneſtly (as it were) wooing and intreating us to return to God, and embrace the reconciliation he had purchaſed, and did offer. *I have ſpread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people*; God did ſo of old by his Prophets mediately and figuratively; he did ſo in our Saviour immediately and properly by himſelf. The Croſs was as it were a Pulpit, from which our Saviour did exhort to repentance, and preach divine grace, and offer remiſſion of ſins unto us, with action moſt affecting and pathetical. Isa. 65. 2.

Vid. Lactant. IV. p. 437. Extendit in paſſione manus ſuas, orbemque dimenſus eſt, ut jam tunc oſtenderet ab ortu ſolis uſque ad occaſum, magnum populum ex omnibus linguis & tribubus congregatum, ſub alas ſuas eſſe venturum.

His being lifted up may ſignifie and mind us, that ſubmiſſion to God's will, ſuffering for truth and righteouſneſs (humility and patience) are conjoined with and do

procure

procure exaltation: that the lower we are in humility, the higher we riſe in favour, and the nearer approach to heaven: *Whoſo humbleth himſelf*, ſaith our Saviour, *ſhall be exalted: And be you humbled before the Lord* (under the mighty hand of God) *and he ſhall exalt you* (ſay with one voice St. *James* and St. *Peter*.) And becauſe *our Saviour was obedient unto death, even the death of the croſs, therefore did God* ὑπερύψωσεν, *ſuper-exalt him above all dignity and power in heaven and earth* (as St. *Paul* teaches us.) The croſs was a throne, where humility ſate in high majeſty, whence patience ſate encircled with rays of glory. The ſame conſideration may alſo mind us how and whence our ſalvation comes; that our help comes from above, and by looking upward; that as in beholding our Saviour upon the croſs we muſt lift up our eyes, ſo in believing on him we muſt raiſe up our hearts to heaven. In that ſublimity alſo did our Saviour ſhew himſelf ſtanding erect, not only as a conſtant ſufferer, but as a glorious Conqueror, having (as St. *Paul* tells us) *ſpoiled Principalities and powers* (all the principal powers of darkneſs, hell, ſin, and death) δειγματίζων, *he made a ſolemn ſhew triumphing over them upon his croſs*. No conquerour loftily ſeated in his triumphant chariot did ever yield ſo illuſtrious a ſpectacle; no tree was ever cloathed and adorned with ſo glorious trophies. To the outward eye and carnal ſenſe our Saviour was expoſed to ſhame and ſcorn, but to ſpiritual diſcerning, all his and our Enemies hung there, objects of contempt, undone and overthrown: The devil, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, (that ſtrong and ſturdy one) hung there bound and fettered, ſpoiled and diſarmed, quite baffled and confounded: death it ſelf there hung gaſping with its ſting plucked out, and all its terrours quelled. The world with its vain Pomps, its counterfeit beauties, its bewitching pleaſures, its fondly admired excellencies, did there hang all defaced and diſparaged; *the world is thereby crucified to us, and we unto the world*; ſo that we cannot glory, or truly rejoice in any worldly thing. (For to be ſplendid in external ſtate can never henceforth be worthily deemed admirable; to be mean and low can never ſpeak a man miſerable, ſince the Lord of glory and fountain of happineſs did himſelf condeſcend to ſo low a condition, and became ſo deep a ſufferer: nor can pleaſure pretend to make men happy, nor Sorrow juſtly diſcourage us, ſince the Son of God by ſuch a ſtep of extreme grief hath aſcended into his throne of glory.) Our ſins (thoſe ſins which our Saviour did in his body ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, carry up upon the Gibbet) hung there expoſed as trophies of his victories, objects of our hatred and horrour, by him condemned in the fleſh: Thoſe manifold enmities (between God and us; between man and himſelf; between one man and another,) did all there hang together, aboliſhed in his fleſh, and ſlain upon his croſs; *by the blood of which he made peace, and reconciled all things in heaven and earth*; together with all thoſe yokes of bondage, thoſe enſigns and inſtruments of vexation to us; thoſe laws that burthened men ſo much, which ſet them at ſuch diſtance and variance, that ſubjected them to guilt and condemnation unavoidable: that hand-writing of ordinances, inducing our obligation to ſo grievous forfeitures and penalties, was there nailed to the croſs, our bonds thereby cancelled, our debts expunged.

Luk. 18. 14. Matt. 23. 12. Jam. 4. 10. 1 Pet. 5. 5.

Coloſſ. 2. 15. Heb. 2. 14.

Coloſſ. 1. 20. Eph. 2. 15, 16. καταργήσας.

Coloſ. 2. 14. Καλύλας. Mos eſt quibuſdam in locis clavis transfigendi edicta antiquata. *Grot. ib.*

Our Saviour's crucifixion furthermore did ſignifie how our fleſh ſhould be dealt with, how we ſhould mortifie the luſts and affections thereof. We muſt not only imitate and follow our Saviour in his life, but in ſome ſort endeavour to reſemble him in his death, συμμορφούμενοι τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *conformable to his death*; *become* σύμφυτοι, *planted together with him in the likeneſs of his death*, συσταυρούμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ, *becrucified together with Chriſt*; *having our old man crucified together with him, that the body of ſin may be deſtroyed, ſo that we no farther ſerve ſin*; *mortifying our earthly members, and putting to death the deeds of the body*; *For they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh with its paſſions and luſts*. His death may fitly repreſent our death to ſin; his croſs the thwarting our vitious deſires and inclinations; his grievous pain the bitterneſs of our repentance, (wherein our ſoul ſhould be pierced with ſharp compunction, as his ſacred fleſh was torn with nails) his diſgrace our ſhame and confuſion, with regard to our offences. In his perſon farther we may contemplate the ſtate of virtue and goodneſs in this world; expoſed to envy and hatred; to cenſure and obloquy; to contempt and ſcorn; to all kind of affliction and hardſhip: Every good man muſt hang upon ſome croſs or other; εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα, 'tis our lot and portion aſſigned us by divine decree; to a conformity with this image and pattern of the Son of God we are predeſtinated; δεῖ ἡμᾶς, *we muſt* (it is a thing of neceſſity and duty incumbent on us) *by many tribulations*

Philip. 3. 10. Rom. 6. 5, 6, &c. Gal. 2. 20. 5. 24. Coloſſ. 3. 5. Rom. 8. 13.

Et quanquam paſſio ipſa per ſe acerba & amara, ſpecimen nobis futurorum tormentorum dabat quam morantibus in hoc ſeculo virtus ipſa proponit &c. *Lact. IV. p.* 434.

1 Pet. 2. 24. Rom. 8. 3.

ter into God's Kingdom: *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall* (certainly in one way or other) *suffer persecution* (and partake of the cross.) Many such analogies and resemblances not unprofitable might a devout meditation (in imitation of the sacred Writers) draw out, for exciting good affections, and quickning to duty. But farther, 1 Thess. 3. 3. Act. 14. 22. Rom. 8. 29. 2 Tim. 3. 12.

5. We may also (for the fuller confirmation of our faith, and begetting in us a due adoration of the divine wisdom and providence) observe the correspondency of this our Saviour's manner of suffering to the ancient prophecies fore-telling, and the typical representations fore-shewing it. That most full and clear and famous prophecy concerning our Saviour's passion (*Isa.* 53.) doth express him suffering as a malefactour or with malefactours: He was to be reckoned among transgressours; suffering in a manner very painful, and very despicable, (*He was to be wounded for our transgressions, and to be bruised for our iniquities*; he was to be *despised* and *rejected of men, as a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*;) which circumstances could not so punctually agree to any other kind of suffering (or punishment) in use as to this. In the 22d *Psalm*, the royal prophet describes an afflicted and forlorn condition (such as by no passages of his history, in the full extent and according to the litteral signification of his words doth appear suitable to his own person, and therefore more properly is to be applyed to the *Messias*, whom he did represent) and in that description among other passages suiting to our Saviour, these words occurr: *Thou hast brought me into the dust of death; for dogs have compassed me, the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me, they pierced* (or digged, ὤρυξαν) *my hands and my feet*; (which words do most partly and livelily set out our Saviour's being nailed to the cross.) And in the Prophet *Zachary* God fore-tells, speaking in his own name, *They* (that is the Jews, sensible of what they had done, and penitently affected) *they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced*: Which place needs no violence to exort the right meaning from it; no comment to explain, or adapt it to the crucifixion of God, our Saviour, to which it is so literally congruous. The same was also fitly pre-figured by apposite types: *Isaac*, the immediate son and heir of the promise (in whom the faithful seed was called, or conveyed down by him) and so a most apt type of our Saviour, he being devoted and offered to God in sacrifice, did himself bear the wood, by which he was to be offered: So did our Saviour (the promised seed in which *all nations should be blessed*) himself bear the cross, by which he was to suffer, and to be offered up a sacrifice to God. Those which were bitten (dangerously) by fiery Serpents, were by looking up upon a brazen Serpent set upon a pole preserved in life, which (in our Saviour's most authentical interpretation) did represent the salvation which should proceed from our beholding and believing on him lifted up upon the cross, to us, who had been stung and mortally struck with that old Serpent's poisonous temptations. The Paschal lamb (that most proper emblem of Christ our Passover, that most meek and innocent, most unblemished and spotless lamb *slain for the sins of the world*,) it was to be killed by the whole assembly of the congregation of *Israel*; its blood was to be dashed on the side-posts and cross-beams of every door; its body was not to be eat raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roasted whole, and dressed upon a spit; nor were any of its bones to be broken; which circumstances (with such caution and care prescribed) how they suit, and fitly adumbrate the manner of our Saviour's passion, I need not farther than by the bare mention of them to declare. Isa. 53: 3, 4, 5. Psal 22. 15, 16 Zach. 10. 12. John 19. 37. Gen. 22. Rom. 9. 8. Jam. 2: 21. Heb. 11. 17. Vid. Tertull. adv. Jud. c. 10. Numb. 21. John 13. 14. Exod. 12. 5, 6 9. 46. &c.

Lastly, The consideration of our Saviour's thus suffering is apt to teach and affect us; to admonish us of our duty, and to excite devotion in us: No contemplation is more fruitful, or efficacious toward the sanctification of our hearts, and of our lives: The Gospel it self is, in St. *Paul*'s language, ὁ λόγος τῦ σταυρῦ (*the word of the cross*;) and he calls both this and that *the power of God to salvation*. 1 Cor. 1. 18. Rom. 1. 16.

1. What good affection therefore may not the meditation thereupon raise, what virtue not produce in us?

2. How can it otherwise than inflame our hearts with love, to think what acerbity of pain, what indignity of shame our Saviour there willingly undertook and endured for us? No imagination can devise a greater expression of charity; and if love be productive of love, what effect should the consideration of such a love have? Nor can we find a surer ground of trust, and a greater encouragement to hope in God than this: He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up to the suffering of such pains and indignities for us; how can we distrust his bounty, or despair of his mercy,

in any caſe? What higher favour could he do, how ſhew greater condeſcenſion, how more ſurely teſtifie his willingneſs, his delight to do us good? how conſequently lay ſtronger grounds of hope and confidence in us, than by his own free undertaking and undergoing all this for us?

3. What deteſtation of our ſins muſt it alſo raiſe in us, that brought ſuch torture, ſuch reproach upon him? *Judas* the wretch who betrayed him, the Jewiſh Prieſts who accuſed and proſecuted him, *Pilate* the Judge who condemned him, the wicked people that abuſed and inſulted over him, the cruel hands that ſmote him, the pitileſs hearts that mocked him, the blaſphemous tongues that railed upon him, thoſe who were inſtruments of his affliction, how do we deteſt them and curſe their memories? But our ſins, which were the firſt and main cauſes of that woful tragedy, how much more reaſon have we to abhor and abominate them? He was *delivered for our offences*, (they were the traitours indeed which by *Judas* his hands did deliver him;) 'twas they that cried *crucifie*, (*Crucifie him, crucifie him*) with a clamour more loud and more effectual, than did the Jews, (it was they that did by their borrowed mouths accuſe and proſecute him;) *He that knew no ſin, was made ſin for us*; (was condemned as a ſinner for us: 'twas we that by our ſins did adjudge and ſentence him;) *Pilate* was but their agent and ſpokes-man in it. *He became a curſe for us*, (all the mockery, deriſion, and contumely he endured proceeded from us; the ſilly people were but properties, repreſenting and acting our parts,) *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities*: 'twas they that by the fierce ſoldiers and rude rabble, as by ſenteleſs engines, did ſmite, and ſcourge him; by the nails and thorns did pierce his fleſh and rend his ſacred body.

Rom. 4. 25.

2 Cor. 5. 21.

Gal. 3. 13.

4. What can in reaſon be more effectual to breed in us remorſe and penitent ſorrow, than reflection upon ſuch horrible effects proceeding from our ſins? how can we but vehemently grieve, when we remember our ſelves by them to have been the betrayers, the ſlanderers, the ſcorners, the murderers of God's dear Son, of ſo innocent and lovely a perſon, of our beſt friend, and moſt loving Saviour?

5. And if ingenuity will not work ſo much, and melt us into contrition hereby, yet ſure this thought muſt needs produce fear in us: Can we but tremble to think of the fierceneſs of God's diſpleaſure, the ſeverity of divine judgment, the heinous guilt of our ſins, all ſo plainly diſcovered, ſo livelily ſet out in this diſmal ſpectacle: If the view of an ordinary execution is apt to beget ſome apprehenſions of terrour, dread of the law, reverence to authority, what dreadful impreſſions ſhould this extraordinary example of divine juſtice make upon us?

6. How can it alſo but deter us from wilfull commiſſion of ſin, to conſider that by it we do ἀνασταυροῦν, re-crucifie (in a manner renew all that pain and ſhame, bring up again upon the ſtage all that direful tragedy,) *Crucifie*, I ſay, *afreſh the Son of God, and again expoſe him to open ſhame: that by it we trample upon the Son of God, and prize the blood of the covenant* (that moſt precious blood ſo freely, yet ſo ſadly ſhed for us) *as a common* (a trivial and worthleſs) *thing*; deſpiſing all his ſo kind and ſo painful endeavours for our ſalvation, defeating his gracious purpoſe, rendring all his ſo bitter and loathſom ſufferings, as to their principal intent (our good and benefit) altogether, yea more than vain and fruitleſs?

Heb. 6. 6. 10. 29.

7. What farther can be more operative in producing diſeſteem and diſregard of this world, with all its deceitful vanities and miſchievous pleaſures; in reconciling us to the worſt condition it can bring us into; in comforting us under the heavieſt preſſures of affliction? Who can admire thoſe ſplendid trifles, which he never regarded in his life, which only ſerved to mock him at his death? Who can reliſh thoſe delights, which he never living vouchſafed to taſte of, and dying choſe to feel their contraries? Who will dare to vilifie a ſtate of ſorrow and diſgrace, which he by the voluntary ſuſception thereof (in ſuch extremity) hath ſo dignified and graced; by which we reſemble, become conformable unto, partake with him, concur with and (in a manner) complete his deſign? Who can much prefer, being admired, applauded, or made much of by men, before deriſion, reproach, or perſecution from them, (eſpecially for adherence to truth and righteouſneſs?) Who can be very ambitious of honour and repute, or covetous of wealth, or addicted to pleaſure, who obſerves (the Son of God, the heir of all things, the Lord of glory) chuſing rather to [illegible] a Croſs than a Throne; inviting the clamours of ſpite and ſcorn, inſtead of acclamations of praiſe; embracing the reputation of a malefactour and a ſlave, before the dignity and reſpect of a Prince; that regards him hanging naked and forlorn upon

Apoc. 1. 9. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Rom. 8. 17. Phil. 3. 10. Coloſ. 1. 24. ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα

gibbet, beſmeared with his own blood, groaning under extremity of pain, yielding, as the Prophet foretold of him, *his back to the ſmiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair*; (hiding not his face from ſhame and ſpitting,) will not the imagination of ſuch a ſight fully the luſtre of all earthly pomps and beauties, damp the ſenſe of all carnal delights and ſatisfactions; quaſh all the content we can take in our wild and extravagant merriments? Iſa. 50. 6.

8. If ſuch affliction and hardſhip were to him a ſchool of obedience (ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, he learnt from what he ſuffered, obedience,) a means of perfection, (*It became God*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *to perfect the captain of our ſalvation by ſuffering*,) a procurement of divine favour, (therefore, himſelf tells us, *the father loveth me, becauſe I lay down my life*, and the manner ſure did encreaſe that love,) a ſtep to glory, (for, it is ſaid, *was not Chriſt to ſuffer theſe things, and* (ſo) *to enter into his glory? therefore God exalted him: We ſee Jeſus for the ſuffering of death crowned with glory and honour.*) If it yielded ſuch advantages to him, and may by our conformity and compliance with him afford the like to us, what reaſon can there be that we ſhould be any wiſe diſcompoſed, diſcouraged or diſconſolate under it? Much more ſure there is, *that we ſhould*, with St. *Paul*, *boaſt, rejoice, exult and skip* (ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι and σκιρτᾶν) *for joy in our tribulations. He that doth not carry his croſs, and go after me, cannot be my diſciple*; and, *He that doth not take up his croſs and follow me, is not worthy of me*; ſaith our Saviour: he that doth not take it up readily, when by providence it is preſented; that doth not bear it contentedly when it is impoſed, cannot be our Saviour's diſciple (ſhewing ſuch an incapacity to learn the leſſons of humility and patience read by him; to tranſcribe the copies of ſubmiſſion to divine will, ſelf-denial and ſelf-reſignation ſo fairly ſet him by Chriſt's inſtruction and example:) he is no wiſe worthy of him; (hath not the courage, the ſincerity, the conſtancy required of a Chriſtian; one pretending to ſuch benefits, privileges and rewards from Chriſt, his Lord and Saviour.) The willing ſuſception, the cheerful ſuſtaining of the Croſs is the expreſs condition and character of our Chriſtianity (whence uſe hath been to ſign them who enter into it with the figure of the Croſs.) 'Tis the ſpecial enſign of our warfare under Chriſt againſt his and our common enemies; the diſtinct badge of our profeſſion; the chief object of our faith, our knowledge, our preaching (as St. *Paul* diſcourſes in the firſt and ſecond Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*) the main ground of our hope, the ſole matter of our glory, (ἐμοὶ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι,) *Far be it from me to glory* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *ſave in the croſs of Chriſt. Let it be to the Jews a ſcandal* (offenſive to their fancy, pre-poſſeſſed with expectations of a Meſſias flouriſhing in ſecular pomp and proſperity,) *let it be folly to the Gentile Greeks*, (ſeem abſurd to men imbued and puffed up with carnal conceits, and maxims of worldly wiſdom) that God ſhould put his own beloved Son into ſo ſad and deſpicable a condition; that ſalvation from death and miſery ſhould be procured by ſo miſerable a death; that eternal joy, happineſs and glory ſhould iſſue from ſuch ſprings of extreme ſorrow and ſhame; that a perſon in outward ſemblance ſo contemptible, expoſed to ſo infamous and ſlaviſh uſage, ſhould be the Son of God, the Lord and Redeemer of mankind, the King and Judge of all the world: Let this, I ſay, be ſcandalous and diſtaſtful to ſome prejudiced perſons; let it ſeem ſtrange and incredible to other ſelf-conceited men, to us it muſt be grateful and glorious; to us, who diſcern by a clearer light, who are endued with a purer ſenſe, derived from the divine ſpirit, whence we may, with a comfortable ſatisfaction of mind, perceive that God could not in a higher meaſure, in a fitter method illuſtrate his glorious attributes of goodneſs and juſtice (his infinite mercy toward his poor creatures, his heavy indignation and ſevere juſtice againſt iniquity;) that virtue could not be taught, nor exemplified, nor commended and inculcated any other way with ſo great advantage. It were eaſie to alledge the ſuffrages of *Plato*, *Seneca*, and other ſuch men (wiſe only by improvement of natural reaſon) acknowledging that perfection of virtue can neither be wrought or ſhewed, otherwiſe than by ſuffering the bittereſt afflictions; that God (as a wiſe Father) therefore uſeth to exerciſe them whom he moſt loveth with them; nor hard were it to produce examples of men (even among the Pagans) moſt famous and honourable in the judgment of poſterity for their wiſdom and virtue, who have been tried in this furnace, and ſhone thereby more brightly, ſuffering by the iniquity, ingratitude, and envy of their times, both in their reputation, liberty and life, infamous puniſhments, ignomini-

Heb. 5. 8. 2. 10.
Joh. 10. 17.
Luk. 24. 26. Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9.
Rom. 5. 3. Coloſſ. 1. 24. Matt. 5. 12. Luk. 6. 23. Luk. 14. 27. 9. 23. Matt. 10. 38. 16. 24.
1 Cor. 2. 2.
Gal. 6. 14.
1 Cor. 1. 23.
Virg. Orig. in Celſ. II. pag. 79. &c.
Plat. 2. de rep. Sen. de Provid.
Socrates, Phocion, Ariſtides, Seneca, Thraſeas Paetus, Helvidius Priſcus, &c.

ous deaths; though none of them of choice and upon deſign to advance the intereſt of goodneſs, but by an accidental force put upon them; none in a manner ſo ſignal, with circumſtances ſo rare, with an event ſo wonderful; ſo that even according to the paſſable dictates of common wiſdom this diſpenſation was not ſo unaccountable, neither ought the *Greeks* in conſiſtency with themſelves and their own moſt admired Philoſophers, have deemed the doctrine *of the croſs to be fooliſh*, or unreaſonable; ſince thereby a charity and humanity ſo unparallel'd (far exceeding theirs, who have been celebrated for love to their Country, or a more prevalent love of praiſe devoting their lives) a meekneſs ſo incomparable, a reſolution ſo invincible, a patience ſo heroical were manifeſted for inſtruction and direction of men: Since never were the vices and vanities of the world (both ſo deſtructive to the quiet and welfare of mankind) ſo remarkably diſparaged and condemned: Since never virtue had ſo powerful an effect (the expiation of the whole World's ſin and reconciliation of mankind to God, ſuch as no other performance, no ſacrifice could ever pretend to) nor ſo glorious a reward, ſoveraign dignity to him that exerciſed it, everlaſting happineſs to them that follow it: Since (I ſay) there be ſuch excellent uſes, fruits, and conſequences of the Croſs undergone by our Saviour, we have no reaſon to be offended, nor to be aſhamed thereof; but rather heartily to approve and humbly to adore as well the wiſdom of God, as other his glorious attributes, ſo conſpicuouſly demonſtrated and diſplayed therein.

Vicit amor patriam laudumque immenſa cupido.

1 Cor. 1. 18. &c.

But I have not been able to contain my ſelf, and have dwelt too long upon this moſt rich and fruitful argument.

Dead and buried, &c.

OUR Saviour's paſſion (as we did obſerve formerly) was in the firſt draughts of this Creed expreſſed by one ſingle word, *Crucifixus*: but afterwards (whether to diſcountenance ſome heretical devices contradicting the real truth of our Saviour's death, or for the more full and clear repreſentation of the thing it ſelf) its deſcription was dilated and expreſſed by three words; ſignifying the quality thereof, (he ſuffered, that is, was dealt with as a malefactour,) another ſhewing the manner of it, (he underwent that moſt painful and diſgraceful puniſhment of Crucifixion,) a third denoting the final completion thereof, (he loſt his life thereby.) The two former we have largely diſcourſed upon; the laſt remains, being the conſummation of his grievous paſſion, the bottom of that bitter cup he willingly drank off for us; fore-ſeeing the approach of which, he pronounced the τετέλεσται; *It is finiſhed.* Concerning which, we may conſider, 1. The nature of it, (wherein it did conſiſt.) 2. Some peculiar adjuncts and reſpects thereof, (which commend it to our regard, and render it conſiderable.) 3. The cauſes and ends (whence moved, and why he died.) 4. The fruits and effects of it, (what did eſpecially ſpring from, what conſequences there were of his dying.) Laſtly, the practical influences, the belief and conſideration thereof may or ſhould have upon us.

Joh. 19. 30.

I. As for the Nature of it; We muſt affirm and believe aſſuredly, that it was a true and proper death, not in kind different from that death, to which all we mortal men by the law and condition of our nature are ſubject, and muſt all ſometime undergo: (*For what man is he that liveth, and ſhall not ſee death, that ſhall deliver his ſoul from the hand of the grave?*) That death, which is ſignified by the ceſſation of vital operations (of all motion, natural or voluntary; of all ſenſe and knowledge; appetite and paſſion;) that death which is cauſed by the violent diſunion, or diſlocation; by diſtempering; by whatſoever indiſpoſing the parts, humours, ſpirits of the body, ſo that the ſoul can no longer in and by them exerciſe thoſe functions, for which its conjunction thereto was intended, and cannot therefore fitly reſide therein: that death which is ſuppoſed to conſiſt in the diſſolution of that vital band (whatever it be) whereby the ſoul is linked and united to the body; or in that, which is thereupon conſequent, the departure, ſeparation, and abſence of the ſoul from the body; each of that couple, upon their divorce, returning home, to their original principles, as it were, *the body to the earth, whence it was taken*; *and the ſpirit unto God, who gave it*, as it is in the Preacher. Such cauſes antecedent are ſpecified in the ſtory; ſuch ſigns following are plainly implied; ſuch a ſtate is expreſſed, in the ſame terms, whereby our death is commonly ſignified. The ſame extremity of anguiſh, the ſame dilaceration of parts, the ſame effuſion of blood (which would deſtroy our vital temper, quench our natural heat, ſtop our animal motion, exhauſt

Pſal. 89. 48.

——Ἐπεί κε πρῶτα λίπῃ λευκὸς ὀστέα θυμὸς
Ψυχὴ δ' ἠΰτε καπνὸς ὑπὲρ γαίης ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται,
Hom. Od. λ.

Eccl. 12. 7. Gen. 3. 19. Pſal. 104. 29.

our

our ſpirits, extrude our breath) did work upon, and neceſſarily produce the like effects upon him (as having aſſumed the common infirmities and imperfections of our nature) in regard to which violences inflicted upon him, he is ſaid to be *ſlain*, to be *diſpatched*, to be *cut off*, to be *taken away*, to be *deſtroyed*, to be *ſlaughtered*, to be *ſacrificed*, (ἀποκτείνεσθαι, διαχειρίζεσθαι, ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἀπολέσθαι, σφάττεσθαι, θύεσθαι,) which words fully import a real and proper death to have enſued upon thoſe violent uſages toward him. And by the ordinary ſigns of death, apparent to ſenſe, the ſouldiers judged him dead, and therefore, ὡς εἶδον ἤδη τεθνηκότα, *ſeeing him already dead* they forbare to break his legs; by the ſame all the world being ſatisfied thereof, both his ſpiteful enemies, that ſtood with delight waiting for this utmoſt ſucceſs of their malicious endeavours to deſtroy him, and his loving friends, that with compaſſionate reſpect attended upon him through the courſe of his ſuffering; and thoſe, who were ready to perform their laſt offices of kindneſs in procuring the decent burial of his body. His tranſition alſo into, and his abiding in this ſtate are expreſſed by terms declaring the propriety of his death, and its agreement with our death, ſuch as was before deſcribed: St. *Mark* tells us, that ἐξέπνευσε (*animam efflavit*, he *breathed out his ſoul*, or *breathed out his laſt breath*; he *expired*.) St. *Matthew*, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα; (he *let go his ſpirit*, or *gave up the ghoſt*, *animam egit*.) St. *John*, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα (he *delivered up his ſpirit* into God's hands;) St. *Luke* mentions it done with a formal and expreſs reſignation; *Father*, *into thy hands I commend* (or depoſe, παρατίθεμαι) *my ſpirit*. Himſelf alſo frequently expreſſes his dying by *laying down his life*; by *beſtowing his life a ranſome*; which ſhews him really to have parted with it. His death likewiſe (as ours commonly by *excedere è vivis*; and like phraſes) is termed ἔξοδος, a going out of life, and leaving the ſociety of men, *Luk.* 9. 31. *Moſes* and *Elias* are ſaid to tell τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ, his deceaſe which he ſhould accompliſh at *Jeruſalem*; and μετάβασις, a paſſing over from this world: *When* (ſaith St. *John*) *Jeſus knew*, *that his time was come*, ἵνα μεταβῇ, *that he ſhould depart from this world*. His death alſo by himſelf is enigmatically deſcribed by the deſtruction (or demoliſhment) of his bodily temple; anſwerable to thoſe circumlocutions concerning our common death, in St. *Paul*, *the diſſolution of our earthly houſe or tabernacle* (or tranſitory abode) in St. *Peter*, ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματος, the *laying down*, or *putting off our tabernacle*.

Matt. 3. 15. 8. 33. Dan. 9. 26. Iſa. 53. 8. Joh. 18. 14. 11, 50. Apoc. 5. 9. Joh. 19. 33. Mar. 14. 41. Luk. 23. 27. Joh. 19. 25. Mar. 15. 37. Matt. 27. 50. Joh. 19. 30. Luk. 23. 47. Joh. 15. 13. 10. 15, 18. &c. 13. 37. 1 Joh. 3. 16. Μετ' ἐμὴν ἔξοδον. 2 Pet. 1. 15. ---ἔξοδον. Acts 20. 29. Joh. 13. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 1. 2 Pet. 1. 14.

It were alſo not hard to ſhew how all other phraſes and circumlocutions by which humane death is expreſſed either in the Scripture, or in uſual language, or indeed among Philoſophers and more accurate ſpeakers, are either expreſsly applied or by conſequence from what is expreſſed, appear applicable to our Saviour: Such for inſtance as theſe in Scripture; Ἀνάλυσις, being reſolved into our principles, or the returning of them thither, whence they came. Ἀπόλυσις, a being freed, licenſed, or diſmiſſed hence. Ἐκδημία ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, (a going abroad, or abiding abroad; a peregrination, or abſenting from the body;) an ἔκδυσις, putting off, or being diveſted of the body; an ἀφανισμὸς, diſappearing, ceaſing (in appearance) to be; going hence and not being ſeen: a falling on ſleep; reſting from labours; to ſleep with his fathers; a being added unto our fathers; gathered to our people; being taken or cut out of the land of the living; going down into the pit; lying down, reſting, ſleeping in the duſt, &c. making our bed in darkneſs.

1 Tim. 4. 6. Phil. 1. 23. Luk. 2. 29. 2 Cor. 5. 8. 2 Cor. 5. 4. Act. 13. 36. Gen. 25. 8. 49 33. &c. Pſ. 31. ult. &c. Jer. 11. 19. Pſal. 52. 5. Pſal. 28 1. 143. 7. 88. 4. Iſa. 38. 18. Ezek. 26. 20. &c. Job 7. 21. 17. 16. 20. 11. 21. 26. Dan. 12. 2. Iſa. 26. 19.

Theſe and ſuch like phraſes occurring in Scripture, (which might be parallelled out of common ſpeech and more learned diſcourſes) deſcribing either the entrance into, or the abiding in the ſtate of that death, to which all men are obnoxious, might eaſily be ſhewed applicable to the death of our Saviour: But I will not farther inſiſt upon confirmation of a point ſo clear, and never queſtioned but by the wild and preſumptuous fancies of ſome hereticks.

Our Saviour's death then was a true, and proper death, ſuitable to that frail, paſſible, mortal nature, which he vouchſafed to undertake for us; to the condition of ſinful fleſh, in the likeneſs of which he did appear; ſeparating his ſoul and body, and remitting them to their original Sources. His Paſſion was indeed *ultimum ſupplicium*, an extreme capital puniſhment, the higheſt in the laſt reſult, which either the fierceſt injuſtice, or the ſevereſt juſtice could in this world inflict; for to *kill the body* is (as our Saviour teaches us) the extreme limit of all humane power, and malice; the moſt and worſt man can do; they have not περισσότερόν τι, any thing beyond that, which they can attempt upon us: and ſo far they proceeded with our Saviour: [The willing undergoing of which alſo is the higheſt expreſſion of kindneſs (if it be done

Rom 8. 3. Matt. 10. 28. Luk. 12. 4.

done upon that account) for *greater love than this hath no man, than that one lay*
John 15. 13. *down his life for his friends:* the greateſt atteſtation to the truth; the perfecteſt inſtance of obedience, ſubmiſſion, and patience reſpectively: To aſſert truth, to follow righteouſneſs, to adhere to conſcience, to reſiſt ſin, μέχρις αἵματος, as far as to
Heb. 12. 4. blood, (as it is in the 12th to the *Hebrews*) not to love our life, ἄχρι θανάτου (un-
Rev. 12. 11. to the death, when death is threatned) is the utmoſt that man can do.] But.

II. We may conſider thoſe peculiar adjuncts and reſpects of our Saviour's death (annexing thereto hereafter in our diſcourſe, for avoiding repetition, his whole paſſion generally taken, whereof his death was the chief part and final completion;) thoſe adjuncts, I ſay, and thoſe reſpects, which commend it to our regard, and amplify the worth thereof; its being a reſult of God's eternal deliberation and decree; a matter of free conſent and compact between God the Father and his only Son; its being anciently prefigured and predicted; its being executed by God's hand and providence guiding; by man's action concurring: Its being the death of a perſon ſo holy and innocent; ſo high and excellent; of the Son of God, yea of God himſelf.

1. It was a reſult of God's eternal counſel and decree: No caſual event, no expedient ſuddenly deviſed; but a deſign from all eternity, contrived by divine wiſdom, reſolved upon by divine goodneſs: As God did then foreſee our lapſe and miſery, ſo he did as ſoon determine our remedy; as the whole of that myſterious diſpenſation concerning Chriſt, ſo did eſpecially this main part thereof, proceed κατὰ πρόθεσιν
Eph. 3. 11. τῶν αἰώνων, according to an eternal purpoſe; For our Saviour was *a lamb ſlain from the*
Apoc. 13. 8. *foundation of the world: We were redeemed by the precious blood of Chriſt, as a*
1 Pet. 1. 19. *lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot,* προεγνωσμένου μὲν, fore-ordained indeed before the foundation of the world: Our Saviour went (he tells us) to ſuffer κατὰ τὸ ὡρι-
Acts 2. 23. σμένον, according to what was determined: it was *by the determinate counſel, and*
4. 28. *fore-knowledge of God,* that he was delivered up to thoſe wicked hands that ſlew him; Nor did the conſpiracy of *Herod* and *Pilate* with the nations and people of the *Jews* effect any thing therein, beyond ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ θεὸς προώρισε γενέσθαι, whatever the hand and the counſel of God had predeſtinated to be performed. God's ſo great care and providence, ſo expreſly commended to our obſervation, do argue the high worth and conſequence of this death.

2. It was a matter of free conſent and compact between God and our Saviour. God freely proffered, if he would undertake to redeem his creature, a comfortable
Iſa. 53. 9, 10. and honourable ſucceſs thereto; he willingly embraced the condition: *When thou ſhalt make thy ſoul an offering, thou ſhalt ſee thy ſeed and prolong thy days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in thy hand: thou ſhalt ſee of the travail of thy ſoul,*
Heb. 10. 7, 8. *and be ſatisfied:* that was God's propoſition: *Lo, I come to do thy will, O God,*
Luke 22. 29. was our Saviour's anſwer in correſpondence and conſent thereto. God in conſideration of his ſufferings, did διατίθεσθαι βασιλείαν, covenant to him a Kingdom; commit to him a ſoveraign authority, aſſign him an univerſal dominion: in vertue of which
Heb 2. 9. tranſaction it was, that Jeſus for the ſuffering of death *was crowned with glory and*
Iſa. 53. 12. *honour; that he pouring out his ſoul unto death, God divided him a portion with the great——that he being obedient to the death, God exalted him and gave him a name above all names.* In this regard are God's elect and faithful people ſaid to be given to him, as a retribution to him who gave himſelf for them; that we are ſaid *to be*
Rom. 1. 4. *bought by him, and the Church purchaſed by his blood.* There was therefore a co-
Gal. 3. 13. venant between God and his Son concerning this affair; and of great conſideration
1 Cor. 6. 20. ſurely muſt that affair be, wherein ſuch perſons (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſo intereſt them-
1 Pet. 1. 19. ſelves, do traffick (as it were) and ſtand upon terms with each other.
Act. 20. 28.

3. Farther, that the excellency and efficacy of this death and paſſion might appear, it was by manifold types fore-ſhadowed, and in divers prophecies foretold. Indeed moſt famous paſſages of providence, (eſpecially the ſignal afflictions of eminent perſons repreſenting our Saviour) ſeem to have been preludes unto, and prefigurations
Luke 11. 51. of his paſſion: the blood of the righteous Proto-martyr *Abel*, ſhed by envy, for ac-
Gen. 4. 10. ceptable obedience to God's will, and crying for vengeance, ſeems to have prefigu-
Heb. 12. 24 red that blood, which cried alſo, though with another voice, and *ſpake better things*
11. 4. *than the blood of Abel*; not complaints and ſuits for vengeance, but intreaties and interceſſions for mercy. *Iſaac* (the only Son, the Son of promiſe) his oblation in pur-
Heb. 11. 17, 19. poſe, and death in parable, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſpeaks) did plainly repreſent our Saviour, the promiſed ſeed, his being really offered, and afterward reſtored to life. *Joſeph* his being ſold and put into ſlavery by his envious brethren

being

being ſlanderouſly accuſed and ſhut in priſon, (*whoſe feet they hurt with fetters, the iron entred into his ſoul*: (and this by God's diſpoſal, in order to his exaltation, that he might be a means to preſerve Life and prepare convenient habitation for the children of *Iſrael*, doth reſemble him, who by ſuffering entered into glory; who being thereby perfected, became author of ſalvation to his brethren, all true *Iſraelites*; who went to prepare manſions of reſt and light, a heavenly *Goſhen* for them. *David*'s perſecutions preceding his royal dignity and proſperous ſtate, (which he expreſſes in no lower ſtrain, than by ſaying: *The ſorrows of death compaſſed me, and the floods of ungodly men made me afraid: the ſorrows of hell compaſſed me about; the ſnares of death prevented me;*) how they may adumbrate the more real extremities of our Saviour's affliction, previous to his glorious exaltation, I leave you to conſider; as alſo the reſt of ſuch paſſages, of a like myſterious importance: However all the ſacrifices of old, inſtituted by God, we may more confidently affirm to have been chiefly preparatory unto, and prefigurative of this moſt true and perfect ſacrifice, by vertue indeed of which thoſe σκιὰ δίγματα and σκιαὶ, thoſe umbratick repreſentations, obtained any validity or effect: if they did not ſignifie this in deſign, they could ſignifie nothing in effect: For as *without ſhedding of blood there was no remiſſion*, (God's anger could not be appeaſed, his juſtice could not be ſatisfied without it; it being blood that maketh atonement for the ſoul, God ſo requiring, as it is in the law, *Levit.* 17. 11.) which the inſtitution of thoſe ſacrifices did ſpeak and ſignifie; ſo it was impoſſible that the blood of bulls and goats ſhould take away ſin: that thoſe legal gifts and ſacrifices ſhould perfect the conſcience of him that did the ſervice; that is, entirely aſſure him of pardon and impunity. The ſouls of beaſts were not in value ſuitable, could not fitly be ſurrogated in the ſtead of men's ſouls, which had offended, and were therefore liable to death: the effuſion of their blood could not reaſonably ſatisfie a man's conſcience, ſenſible of guilt, and fearful of God's diſpleaſure, that by it God was fully appeaſed; they muſt therefore refer unto a better ſacrifice, more ſufficient in it ſelf, more acceptable to God, in vertue of, in reſpect to which ſin might be thoroughly expiated, God's vengeance removed, man's mind comforted and contented. The High-Prieſts ſolemn entrance, once a Year, into the Holy of holies, not without blood, to atone for his own and the people's ignorances, did imply that our great High Prieſt, ſhould make a bloody atonement for the ſins of mankind, and paſſing through the veil of mortal fleſh, ſhould enter into the true *ſancta ſanctorum* of heaven, there to appear in the preſence of God for us. The Paſchal lamb eſpecially, in its ſubſtance (as a lam meek and gentle) in its quality, without blemiſh or ſpot (holy and innocent) in its manner of preparation and dreſſing, (being killed by all the aſſembly, having its blood ſprinkled upon the doors of every houſe; being roaſted with fire; having bitter herbs for its ſauce,) with other obſervable circumſtances, was a moſt appoſite emblem of Chriſt our Paſſover, who not only by his death did ſignifie and mind us of, but really effect our deliverance from the myſtical *Egypt*, our ſtate of ſpiritual bondage. So did ancient types exhibit; and plain predictions alſo did expreſs the ſame death and ſuffering of our Saviour: *Thoſe things* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *which God before had ſhewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, he hath ſo fulfilled*: Not one Prophet only, but all, (either plainly, or covertly; either directly, or by conſequence) have ſhewed it: it is our negligence or ſtupidity if we do not diſcern it: *O fools, and ſlow of heart* (ſaith our Saviour) *to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken: Ought not Chriſt* (according to their predictions) *to have ſuffered theſe things, and ſo to enter into his glory?* That *David*, an illuſtrious repreſentative of the *Meſſias*, doth often, as belonging to himſelf, deſcribe mortal agonies and ſuffering, not applicable κατὰ λέξιν, in direct hiſtorical meaning, to his own perſon, and therefore in reaſon, according to a higher and truer ſenſe, to be underſtood of the *Meſſias*; that *Daniel* expreſly fore-tells both the thing and the time that and when the *Meſſias* ſhould be cut off; that *Iſaias* in ſeveral places doth inſinuate, and in the famous 53d Chapter of *Iſaias* doth clearly deſcribe the manner, and kind of our Saviour's paſſion, is ſo evident, that the *Jews* themſelves have acknowledged there muſt be one *Meſſias* to ſuffer, as another to triumph and reign in glory; being ſo groſs as not to apprehend the conſiſtency between antecedent ſuffering, and conſequent glory; (between a night of darkneſs and ſorrow, and a day of light and joy breaking out from it;) not to diſtinguiſh between an external pomp in this, and an eternal majeſty in the future ſtate.

Pſal. 105. 18.
Gen. 45. 5.
Luke 24. 26.
Heb. 5. 9.
John 14. 2.
Pſal. 18. 4.
Heb. 9 23. 8. 5.
Heb. 9. 22.
Heb. 10. 4. 9. 9, 15.
Heb. 9. 23.
Heb. 9. 7.
Heb. 10. 24. Exod. 12.
Acts 3. 18.
Luk. 24. 25, 26. Vid. Luke 18. 31.
Act. 26. 22. 13. 27. Vid. Pſal. 22. 109. &c. 71.
Luke 22. 13.

ſtate. But to us God's ſo forward care, by the Spirit of Chriſt in his Prophets, προμαρτύρησις (as St. *Peter* ſpeaks) to *fore-witneſs* (to *teſtifie* before-hand) the ſufferings of our Saviour, and the glory ſucceeding, doth imply with what attention we ſhould regard, with what firmneſs of faith embrace this article.

1 Pet. 1. 11.

4. We may conſider alſo that this death was executed by God's eſpecial providence directing and diſpoſing it; though not without man's active concurrence. The treacherous diſpoſition and covetous appetite of *Judas*; the envious humour, and blind zeal of the Prieſts; the wanton fickleneſs, and wild rudeneſs of the people; the fearful, and ſelfiſh temper of the Governour were but inſtruments, by which God's own hand did inflict this ſore chaſtiſement upon his own Son for us; 'twas the Lord that *laid upon him the iniquities of us all*; by God he *was ſtricken, ſmitten and afflicted.* The *Jews* with their Rulers proceeded raſhly and ignorantly, but God adviſedly did accompliſh it, (as St. *Peter* in the *Acts*:) He did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up for us: He ſuſpended his bowels of pity (as it were;) he withdrew his face of kindneſs from him, out of mercy and benignity to us; he uſed him ſeverely, that he might deal favourably with us. Yet did man alſo actively concur herein; all mankind (by their repreſentativees as it were) was involved as in the guilt for which, ſo in the guilt by which he ſuffered: there was a general conſpiracy practiſed of Jew and Gentile againſt the life of their Saviour: *Of a truth* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *againſt thy holy child, whom thou haſt anointed, were gathered together, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and with the people of Iſrael.* In the *Jews* man's horrid ingratitude, in the *Gentiles* his wretched infirmity did appear; which by their active efficacy did ſignifie the meritorious influence they had; that it was man's iniquity and infirmity which did cauſe our Saviour's death: which thus as a work of divine providence (the moſt admirable work ever done by providence) as an act of humane pravity (the moſt heinous act ever committed by man) is conſiderable.

Acts 4. 28. Iſa. 53. 6, 4. Acts 13. 27. 1 Cor. 2. 8. Acts 3. 17. Luke 23. 34. Rom. 8. 32.

Act. 4. 27.

5. But immediately the quality and condition of our Saviour's Perſon do moſt commend, and advance the worth of his death: *If*, as the Pſalmiſt ſings, *precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his ſaints*: If the ſpotleſs candour, the unblemiſhed integrity of a lamb do make its blood precious, render it a fit and acceptable ſacrifice; how valuable ſhall the death of a perſon ſo holy and innocent, *who did not ſo much as know ſin, in whoſe mouth no guile was ever found*; who was removed (at infinite diſtance) from ſinners? If the life of a King be (as *David*'s people told him) worth ten thouſand lives; and it be high treaſon to imagine his death; how conſiderable muſt the death be of a perſon ſo tranſcendent in dignity, *the Lord of glory, the Prince of life? Ye denied the Holy and the Juſt one: ye ſlew the Prince of life; they crucified the Lord of glory:* So the Apoſtles aggravate the Buſineſs: But an infinity of worth and efficacy muſt needs accrue to the death of our Saviour, from his being the Son of God, from his being God: that the immortal God ſhould die, the moſt High ſo debaſed, as it cannot be heard without wonder, ſo it could not be done without huge reaſon, and mighty effect: Well might one drop of that royal blood of heaven ſuffice to purchaſe many worlds, to ranſome innumerable lives of men, to expiate an infinity of ſins.

Pſal. 116. 15. 72. 14. 1 John 3. 5. 2 Cor. 5. 21. 1 Pet. 2. 22. Heb. 7. 26. 2 Sam. 18. 3. 21. 17. Acts 3. 15. 1 Cor. 2. 8.

III. But let us conſider the cauſes moving to it; and the ends deſigned thereby; together with the effects conſequent thereupon; (thoſe in nature being either the ſame, or joined with the ends thereof.) The determining it by God, the undertaking of it by our Saviour were acts moſt abſolutely free and voluntary: On the Father's part: *it pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him* (ſaith the Prophet:) *Behold I come to do thy will*; (that is, to offer, not the blood of beaſts in ſacrifice, but my own body, *according to thy will*, as it is expounded in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*.) *This command* (ſaith our Saviour) *I received of my father, viz.* to lay down my life: And, *the cup which my father hath given me to drink, ſhall I not drink it?* On our Saviour's part: *None* (ſaith he) *taketh my life from me* ('tis by no neceſſity or compulſion,) *but I lay it down of my ſelf: I have power to lay it down, and have power to reſume it:* And, *the blood which I ſhall give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world: The ſon of man came to give his life a ranſom for many.* The yielding of his fleſh to death was a gift abſolutely free; who gave himſelf for our ſins, according to the will of God and our Father.

Iſa. 53. 10. Pſal. 40. 7, 9. Heb. 10. Joh. 10. 18. 18. 11. John 10. 18. 6. 51. Gal. 1. 4. Mat. 21. 28.

Thus did this death proceed from the joint wills of God and his Son; yet as the volitions of every wiſe and underſtanding Agent are in a manner determined or directed by ſome cauſe, (and grounded upon ſome reaſon,) ſo the cauſes and reaſon of

theſe

theſe voluntary acts in Scripture are declared to have been ſeveral. The main impulſive cauſes were two, (one internally diſpoſing; the other externally inviting,) God's goodneſs and man's diſtreſs. Mankind lying in a ſad and forlorn eſtate; enſlaved to ſin, oppreſſed by Satan, ſubject to a rigorous law, expoſed to the ſeverity of juſtice; tormented by the ſenſe of guilt; fearful of divine wrath and vengeance; in ſhort, condemned by the ſentence of heaven, and by the ſuffrage of his own conſcience to puniſhment unavoidable, to miſery intolerable; He, I ſay, lying in ſo deſperately uncomfortable a condition, God's infinite goodneſs regarded his poor creature; his bowels of compaſſion yerned toward him; thence was he moved to provide ſuch a remedy ſufficient and ſuitable to his delivery, for the curing all thoſe diſtempers; the removing all thoſe miſchiefs: The main ſpring of all this wonderful performance (as of all other providential diſpenſations and actions *ad extra*) was that moſt excellent perfection of God; which in reſpect to this matter is ſometimes termed χρηστότης, benignity, or bounty (implying the great benefit we receive thence,) Tit. 3. 4.
ſometimes Favour or Grace (ſignifying the pure freeneſs in diſpenſing it, without any deſert on our part: *By the grace of God, he taſted death for every man,*) ſome- Rom. 3. 24.
times love and philanthropy (intimating the regard God had to us as his creatures, 2 Cor. 8. 9.
and as capable of being benefited, and better'd by him: *Herein God commends his* Hebr. 2. 9.
love toward us; in that we being yet ſinners, Chriſt died for us: Chriſt loved us, Joh. 3. 16.
and delivered up himſelf an offering and ſacrifice to God.) Sometimes mercy (con- Rom. 5. 8.
noting our bad deſerts, our obnoxiouſneſs to juſtice and puniſhment;) ſometimes pi- Tit. 3. 4, 5, &c.
ty (ſignifying the need we had thereof, our miſery and diſtreſs.) Such were the im- Eph. 5. 2.
pulſive cauſes diſpoſing and occaſioning; to which we may add our ſins as the meritorious cauſe: *He died for our ſins: He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, bruiſed* 1 Cor. 15. 3.
for our iniquities, the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him: He died for us, not 1 Pet. 3. 18.
as men only, not as miſerable, but as ſinners: Had we been guiltleſs, there had want- Heb. 10. 12.
ed ſufficient cauſe, and juſt reaſon of his death: God would not have been angry, Iſa. 53. 5. 6.
juſtice could have had no pretence or hold; we ſhould not have ſuffered our ſelves, Rom. 5. 8, 9. &c.
nor could he have ſuffered for us: *Death is the debt* (the wages) *due to ſin*, which Rom. 6. 23.
he therefore payed, becauſe we owed and could not diſcharge it: *All we like ſheep* Iſa. 53.
have gone aſtray; we have turned every one to his own way, and (therefore) *the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.*

As for the ends aimed at, and the effects produced hereby; they are in the Scripture-account and expreſſion reckoned various; principally theſe.

1. The illuſtrations of God's glory (by demonſtrating and diſplaying his moſt excellent attributes and perfections: *Whom God*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *hath ſet forth a* Rom. 3. 25.
propitiation, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ; *for a demonſtration of his righteouſneſs*; that is, of his goodneſs, his juſtice, his ſincerity, his conſtancy, and all ſuch laudable perfections which may be uſed in dealing with others, for ſo I take *righteouſneſs* to ſignifie.)

2. The dignifying and exaltation of our Saviour himſelf; by acquiring unto him (as it were) a new right unto, and enſtating him in an univerſal dominion, in a tranſcendent glory, joy, and happineſs, accruing to him by deſert and reward: *For* to *this* Rom. 14. 9.
end (St. *Paul* tells us) *Chriſt died*, ἵνα νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ: *that he might be* Heb. 2. 9. 10.
Lord of the dead and living: For the ſuffering of death he was *crowned with glory* Heb. 12. 2.
and honour: the Prince of our Salvation was *perfected by ſuffering*; *For the joy that* Phil. 2. 8, 9.
was ſet before him he endured the Croſs: He *was obedient unto death*; *therefore God* Iſa. 53. 11.
exalted him: it was agreed and deſigned, that he ſhould ſee the *travail of his ſoul and be ſatisfied.*

3. The Salvation of mankind *redeeming us* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) (or buying us Gal. 3. 13.
out) *from the curſe of the law*, (procuring indemnity and impunity for us,) juſtifying ἐξηγόρασεν.
us in God's ſight, and reconciling us to God's favour: *Being juſtified* (ſaith the ſame Rom. 5. 9.
Apoſtle) *by his blood we ſhall be ſaved by him from wrath: For if, being enemies,* 1 Pet. 2. 24.
we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son: bearing, taking away, expiating, Heb. 9. 27.
aboliſhing, procuring pardon for, *purging the conſcience from*, cleanſing us from the Joh. 1. 29.
ſtain, and freeing us from the power of ſin, and *dead works*: *But now* ſaith the (Author to the *Hebrews*) *once in the end of the world hath he appeared*, εἰς ἀθέτησιν Heb. 10. 4.
ἁμαρτίας, *to the putting away* (or abolition) *of ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf*: and, *The* 1 Joh. 1. 7.
blood of Chriſt (ſaith St. *John*) *cleanſeth us from all ſin*: And, *who loved us, and waſhed* Apoc. 1. 5.
us from our ſins in his own blood: And, *who gave himſelf for our ſins, that he might* Gal. 1. 4.
Tit. 2. 14.

1 Pet. 1. 18. *deliver us from this preſent evil world: Who gave himſelf for us, that he might re-deem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of good* Rom. 8. 34. *works. Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of* (who ſhall criminate, τις ἐγκαλέσει) *God's elect? who ſhall condemn? 'Tis Chriſt that died.* In ſubordination unto, or coinci-dence or concurrence with theſe ends, our Saviour alſo died; for the reparation of God's honour, recovery of his right, and ſatisfaction of his juſtice; for the ratifying the new Covenant between God and us; (whence his blood is called *the blood of the Covenant*, or *New Teſtament*;) for the reconciling and pacifying *all things in heaven and earth*; removing all cauſes of diſſention, inducing obligations of concord and charity: For pulling out the ſting and removing the terrour of death; ſuppreſ-Coloſſ. 2. 15. ſing and *triumphing over the powers of hell*; *deſtroying* (or defea ing) *him that had* Heb. 2. 14. καταργήσας. *the power of death, the devil*; *and delivering them, who through fear of death were all their life-time ſubject to death*: For engaging us to all righteouſneſs and obedi-ence, (eſpecially to the moſt excellent and moſt difficult parts thereof, charity, meek-neſs, patience, ſelf-denial, utmoſt conſtancy and perſeverance) both from our obli-gation for what he did, and in imitation of his example; Laſtly, for atteſtation un-to, and confirmation of divine truth; ſealing his heavenly doctrine by his blood, and witneſſing before *Pontius Pilate* a good confeſſion. Such ends did the death and paſ-1 Tim. 6. 13. ſion of our Saviour aim at, ſuch fruits did grow from it; which the time hath per-Joh. 18. 37. mitted me ſcarce curſorily to mention.

As for the practical influences, the belief and conſideration thereof ſhould have up-on us, they are many and great.

It ſhould oblige us to the higheſt degree of love, and thankfulneſs, in regard to Joh. 15. 13. this higeſt expreſſion of love to us. It ſhould beget in us the greateſt *faith and hope* Rom. 8. 32. *in God*; for that, *He which did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up* (to death) *for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?* It ſhould work contrition and repentance in us for thoſe ſins, which murdered our ſo good friend and loving Saviour: It ſhould deter and make us carefully to avoid them, as thoſe which in a manner exact another death from him and crucifie him a-freſh, and Heb. 6. 6. *vilifie the precious blood of the covenant*: It ſhould diſcover to us their heinouſneſs, 10. 29. and produce in us a vehement deteſtation and dread of them; as having provoked God to ſuch a degree of diſpleaſure; cauſing him to deal ſo ſeverely with his own moſt Luk. 23. 31. dear Son; *for if thoſe things were done* (ſuch puniſhments were afflicted) *upon a green tree* (upon a perſon ſo innocent, ſo precious, ſo little liable to the fire of vengeance) *what ſhall be done to the dry* (to us, that are ſo guilty, ſo combuſtible) if we preſume to diſpleaſe God? It ſhould engage us to a patient ſubmiſſion and reſignation of our Phil. 2. 5. ſelves to God's will and providence: *Foraſmuch as Chriſt hath ſuffered for us in the* 1 Pet. 4. 1. *fleſh, we ſhould arm our ſelves likewiſe with the ſame mind*, as St. *Peter* adviſes; and prepare for the deepeſt mortification, in conformity to his death, dying after him *to the luſts and affections of the fleſh*, to the faſhions and delights of the world; to the fulleſt meaſure of charity; *for if God ſo loved us* (ſo as to die for us) *then ought we* 1 Joh. 4. 11. (as St. *John* tells us) *to love one another*, in a degree anſwerable; for, he adds, *if he* 3. 16. *laid down his life for us, then ought we alſo to lay down our lives for our brethren*: Phil. 3. 10. In fine, we are hereby obliged to yield up our ſelves wholly to the ſervice of our Sa-1 Pet. 4. 2. viour; to the promoting of his intereſt and glory; ſince, as St. *Paul* teaches us, *we* Rom. 6. 5, 6, &c. *are not our own, being bought with a price*; and therefore *muſt glorifie God in our* Gal. 2. 20. *body and in our ſpirits, which are God's*, (by a purchaſe ſo dear and precious,) ſince 5. 24. (as he argueth us) *Chriſt died for all, that they which live might not live to them-*1 Cor. 6. ult. 2 Cor. 15. 5. *ſelves, but to him that died for them*: *Since* (as St. *Peter* urges) *we know that we* 1 Pet. 1. 18. *are not redeemed by things corruptible, by ſilver and gold, but by the precious blood of Chriſt, as a lamb without blemiſh or ſpot*, from our vain converſation.

Buried. He deſcended into Hell.

THeſe two particulars (which in the ancient *Roman* Creed, and in all the orien-tal Forms, as alſo in other more ancient ſummaries of Chriſtian doctrine) do appear either to have been conjoined and comprehended in the former of them (*Buried*) or at leaſt the latter to have been wholly omitted; it being afterwards inſert-ed here out of the *Aquileian* Form, (which in a manner had it, in the room of the former, that ſaying inſtead of *ſepultus eſt, deſcendit in inferna*) or from elſew-

(the latter ages mentioning both, either for more fulneſs and ſecurity, that nothing any wiſe material, touched in Scripture, concerning our Saviour's perſon, or performances, eſpecially done in that great ſeaſon of action preceding his laſt farewel to this world, might ſeem neglected) or perchance upon occaſion of (in favour to, or complyance with) ſome opinions about our Saviour's doings in the interval between his death and reſurrection, current and paſſable in thoſe times: theſe particulars however, I ſay, may ſeem added in reſpect chiefly (for the clearer illuſtration, and ſurer confirmation) of thoſe great Articles precedent and ſubſequent concerning our Saviour's death and reſurrection. For (as to the firſt) our Saviour's body being committed to the grave, the common repoſitory of bodies, it plainly demonſtrates the truth of his death, the reality and wonderfulneſs of his reſurrection. No life could continue in a body ſhut up under-ground till the third day; (ſequeſtred from that air, which ventilates and keeps from ſmothering our vital flame, from that comfortable light which excites and cheriſhes our natural heat; from that food, which ſuſtains and repairs our decaying parts;) therefore he muſt, being thus lodged in the chambers of death, be really dead; and to raiſe him thence, to rear the temple of his body, from that utmoſt ſtate of dejection, muſt be a work of divine and moſt wonderful power. And to this purpoſe I ſuppoſe St. *Paul* mentions our Saviour's burial as a point, which among other great Articles of our Religion he did uſe to preach and inculcate as a matter of faith: *I delivered unto you firſt of all* (ſaith he to the *Corinthians*) *that which I alſo received, that Chriſt died for our ſins: and that he was buried, and that he roſe again, according to the Scriptures.* His burial interceding, gave light and confirmation to his death foregoing, and his reſurrection following it: according to the Scriptures, St. *Paul* adds; for it had ſeemed good to God both by typical repreſentation to fore-ſhew, and expreſsly to fore-tell our Saviour's interment. *As Jonas* (ſaith he himſelf, the beſt expoſitor of God's meaning in ſuch myſtical adumbrations) *was three days, and three nights in the Whale's belly, ſo ſhall the ſon of man be three days and three nights in the heart of of the earth*; the Whale's belly *Jonas* himſelf terms the belly of Hell, (*Out of the belly of Hell cried I, and thou heardeſt my voice:* the belly of Hell, or of the Grave,) *And my fleſh* (ſaith *David*, as repreſenting our Saviour) *ſhall reſt in hope; for thou wilt not leave my ſoul in Hell, nor ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption:* The Grave was the bed wherein our Saviour's fleſh did reſt in expectation ſoon to riſe again before any corruption ſhould ſeize thereon: And the Prophet *Eſay* treating upon his Paſſion, with the cauſes, the manner, the conſequences thereof, doth not omit the mention of this point: *For*, ſays he, *He made his Grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.* So God pre-ordained, and ſo predicted concerning our Saviour's burial for the confirmation of our faith, though perhaps other ends might fall in therewith, and other not inconſiderable uſes may be made thereof. He did thereby yield a farther inſtance of condeſcention, a final ſubmiſſion to the law of humane nature, in being brought to the duſt, and returning to the ground, according to the general doom pronounced once upon mankind: *Duſt thou art, and to duſt thou ſhalt return.* He repreſented thereby, as the firſt fruits from the dead, and the pattern of his followers, the common manner how, and whence we ſhall ariſe, *when the time comes, that all which are in the Graves ſhall hear his voice and go forth*, as it is in the Goſpel: how all men being as it were ſown in the ground, ſhall ſpring up again to another life. He did alſo thereby ſignifie that myſtical Sepulture, which we undergo in baptiſm, being therein buried with him (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) being ſecluded from the pleaſures of ſin, and having the vanities of the world removed from our eyes: the immerſion in baptiſm was a kind of burial, and its being done thrice (according to primitive uſe) (correſponded as the Ancients ſuppoſe) to our Saviour's lying three days in the Grave: Τὸ γὰρ καταδύσαι τὸ παιδίον ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τρίτον, καὶ ἀναςῆσαι, τύτο δήλοι τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὴν τριήμερον ἀνάςασιν τὸ Χριςό: that the child doth enter thrice into the Font, and riſes up again; this repreſents the death and reſurrection after three days of Chriſt, ſaith *Athanaſius*: and, ——*Illa tertiò repetita demerſio typum dominicæ exprimit ſepulturæ, per quam Chriſto conſepulti eſtis in baptiſmo*: that demerſion thrice repeated expreſſes a type of our Lord's burial, as by which we are together buried with Chriſt, in baptiſm, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*. It alſo doth countenance and commend unto us thoſe ſeemly reſpects (thoſe offices of humanity) which all civil people have conſented to perform towards the bodies of our brethren departed from us; in decently laying up their remainders; ſecuring them from of-

1 Cor. 15. 4.

Matt. 12. 24

Jon. 2. 2.

Pſal. 16. 9.

Iſa. 53. 9.

Διόσω τὸς πονηρὸς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἀυτῦ. LXX. δώσει Heb.

Gen. 3. 19.

1 Cor. 15. 20.

Joh. 5. 28.

Col. 1. 12.

Rom. 6. 4.

γέγραπται γὰρ. —— Corpora terræ mandamus, qui ſolus bonos Acherontę ſub imo cit. Hom. Od.

fence and diſgrace; ſhewing by our beſt regard to what is left of them, the good-will we bare them living, the good hope we have of them dead; as expecting to recover that *depoſitum* ſo carefully laid up by us. We ſee our Saviour was not unconcerned herein; and did commend to the everlaſting eſteem of poſterity the pious reſpect of that good Woman, who ſpent the precious ointment upon him, as having reſerved it for his burial. As for the manner of our Saviour's burial, that his body was by *Pilate*'s grant, upon the petition of an honourable Counſellour, reſcued from the Croſs, (where, according to the rigour of the *Roman* Law, it was to abide till its conſumption) that no farther ignominy, or injury ſhould be offered unto him, after he had fully ſatisfied the will and juſtice of God, in undergoing ſuch extremities of pain and diſgrace for our redemption: that another good ruler, well-affected to his perſon and doctrine, had prepared, and did bring a plentiful and precious mixture of Spices, wherewith (according to the manner of the *Jews* towards perſons of wealth and reſpect) for decency and convenience (to preſerve the dead bodies from noiſom ſavour and to prevent ſudden corruption) to anoint his body: That his body was wrapped up in fine linen cloaths and laid in a new fair tomb, hewed out of a rock (or ſtony ground) was therein encloſed, a great ſtone being rolled upon the entrance thereof (God thus ordering it, that all befitting honour ſhould be done to that ſacred body, which had born ſo much for us, and ſerved God ſo well;) that the glorious temple of the divinity ſhould not be profaned or polluted, in any manner unſeemly; (that the grand miracle of raiſing our Saviour to life ſhould come off with moſt advantage.) Theſe things plainly deſcribed in the Goſpel, might afford matter of profitable obſervation and diſcourſe; but I cannot well inſiſt upon them; but proceed.

Joh. 12. 7. Matt. 26. 10, &c.

He deſcended into Hell, καταλελθόντα εἰς ᾅδου. This article (or point of doctrine) as was before noted, is of a later ſtanding in the Creed; and doth not appear to have had place in any of the moſt ancient ones, publick or private (excepting that of *Aquileia*, into which alſo perhaps it might have come not long before *Ruffinus* his time) and the meaning thereof hath always (both in more ancient times among the Fathers, and in the middle times afterwards among the Schoolmen, and lately among modern Writers) been much debated, having given occaſion to many prolix and accurate diſcourſes: to recite the different opinions and explications thereof, with the reaſons produced to maintain, or diſprove them, were a matter of greater pain and time than I can afford, and to decide the controverſies about it a matter of greater difficulty, than I could hope to atchieve. I could therefere (both upon theſe accounts, as alſo becauſe I choſe to inſiſt rather upon matters more clear in their nature, and practical in conſequence;) I could therefore, I ſay, willingly wave this obſcure and perplexed ſubject; yet however, to comply ſomewhat with expectation, I ſhall touch briefly upon ſome things ſeeming conducible to the clearing or ending of the controverſies hereabout.

Now, whereas there may be a threefold inquiry, either concerning the meaning of the words (here ſet down) intended by thoſe who inſerted them; or concerning the moſt proper ſignification of the words themſelves; or concerning the meaning they are with truth capable of in the caſe, to which they here are applied.

1. The firſt I reſolve (or rather remove) by ſaying; that it ſeems needleſs and endleſs to diſpute, what meaning they (which placed theſe words here) did intend; Since, 1. it is poſſible (and might be declared ſo by many like inſtances) and perhaps not unlikely, that they might both themſelves upon probable grounds believe, and for plauſible ends propound to the belief of others this propoſition, without apprehending any diſtinct ſenſe thereof; as we believe all the Scriptures, and commend them to the faith of others, without underſtanding the ſenſe of many paſſages therein: And ſince, 2dly, perhaps they might by them intend ſome notion not certain, or not true, following ſome conceits then prevalent, but not built upon any ſure foundations. And ſince, 3dly, to ſpeak roundly, their bare authority, whoever they were (for that doth not appear) could not be ſuch as to oblige us to be of their minds, whatever they did mean or intend. We may owe much reverence, but no entire credence to their opinions. Yet, 4thly, if I were bound to ſpeak my thought, I muſt confeſs, ſuppoſing they had any diſtinct meaning, they did mean to ſay, that our Saviour's ſoul did by a true and proper kind of motion, deſcend into the regions infernal, or beneath the earth; where they conceived the ſouls of men where detained; for this appears to have been the more general and current opinion of thoſe times, which it is probable they did comply with herein, whence ſoever fetched, however grounded.

As

As to the ſecond inquiry, concerning the ſignification of the words: What may be meant by *He deſcended*: Whether our Saviour himſelf, according to his humanity; or his ſoul, or his body called *he* by ſynecdoche: What by *deſcended*, whether (to omit that ſenſe, which makes the whole ſentence an Allegory, denoting the ſufferance of infernal or helliſh pains and ſorrows, as too wide from the purpoſe) whether I ſay by *deſcending* may be ſignified a proper local motion toward ſuch a term; or an action, ſo called in reſpect to ſome ſuch motion accompanying it; or a vertual motion, by power and efficacy in places below: what by *Hell*; whether a ſtate of being, or a place; if a place, whether that where bodies are repoſed, or that to which ſouls do go; and if a place of ſouls, whether the place of good and happy ſouls, or that of bad and miſerable ones; or indifferently and in common, of both thoſe; for ſuch a manifold ambiguity theſe words have (or are made to have,) and each of theſe ſenſes are embraced and contended for: I ſhall not examine any of them, nor farther meddle in the matter than by ſaying,

1. That the Hebrew word *Scheol* (upon the true notion of which the ſenſe of the word *Hell* in this place is confeſſed to depend) doth ſeem originally, moſt properly, and moſt frequently (perhaps conſtantly, except when it is tranſlated, as all words ſometimes are, to a figurative uſe) to deſign the whole region protended downward from the ſurface of the earth, to a depth (according to the vulgar opinion, as it ſeems, of all ancient times over the world) indefinite and inconceivable; vaſtly capacious in extenſion; very darkſome, deſolate and dungeon-like in quality, (whence it is alſo ſtyled frequently * *the pit, the abyſs, the darkneſs, the depths of the earth*, &c.) I need not labour much to confirm the truth of this notion, ſince it is obvious that this *Scheol* (when moſt abſolutely and properly taken, the circumſtances of the diſcourſe implying ſo much) is commonly oppoſed to Heaven, not only in ſituation, but in dimenſion and diſtance; as when *Job* ſpeaking of the unſearchableneſs of the divine perfections, ſaith: *It is as high as heaven, what canſt thou do? deeper than hell, what canſt thou know?* And the Prophet *Amos*: *Though they dig into hell, thence ſhall mine hand take them; though they climb up into heaven, thence will I bring them down.* I ſay farther,

* ἄβυσσος, Βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονὸς βάραθρον. Νερτέρεον νεύθμων. Βάθεος ἄδης, Eccluſ. 21. 11. μυχὸς ἄδου, Eccluſ. 17. 14. ἀπώλεια, Prov. 15. 18. διαφθορὰ, 27. 20. Pſal. 107. 10. 88. 6. 143. 5. Eccl. 6. 4. Job 17. 13. 1 Sam. 2. 9. Pſal. 71. 20. Prov. 9. 18. Job 11. 8. Amos 9. 2. Vid. Pſal. 139. 8. Deut. 32, 22. Iſa 57. 9. Pſal. 89. 48. Gen. 37. 35. 44 29. 31. 2 Sam. 22. 6. Acts 2. 24. Iſa. 38. 18.

2dly, Becauſe the bodies (that is, the viſible remainders) of men dying do naturally fall down, or are put into the boſom of this pit, (which is therefore an univerſal Grave and receptacle of them,) therefore to die is frequently termed καταβαίνειν εἰς ᾅδου, or καταγεσθῆ εἰς ᾅδου, to deſcend, or to be brought down into this Hell; which happening unto all men without exception, (for, as the Pſalmiſt ſays, *there is no man that ſhall deliver his ſoul*, or life (or himſelf) *from the hand* (or from the clutches) *of* this all-graſping *Hell*,) therefore it is attributed promiſcuouſly to all men, to good and bad alike: *I will go down* (ſaith good *Jacob*) *unto the Grave* (to *Scheol*, this common Grave of mankind, καταβήσομαι εἰς ᾅδου) *unto my ſon mourning*: and ſo frequently of others. Whence this Hell is apt figuratively to be put for and ſignifie equivalently with Death it ſelf, (it is once by the LXX ſo tranſlated, and by St. *Peter* it ſeems after them,) or for the law, condition, and ſtate thereof. I ſay farther,

3dly, That this word ſeems not in the ancient uſe to ſignifie the place, whither men's ſouls do go, or where they abide: For that,

1. It can hardly be made appear that the ancient *Hebrews* either had any name appropriate to the place of ſouls, or did conceive diſtinctly which way they went, otherwiſe than that (as the Preacher ſpeaks) *they returned unto God, that gave them*; that they abode in God's hand (eſpecially the ſouls of the juſt: as we have it in Wiſdom; *The ſouls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there ſhall no torment touch them*, &c.) And for that,

Eccl. 12. 7. Wiſdom 3. 1. Deut. 33. 3.

2dly, It is probable they did rather conceive the ſouls of men, when they died, did go upward, than downard: as the ſame Preacher intimates, differencing the ſpirit of man dying, from the ſoul of beaſts, that with its body deſcending, this aſcending, as it were unto God to be diſpoſed according to his pleaſure and juſtice: and by *Enos* his being taken unto God (whoſe ſpecial reſidence is expreſſed to be *in heaven above*,) and by *Elias* his tranſlation *upward into heaven* (as it is in the hiſtory) it ſeems they might rather ſuppoſe the ſouls of the righteous to aſcend, than to be conveyed downward into ſubterraneous Caverns; thoſe μυχοὶ, that βάθεος ᾅδου (thoſe cloſets, that *deep pit of hell*, as the Son of *Sirach* and the book of *Wiſdom* do call them;) to aſcend, I ſay, into conſortſhip and ſociety with the bleſſed Angels, who are deſcribed to attend upon God's throne in heaven, to the family of God in hea-

Eccl. 3. 21. Gen. 5. 24. ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις, Ariſt. de Cœlo. 2 King. 2. 11. Eccluſ. 2 11. 12. Sap. 17. 14.

ven,

ven, to that heavenly country, which they are ſaid to deſire earneſtly, the heavenly *Jeruſalem*. I add,

3dly, That, if thoſe ancients had by *Scheol* meant the receptacle or manſion of ſouls, it is not likely they would have uſed ſuch expreſſions: *The Grave* (Scheol) *cannot praiſe thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth,* (ſo *Hezekiah.*) *In death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave* (in *Scheol* again,) *who ſhall give thee thanks,* (ſo *David*;) and the Preacher more fully: *There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wiſdom in the grave* (in *Scheol*) *whither thou goeſt*: (it were much he ſhould ſay ſo, if by *Scheol* he meant the place of ſouls, except he ſhould mean that ſouls after death were deprived of all life and ſenſe.)

Iſa. 38. 18. Pſal. 6. 6. Eccl. 9. 10. Vid. Eccluſ. 17. 27.

I muſt confeſs, that afterwards (even before our Saviour's time) the word ᾅδης was aſſumed by the *Jews* to deſign (as among the *Greeks*) either the place of ſouls in common, or more ſtrictly the place of ſouls condemned to puniſhment and pain for their evil lives here. (*Joſephus* is obſerved often to uſe the word in the firſt of theſe ſenſes; and in the New Teſtament it ſeems peculiarly applied to the latter, as in the Parable of the rich man, *who being,* ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ, *in hell-torments did thence lift up his eyes, and behold afar off Lazarus in Abraham's boſom:* But we cannot hence infer the ſame concerning the ancient meaning of the word *Scheol*; eſpecially conſidering how the *Jews* after the prophetical days in their diſperſions becoming acquainted with the world, did ſomewhat improve in knowledge, and borrowed both notions and expreſſions from elſewhere; which expreſſions our Saviour and his Apoſtles would not depart from, when they were agreeable or accommodable to truth. But however it be determined concerning the proper ſenſe in general of this principal word in the propoſition, and of the reſt depending thereupon as to their importance here, as to the preſent caſe, and the laſt main queſtion propounded about the meaning, whereof the words are truly capable here: I anſwer briefly,

Luk. 16. 23.

1. That if we interpret this deſcent into Hell of our Saviour's interment, or being laid in the boſom of that general Grave we ſpeak of; or if (which little differs from that) we take theſe words for a phraſe (taking its ground thence in the manner fore-mentioned) importing, no otherwiſe than when it was ſpoken of *Jacob* and others, that our Saviour did really paſs into the ſtate of death, we ſhall be ſure therein not to err, the propoſition being moſt certainly true, ſo underſtood; we ſhall alſo hereby be able fairly to ſatisfie the firſt and beſt (if not the only) reaſon of this propoſition being commended to our belief; for that place of Scripture, or rather one place, being the ſame application of a place in the *Pſalms*; (which ſeems to have been the occaſion, and is the main ground of its aſſertion) doth not refuſe, but rather moſt commodiouſly admits this interpretation: For our Saviour's ſoul not being left in Hell, and not ſeeing corruption, is plainly by St. *Peter* himſelf interpreted of his *reſurrection*: (He (*David*) foreſeeing this, ſpake of Chriſt's reſurrection, *Acts* 2. 31: And in like manner by St. *Paul*—*As concerning that he raiſed him from the dead, now no more to ſee corruption: he ſaid on this wiſe,* *Acts* 13. 34.) That ſpeech, I ſay, our Saviour's ſoul not being left in Hell, and not ſeeing corruption, is by the Apoſtles interpreted by our Saviour's reſurrection, (that is, by his being freed from the bands of death, and raiſed from the grave, before his fleſh had ſeen corruption) and is oppoſed by them to *David*'s continuing in death and ſeeing corruption (his body being corrupted and conſumed in the Grave) the Apoſtles not deſigning to aſſert or prove more than our Saviour's reſurrection: *David* (argue they) fell on ſleep, and hath continued 'till now in that ſtate; *David* remained unto this day in the Grave, and ſo his body being reduced to duſt, ſaw corruption, ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐτάφη, ſaith St. *Peter*: he died and was buried without reverſion; therefore that ſpeech of his in the *Pſalm* muſt not fully and ultimately be underſtood of him (to whom they did not ſo exactly agree,) but of ſuch an one, who did not abide in that deadly ſleep, whoſe fleſh, by being opportunely raiſed up, did avoid the ſight (or undergoing of) corruption. And whereas 'tis ſaid, *thou ſhalt not leave,* τὴν ψυχήν μου, *my ſoul* (or my life) nothing can be thence drawn greatly prejudicial to this Expoſition; for (to omit that bolder Expoſition of *Beza*, who by the *ſoul* underſtood the *cadaver* or *dead body*, ſometime tranſlating the words, *non derelinques cadaver meum in ſepulchro,*) nothing is more uſual in the Hebrew than both for the fleſh, and for the ſoul, each of them ſynecdochically to ſignifie *the perſon* (con-

Acts 2. 31. 13. 34.

Acts 2. 29.

(conſidered as ſometime endued with life) and in propriety of ſpeech to ſtand for the body, or for the ſoul: *Every one that ſinneth ſhall be put to death, and that ſoul ſhall be cut off*, are terms equivalent in the law: *the ſoul that eateth, the ſoul that toucheth*, and the like phraſes, often occur: In fine; *to deliver their ſoul from death*, as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks: *God will redeem my ſoul from the power of the Grave: What man is he that ſhall not ſee death; that ſhall deliver his ſoul from the hand of the Grave*, do ſeem expreſſions parallel to this, *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoul in Hell*, which yet ſeem to import no more, than the perſons there ſpoken of reſpectively to be preſerved from death: It is alſo obſervable that St. *Paul*, in the 13th of the *Acts*, neglecting the former part, *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoul in Hell*, contents himſelf with the latter, *Thou wilt not yield thy holy one to ſee corruption*, intimating both parts to ſignifie the ſame thing. If it be objected as an inconvenience to this application of the words here in the Creed, that admitting it, they ſignifie no more, than what was before expreſſed in plain words, *dead and buried*, and ſo contain only a needleſs repetition. I anſwer, 1. That this objection concerns them, who inſerted the words here, who yet (even ſuppoſing the truth of this Expoſition), might be excuſable, as ſuſpecting it poſſible, that our Saviour's being ἐν ᾅδῃ, according to St. *Peter*, might imply more than this, although they knew not what diſtinctly; who might alſo perhaps intend ſomewhat by theſe words different from this ſenſe, but not ſo truly applicable to them, or agreeable to the truth of the thing. I anſwer, 2dly, That a greater inconvenience ſeems to ariſe from expounding them otherwiſe; it reflecting upon the more ancient Compilers both of this and moſt other Creeds, who left them out, which they ſhould not have done, if they contain any thing conſiderable and different from what is here otherwiſe expreſſed; whoſe credit is more, I conceive, to be tendred, than that of their Juniors and followers; and ſo much the more, for that defect and omiſſion in matters of this kind is leſs tolerable than any redundance in expreſſion. Which inconvenience may ſeem in a manner to reach higher, even to St. *Paul* himſelf, who (in the place fore-cited) declaring the ſum of what he both learned and taught concerning our Saviour's laſt grand performances, only mentions his death, burial, and reſurrection: *I delivered unto you firſt, that Chriſt died according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day*; which ennumeration of his, it ſeems, we may well acquieſce in as ſufficient and complete; and may thence with great probability infer, that no other deſcent of our Saviour into Hell (beſide his death and burial) was by him underſtood or delivered in his catechetical diſcourſes and preachings as a point of faith: So that what is objected as an inconvenience, proves no ſmall advantage to this Expoſition. But I ſay farther,

Exod. 31. 14. Lev. 7. 25, 27. 5. 2, &c. Pſal. 33. 19. 49. 15. 89. 48.

1 Cor. 15. 3.

2dly, To the main queſtion, that interpreting *Hell* for the manſion or habitation of ſouls, (to omit that *Scheol*, as I before noted, ſeems to ſignifie otherwiſe in the Old Teſtament, and thence conſequently the places in the *Acts*, applied out of the *Pſalms*, not ſo proper to this purpoſe, whereby the main ground and ſupport of the aſſertion it ſelf, taken according to this ſenſe, is removed; waving I ſay that conſideration, and taking *Hell* according to the meaning, (which we muſt confeſs it ſometime to bear in the New Teſtament, yet) there ſeems to follow ſome inconvenience thereupon; for then we muſt either take it for the place of damned ſpirits ſhut up in torment and deſpair (according to which acception the propoſition it ſelf would be moſt certainly uncertain, as having no good ground for it; and moſt probably falſe, for that it is affirmed our Saviour's ſoul the ſame day he died, did go into paradiſe,) or we muſt take it for a place common to all ſouls, as well good and bleſſed, as bad and miſerable, (for that it comprehends the place of torment, in the New Teſtament ſenſe, is evident by the Parable of *Dives* forecited.) But I think St. *Auguſtine* had reaſon to doubt whether it were conſonant to the ſtyle of the New Teſtament, that *Hades* there ſhould be ever taken in a good or milder ſenſe, at leaſt; whereas 'tis ſaid it the *Revelation*, that thoſe two inſeparable companions, *Death and Hades* (that *Hades* which is there ſaid to render up its dead to judgment) *were caſt into the lake of fire*: 'tis hard to ſuppoſe Paradiſe was caſt in there, yea hard to ſay *Hades* was caſt in there, ſuppoſing that word did then in its uſual latitude of ſignification (as Chriſtians underſtood it) comprehend Paradiſe. Yea farther, this explication forces us upon this inconvenience, that we muſt ſuppoſe Paradiſe to be ſeated in a place beneath us (or within the earth;) that Paradiſe, which is either the ſame with the *third heavens* in St. *Paul*, or confining thereto; 'tis hard, I ſay, to

Apoc. 20. 14.

2 Cor. 12.

be

be forced by an interpretation of theſe words to conſent that Paradiſe (that *locus divinæ amœnitatis recipiendis ſanctorum ſpiritibus deſtinatus*, the place of divine comfort and amœnity, deſtinated to receive the ſpirits of the Saints) ſhould have its place in the darkſome bowels of the earth, no commodious ſituation, it ſeems, for delightſome walks and bowers; yet ſo muſt it be ſeated, that our Saviour's ſoul may be (at leaſt in rigour and propriety of ſpeech) ſaid to deſcend thereinto; the word *deſcend*, taking *Hell* for the ancient *Scheol* fore-mentioned, is proper enough, and hath ground both in authentick uſe and the nature of the thing; but taking *Hell* in this ſenſe (for the place of ſouls) is moſt probably improper, and hath no certain ground or authority to commend it: for it is ſaid that our Saviour's ſoul was in Hell, not that it deſcended thither; nor can it by conſequence be inferred ſo to have done, according to this meaning of *Hell*. However yet I add,

3dly, Seeing it is a moſt certain truth that our Saviour's ſoul did immediately go into the place appointed to receive happy ſouls after their receſſion from the body and reſignation into God's hands, if we take *Hell* in a general and common ſenſe for the place, or ſtate of ſouls departed; and *deſcending*, only for paſſing thereunto (by a falling as it were from life; or together with the deſcent of the body, and thence ſtyled *deſcending*; what appears viſibly happening to the body being attributed to the ſoul:) If, I ſay, we thus interpret our Saviour's deſcent into Hell for his ſoul's going into the common receptacle and manſion of ſouls, we ſhall be ſure not ſubſtantially to miſtake: And this ſenſe, I muſt confeſs, if the words can handſomely bear them, would be very proper to this place, as ſignifying ſomewhat diſtinct from what is otherwiſe expreſſed, and ſerving to the farther confirmation of thoſe great Articles adjoining, our Saviour's death and reſurrection: it implying the perfect and utmoſt accompliſhment of death to have deſerted the body, and to have been tranſlated into thoſe inviſible regions, ſo diſtant hence, and whence——*revocare gradum ſuperáſque evadere ad auras*, is a labour indeed, and a work not to be effected but by the moſt miraculous power of him, whoſe privilege it is—*to kill and make alive, to bring down to Hell and bring up*; to lead unto the gates of Hell, and bring back again.

Ἀδύνατον ἀφεῖναι. Sap. 17. 14.

1 Sam. 2. 6. Sap. 16. 13. Tobit. 13. 2. Deut. 32. 39.

This is all that I ſhall ſay about this point; for I will not be at the trouble to conſider or examine thoſe conceits, which pretend to acquaint us why and to what effect our Saviour deſcended into Hell: That he went thither to preach unto, convert and redeem all or ſome of the damned ſouls from thence, (for ſome ſay that he emptied, and quite depopulated that region of darkneſs; others are not ſo liberal as to free all thence, but ſome only, the fitter objects of compaſſion and favour; both ſaying that which hath very weak, or no reaſons to maintain it, very ſtrong and plain objections to aſſail it;) that he went to free, and uſher into glory the ſouls of the Patriarchs and other good people from that infernal *limbus*, in which they ſuppoſe them to have been 'till then detained, (a place by no likely means to be proved exiſtent other-where than in the fancy of the inventors thereof) that he went to affront, triumph over, and terrifie the powers of darkneſs upon their own ground, in their own dominions: theſe and the like conceits ſeem ſufficiently diſcountenanced and confuted by ſaying the Scripture nowhere plainly declares any ſuch thing; and conſequently that they have no good ground to inſiſt on; (they pretend only one or two difficult and obſcure places, which may be many ways otherwiſe expounded, ſo as not ſo much as to favour them;) whereas in teaching us that our Saviour preached upon earth ſalvation to them which in this life ſhould be converted to believe upon him and obey his laws; damnation irrecoverable to them which ſhould perſiſt in infidelity and diſobedience; that he merited by his obedience, and purchaſed by his blood both a redemption from future diſtreſs, and a tranſlation into bliſs and glory, that he vanquiſhed and triumphed over the powers of Hell upon the Croſs, in theſe things the Scripture is clear and copious; but concerning that pretended preaching unto, converſion and deliverance of ſouls beneath; or that tranſlation of ſouls out of any ſubterraneous cloſets, or priſons, ſo they do not ſcruple to call them; or that local triumph in the Devil's Kingdom, it is quite ſilent, or very dark in expreſſion; and therefore we may be ſomewhat backward in aſſenting to ſuch conceits; which whoever firſt deviſed, we may ſuſpect they did ἐμβατεύειν ἃ μὴ ἑωράκεσαν, invade things unſeen by themſelves, and in very deed inviſible to any. But let it ſuffice to have diſcourſed thus much about this endleſs queſtion.

Bellarm.

Coloſſ. 2. 18.

The

The third day he roſe again from the dead.

THIS Article is one of the principal Articles in its nature, its deſign, its conſequence; the faith of which was intended as a means to produce faith in the reſt; removing the doubts and difficulties that might obſtruct it; for by our Saviour's reſurrection, the truth of all his pretences concerning his Perſon, his Office, his Doctrine, were to the higheſt degree of ſatisfaction and conviction aſſured; no miracle could be greater in its ſelf (more ſignifying the Power of God therein employed;) none more proper for production and confirmation of the faith required of us, concerning the dignity of his perſon, the efficacy of his performances, the validity of his promiſes, the reality of his doctrine in relation to the future ſtate. God (as St. *Paul* tells us, *Acts* 17. 31.) did πίστιν παρέχειν πᾶσιν, afford to all a moſt perſuaſive and convincing argument of all truth concerning our Saviour, raiſing him from the dead.

1. If the meanneſs of his birth and parentage; the low garb and ſmall luſtre of his life; the bitter ſorrows and ſhameful diſgraces of his death, though accompanied with ſuch excellent qualities, and ſuch wonderful performances, as did appear in and were done by him, might (eſpecially in thoſe that ſtand at diſtance) breed any ſuſpicion (as indeed they have afforded matter of argument to the adverſaries of Chriſtianity againſt it) concerning our Saviour, whether he were indeed (as he pretended) the Son of God, (ſo near in nature, in favour, in affection to God) deſigned by him to be the Saviour of mankind, the Lord of all things, the Judge of the World: If, I ſay, ſuch homely circumſtances, that attended his Perſon, ſuch ſad accidents, that befell him, may in the eyes of thoſe, who caſt only ſuperficial glances on the thing, and look not beyond outward appearances, beget doubtful apprehenſions concerning our Saviour's Perſon, or ſomewhat depreſs him in their conceit; the wonderful power, and ſpecial favour of God toward him demonſtrated in his reſurrection, will diſcuſs thoſe miſts, and raiſe him their eſteem: *For though* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *he was crucified out of weakneſs*, (that is therein the infirmity of our nature being diſcovered,) *yet he liveth by the power of God*; by his recovering life, his divine power is declared; it was an ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως, an exceſſive greatneſs of power, which God exerted, an ἐνέργεια τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος, an activity of the might of ſtrength (or of moſt mighty ſtrength) which he ſet on work in the raiſing of Chriſt from the dead, (ſo the Apoſtle labours to expreſs the unexpreſſible eminency of this miracle.) [*Pliny*, I remember, among inſtances of things, which were impoſſible even to God himſelf, reckons theſe two, *Mortales æternitate donare, & revocare defunctos*, (to beſtow Eternity upon mortals, and to recall the dead to life;) both which ſuppoſitions we ſee by our Saviour's reſurrection clearly confuted, yet ſo as the making them argues how high and hard a work in humane conceit it was to effect it:] Indeed, St. *Paul* ſeems to ſuppoſe otherwiſe; when he thus puts the queſtion: *What; doth it ſeem incredible to you, that God ſhould raiſe the dead?* But there is an emphaſis in the words παρ' ὑμῖν, with you; with you, whoſe minds were prepoſſeſſed with notions favourable to this doctrine; who had ſo many inſtances thereof; who had been inſtructed to hope future rewards from God: And as it was an inſtance of God's mighty power, ſo was it no leſs a mark of his ſpecial favour toward our Saviour: as to take away life ſignifies extremity of diſpleaſure, ſo to reſtore it implies the higheſt degree of favour: Death in it ſelf imports a total incapacity and deprivation of good, and is uſed to expreſs the worſt ſtate of being, or utmoſt miſery, conſequent upon man's diſobedience and God's diſpleaſure: and life, as it is really in its own nature the foundation of perceiving good, ſo it repreſents and expreſſes all the happineſs of which we are capable, all the reward promiſed to obedience: Wherefore God raiſing our Saviour to life, declared thereby his eſpecial love and favour to him; his full approbation and acceptance of him: if yielding him to death might ſeem to argue God's diſpleaſure toward, or diſregard of him; raiſing him to life doth much more demonſtrate a tender affection, an extraordinary care for and reſpect to him; that might be ſuppoſed to proceed upon other grounds, this can receive no other interpretation. To give life is the ground of that relation, which is the higheſt in nature, and ſpeaks moſt affection; wherefore in Scripture-language *to raiſe up* is termed *to beget*, and this regeneration is put for the reſurrection; and our Saviour in the myſtical ſpeech of the *Pſalmiſt*, expounded by St. *Paul*,

Vid. Rom. 1. 4.

2 Cor. 13. 4

Eph. 1. 19.

Lib. II cap. 7.

Acts 26. 8.

Acts 13. 33.

is ſaid that day to be begot, when he was raiſed by God; ſo that it being a paternal act, doth ſignifie a paternal regard: whence St. *Paul* farther ſaith our Saviour was
Rom. 1: 4. declared (or rather determined and defined) *to be the Son of God by the reſurrection from the dead*: this act of God raiſing him, not only ſhewing him to be, but in ſome ſort conſtituting him the Son of God.

2. Thus doth our Saviour's reſurrection aptly ſerve to dignifie and exalt his Perſon in our eſteem; it alſo may confirm our faith in the efficacy of his performances for us; we need not doubt, conſidering this of the pardon of our ſins, the acceptance of our perſons, the ſanctification of our hearts, the ſalvation of our ſouls, (we, which is always to be ſuppoſed and underſtood, performing the conditions required of us;)
Rom. 4. 24, 25. I ſay the pardon of our ſins, and acceptance of our Perſons; for, *as he was delivered for our offences, ſo he was raiſed again for our juſtification*; that is, we are thereby aſſured of our acquittance from ſin, and reſtitution to God's favour; and perhaps ſomewhat more; our pardon and acceptance ſeems not only declared, but alſo conſigned and delivered up unto us by our Saviour's reſurrection; as we were puniſhed in his ſuffering, ſo in his reſurrection we were reſtored; Chriſt merited our juſtification by his paſſion, but God gave it us in his reſurrection; being that formal act of grace whereby he was (after having undergone the effects of divine diſpleaſure) ap-
Rom. 8. 33, 34. parently re-inſtated in God's favour, and we virtually in him: *Who then ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is riſen again:* Since God hath acknowledged ſatisfaction done to his juſtice by diſcharging our Surety from priſon and all farther proſecution; ſince he hath in a manner ſo notorious and ſignal demonſtrated his favour to our proxy, there can be no farther pretence againſt us, no fear of any diſpleaſure remaining: In our baptiſm was repreſented as the burial of Chriſt (we being there in ſhew, and myſtery buried with him) ſo his reſurrection alſo, in vertue of which we then received the benefits correſponding to that repreſentation:
Col. 2. 13, 14. *Being buried with Chriſt in baptiſm* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *in him alſo we were raiſed a-*
Eph. 2. 5, 6. *gain*—and as being dead in treſpaſſes, and the circumciſion of our fleſh, he quickned together with him, forgiving us all our ſins: and συνεζωοποίησε, συνήγειρε, συνεκάθισε, He co-quickned, co-raiſed, and co-ſeated us (if I may ſo ſpeak) with him in heavenly places.

Rom. 6. 4. Eph. 2. 2. &c. Col. 2. 13. 14. 3. We may alſo hence with good reaſon hope for aid ſufficient to ſanctifie our hearts and lives: that he which raiſed our Saviour from a natural death, both can and will raiſe us from ſpiritual death, from that mortal ſlumber in ſins and treſpaſſes, in which we lie buried naturally, to walk in that newneſs of life, and heavenly converſation,
Rev. 20. 6. to which the Goſpel calls us, and the divine Spirit excites us; *which is that firſt reſurrection, which bleſſed and holy is he that hath a part in; on ſuch the ſecond death ſhall have no power*; for alſo conſequently our Saviour's reſurrection aſſures to us
1 Pet. 3. 4. the ſalvation of our ſouls; for by it (as St. *Peter* tells us) *God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath regenerated us unto a lively hope of an Inheritance uncorrup-*
Rom. 1. 10. *tible and undefiled, reſerved for us in the heavens: and if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life*: Thus may our Saviour's reſurrection confirm our faith concerning the efficacy of his performances for us.

4. It was alſo a moſt ſtrong and proper argument to demonſtrate the validity of his promiſes, and the truth of his doctrine concerning the future ſtate; (a matter moſt important, and a fundamental ingredient of all Religion;) an argument moſt ſtrong, I ſay, as demonſtrating by palpable inſtance the poſſibility of what he promiſed and taught, exemplifying in himſelf, what he bad others to expect, that by divine power
2 Tim. 1. 10. they ſhould be raiſed to life: by his doctrine *he brought life and immortality to light*, (a point ſo much doubted and diſputed of before; ſo little ſeen in the darkneſs of natural reaſon, ſo clouded in the uncertainties of common tradition) but by his reſurrection he proved that light to be true and certain: *He thereby* (as St. *Paul* expreſſes it, *Acts* 26. 23.) *by the reſurrection from the dead did moſt effectually*, φῶς καταγγεῖλαι, *denounce and declare light to the people, and to the nations* (to all men, both *Jews and Gentiles.*) Infinitely weak and unſatisfactory are all the arguments, which the ſubtleſt ſpeculation could ever produce to aſſert the diſtinction from the body, the ſeparate exiſtence, the continuance of man's ſoul after death; the providence and juſtice of God over men here; the diſpenſations of reward and puniſhment hereafter

(thoſe

(thoſe great incentives to virtue, and diſcouragements from vice) in compariſon of this one ſenſible experience, atteſting to and confirming that doctrine, which contains thoſe great things; and for the ſame reaſon a moſt proper argument; for though any miracle (plainly and convincingly ſo) may ſuffice to confirm any point of doctrine; yet a miracle in the ſame kind, about the ſame matter, is more immediately pertinent and efficacious to that purpoſe. By curing the ſick, our Saviour proved that he could remit ſins; and that he was Lord of the Sabbath; having authority to diſpenſe with the rigorous obſervation of poſitive laws; and in like manner all the miracles he did were in their nature apt to prove the truth of whatever he taught: *Theſe were writ*, ſaith St. *John*, *that ye might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God*; yet ſo as to beget perſuaſion by diſcourſe interceding, and by vertue of a parity in reaſon; but our Saviour's reſurrection did prove the poſſibility of ours (with all that coheres or is conſequent thereto) directly and immediately, with all evidence poſſible to ſenſe it ſelf: We cannot (conſidering this) have any pretence to doubt of what he and his Apoſtles have taught us, that he preceding as *the firſt born from the dead*, *as the firſt fruits of them that ſleep*, as the Captain of life, as our fore-runner and pattern, we ἐν ἰδίῳ τάγματι, in our due rank and ſeaſon, as younger ſons of the reſurrection, as ſerving under his command and conduct, in reſemblance and imitation of him ſhall follow: So that, *if the ſpirit of him, who raiſed up Jeſus from dead, doth dwell in us, he that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead ſhall alſo quicken our mortal bodies by his ſpirit that dwelleth in us*; *that if we have been planted together with him in the likeneſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo* (planted) *in the likeneſs of his reſurrection*: *That as in Adam we died, ſo in Chriſt we ſhall revive*; *as we have born the image of the earthly man, we ſhall alſo bear the image of the heavenly*: *That he who raiſ'd our Lord, ſhall raiſe us, by his power*; *knowing that he who raiſed the Lord Jeſus, ſhall alſo raiſe us by Jeſus*. Thus is the reſurrection of our Saviour able and apt to beget and eſtabliſh our faith concerning his perſon, his perfomances, and his doctrine; and it being in ſuch manner conducible to ſo high purpoſes, it was requiſite it ſelf ſhould be declared with moſt clear and full evidence; and that it ſhould be ſo, God did abundantly provide. I omit the types and myſtical repreſentations which did fore-ſhadow it; and the prophetical paſſages expreſſing or alluding to it; (having incidently upon other occaſions bordering on this point, formerly touched upon the principal of them;) and only ſay, that no matter of fact is capable of ſurer atteſtation than God did order this to have. He did προχειροτονεῖν (pre-deſign, with an eſpecial care pick out and appoint) witneſſes for this purpoſe; perſons in all reſpects, for their number, for their qualifications, for their circumſtances moſt conſiderable and credible: not one or two, but very many (*five hundred*, St. *Paul* tells us, *ſaw him at once*) not ſtrangers, but perſons moſt familiarly acquainted with him (*who were with him from the beginning*, who went out and in with him for three years ſpace, from his baptiſm to his aſcenſion) not upon relation, or at a diſtance, but by immediate ſenſe, and converſe with him, (*who did*, as St. *Peter*, one of them, tells us, *eat and drink with him after that he roſe from the dead*) not from a ſingle, tranſient experience, but by frequent converſation for a good continuance of time; ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας, *for many days together*, (*To whom*, ſaith St. *Luke*, *he preſented himſelf living after he had ſuffered, by many certain tokens, being ſeen of them forty days, and ſpeaking of the things concerning the Kingdom of God*,) perſons of unqueſtionable diſcretion and honeſty; who preached ſincerity to others (with effectual perſuaſion) and in other things irreproveably practiſed it: who could have no imaginable deſign in teſtifying it, beſide the diſcharge of their conſcience in God's ſight; as encountring thereby the moſt terrible oppoſitions and difficulties; incurring moſt certain and moſt grievous dangers, troubles and ſufferings; without any poſſible benefit (of worldly profit, honour or pleaſure) accruing thence to themſelves; without any comfort or ſupport, except the reward they might hope for from God for the performance of ſo difficult and troubleſome a duty: in fine, by perſons, whoſe teſtimony God himſelf ratified by extraordinary graces (invincible courage, conſtancy, patience, ſelf-denial, meekneſs and charity) conferred on them; by miraculous works openly and frequently performed by them; ſo that they did effectually *with great power yield their teſtimony concerning the reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus*, *and great grace was upon them*, (great appearance of the divine favour toward them, of divine goodneſs in them) as we have it, *Act.* 4. 33. It was the principal part of their office (of the higheſt Apoſtolical

Vid. 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4.
John 20. 31.
Apoc. 1. 5. Coloſſ. 1. 18. 1 Cor. 15. 20.
Act. 3. 15. 5. 31.
Heb. 6. 20.
Luk. 20. 36.
Rom. 8. 11.
Rom. 6. 5.
1 Cor. 15. 22, 49.
1 Cor. 6. 14. 2 Cor. 4. 14.
Vid. 1 Theſſ. 4. 14.
Vid. Act. 17. 3. Luk. 24. 46. Act. 10. 41.
1 Cor. 15. 6.
Joh. 15. 27. Act. 1. 21, 22.
Act. 10. 41.
Act. 13. 31. Acts 1. 3.

office) to teſtifie this truth; as we ſee in the choice of *Matthias*, where 'tis ſaid;
Acts. 1. 21, 22. *Wherefore of theſe men, which have companied with us all the time, that the Lord Jeſus went in and out among us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of his reſurrection.* And beyond the providing witneſſes ſo qualified, teſtimonies ſo credible, what could God himſelf do neceſſary to convince men endued with any competency of reaſon and ingenuity, or to diſtinguiſh them from men of contrary diſpoſition (unreaſonably and unworthily incredulous:) what means, I ſay, could farther be required to beget and confirm our faith in the matter of our Saviour's reſurrection, and conſequently of all doctrines taught by him and his diſciples, which by this moſt ſignal miracle are ſo perfectly aſſerted and proved?

Now the great end and uſe of our Saviour's reſurrection being thus declared, I ſhall not inſiſt upon explaining the nature thereof (it being clear that his death conſiſting in the ſeparation of ſoul and body, each departing to its place, his reſurrection, oppoſed thereto and reſtoring him into the ſame ſtate, muſt conſiſt in reſuſcitating, reducing, and reuniting them together, ſo as to recover all vital faculties, and exerciſe vital operations,) nor in conſidering the cauſes efficient thereof, (which it is certain could be no other than that divinity common to the three Perſons individed in nature, power and operation; whence it is attributed as moſt commonly to
Rom. 6. 4. God, ſo peculiarly ſometimes to the glory and power of the Father, who in order of nature and in all common operations doth precede; ſometimes to the Son, *who*
Joh. 2. 19. 10. 17. 18. *laid down his life, and took it up again*, who demoliſhed the temple of his own bo-
Rom. 1. 4. dy and reared it up again; ſometimes to the Holy Ghoſt, by which as he did caſt out
Rom. 8. 11. devils, and performed other his great works, ſo he did this grand miracle; which
Matt. 12. 28. dwelling in him, did quicken his mortal body, as is intimated and by conſequence ariſes from the place fore-cited, *Rom.* 8. 11.) Upon theſe things, as alſo upon the manner and circumſtances of our Saviour's reſurrection I ſhall not inſiſt, having not leiſure ſufficient to conſider and proſecute all, but only to touch thoſe things, which ſeem moſt material and uſeful.

Yet muſt I not altogether paſs over the circumſtance of time (becauſe mentioned here) *Upon the third day*. This is added, as it is commonly in Scripture when mention is made of our Saviour's reſurrection, according to the common manner of ſpeech, in which when we relate any ſtory or matter of fact, we are wont to adjoin the circumſtances (of time moſt commonly, many times of place, and ſometimes of other reſpects and adjuncts) as ſigns and arguments of the things certainly, and our aſſurance
Act. 10. 40. in affirming it: Fictions uſually go naked of circumſtances, nor can the relators of
1 Cor. 15. 4. them tell when or where, or how the matter of them did exiſt; but when we are punctual in circumſtance, it ſignifies we are ſerious and confident, and grounded in the thing it ſelf. As for this circumſtance it ſelf, that which is moſt remarkable therein ſeems to be the wiſdom of God chuſing a convenient diſtance of time, after our Saviour's death, for his reſurrection; he ſtayed ſo long, that it might be thoroughly certain our Saviour was really dead, beyond all poſſibility of recovery by natural means; (all natural heat being neceſſarily extinguiſhed by that durance in the grave, although he had been taken down with ſome undiſcernible remainders thereof from the Croſs;) He deferred it no longer, both becauſe there was no reaſon for doing ſo, and becauſe it was fit, that while men's memories were freſh, their paſſions warm, their fancies buſie, their mouths open in diſcourſe concerning his death; while the deſigned witneſſes were preſent, (both enemies watching, and friends attending the event;) it was, I ſay, then moſt fitting that our Saviour ſhould ariſe: As for the meaning of the word *third* (whether it be to be taken incluſively in reſpect to the day of our Saviour's paſſion, or ſo as to exclude it) with the reconciling of ſome Scriptures ſeeming diſſonant in the point, I refer you for ſatisfaction to Commentators upon the Goſpel; the queſtion not belonging to the ſubſtance of our faith, nor having any very conſiderable influence (that I ſee) upon practice. I proceed therefore.

He aſcended into Heaven; and ſitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.

After our Lord had (after his reſurrection) conſummated what was requiſite to be done by him upon earth for the confirmation of our Faith and conſtitution of his Church; having a competent time converſed with his diſciples, (eſtabliſhing their faith, enlightning their minds in the knowledge of truth and underſtanding
Vid. Luk. & Joh. of the Scriptures, enflaming their affections, comforting their hearts againſt enſuing

tribu-

tribulations, all oppoſitions of earth, and hell, for his ſake; directing and preſcribing to them how they ſhould proceed in their inſtructing, converting, and reconciling the World to the faith and obedience of his law; furniſhing them with commiſſion and authority to teſtifie his truth, to diſpenſe the tenders of grace and pardon procured by him, to collect and build up that Church, which he had purchaſed by his blood, laſtly imparting his effectual benediction to them; having, I ſay, done theſe things (which St. *Luke* expreſſes altogether by the words ἐν τειλάμενος αὐτοῖς, that is, having given all neceſſary inſtructions, and laid fitting commands upon them;) he was in their preſence taken, carried up, (ἀνελήφθη, ἀνεφέρετο) and aſcended into heaven; he, that is, he according to his humanity, his body and ſoul were by the divine power tranſlated into heaven: into heaven, what is meant by that (in the utmoſt extent, according to the truth of the thing) appears by other phraſes equivalent, by which this action is expreſſed: *Aſcending to the father*, that is, to the place of God's more eſpecial preſence and reſidence; where ἐμφανίζεσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, he appears to the face of God; *being exalted to the right hand of God*, (that is, to the place of higheſt eminency, and of greateſt proximity to God) entring εἰς τὰ ἅγια (into thoſe moſt holy places, that ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, thoſe intimate receſſes of inacceſſible, and incommunicable glory) being aſſumed and entring into glory; paſſing through the heavens (that is, all places above, inferiour to the higheſt pitch of glory) aſcending ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν, above, beyond all heavens; becoming ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν (more ſublime than, advanced above the heavens) by which appears that the utmoſt term of our Saviour's aſcent was that place of all in ſituation moſt high, in quality moſt holy, in dignity moſt excellent, in glory moſt auguſt; the inmoſt ſanctuary of God's temple above, not made with hands; the moſt ſpecial preſence-chamber in thoſe heavenly courts. Thither did our Saviour aſcend; and there (as it follows here) he ſitteth at God's right hand, for the ends and uſes of theſe two, (one whereof is only the way or tendency unto the other) conſpiring or being co-incident, (I ſhall join the conſideration of them together) the meaning of which words it is not hard to find out, it being obvious that the ſtate of things above is in Scripture repreſented to us by that ſimilitude, which is apt moſt to beget in us reverence towards God, (and which really doth moſt reſemble it) the ſtate of a King here, ſitting upon his throne; perſonages of higheſt rank and reſpect; his neareſt relations; his moſt beloved favourites; the chief miniſters and officers of his Crown attending upon Him, and ſurrounding his Throne; ſo yet, that for diſtinction ſome place (more eminent and honourable than the reſt) is aſſigned to him, toward whom the King intends to declare ſpecial regard and favour; which place (by cuſtom grounded upon reaſons plain enough, the opportunity of nearneſs for all kind of converſation and addreſs; and the right hands advantage for ſtrength and activity, acquired by uſe, and conſequently alſo its aptitude to give or take) hath been determined to be the next place at the right hand; as we ſee for inſtance, when *Bathſheba* came to *Solomon*, 'tis ſaid——*The King ſate down on his Throne, and cauſed a ſeat to be ſet for the King's mother, and ſhe ſate on his right hand*: Thus our Saviour being raiſed by God to the ſupreme pitch of honour, of power, of favour with him, *having advanced him to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins; having ſuper-exalted him, and beſtowed on him a name above all names, to which all knees in heaven, in earth, under the earth muſt bow; having ſeated him in heavenly places, above all principality, and authority, and power, and dominion, and name* (or *title*) *that is named both in the preſent world and that which is to come; Having committed to him all authority in heaven and upon the earth; given all things into his hands; Having made him heir of all things; ſubjected all things under his feet, (angels, authorities, and powers) crowned him with* (ſovereign) *glory and honour; Having given him* (what that innumerable hoſt of heaven in the *Revelation* acknowledges him worthy of (5. 12.) *power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing*, (that is, all good and excellence poſſible in the higheſt degree;) God having, I ſay, conferred theſe pre-eminencies of dignity, power, and favour upon our Saviour, he is ſaid therefore to have ſeated him at his right hand: *At the right hand of the power* (as it is in the Goſpels, that is, of the Soveraign and Almighty Potentate) at *the right hand of the Majeſty on high*; *and at the right hand of the Throne of God* (as it is in the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*.) So much plainly the whole ſpeech imports, and if there be any peculiar emphaſis deſigned in the word *ſitting*, beyond that which is ſometimes more ſimply and generally ſaid, being at God's right hand, here may be farther implied the firm-

Act. 1. 2.
Act. 1. 2.
Luk. 24. 51.
πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν.
1 Pet. 3. 22.
Joh. 13. 1. 20. 17.
Phil. 2. 9.
Eph. 1. 20.
Heb. 9. 24.
Act. 2. 33. 5. 31. 6, 19.
Heb. 9. 12.
1 Tim. 3. 16.
Luk. 24. 26.
Heb 4. 14.
Eph. 4. 10.
Heb. 7. 26.
1 King. 2. 19.
Acts. 5. 31.
Phil. 2 9.
Eph. 1. 20.
Matt. 28. 18
Joh. 3. 35. 13. 3. 17. 2.
Heb. 1. 2. 2. 8. 9.
1 Pet. 3. 22.
κραταίωμα
Eph. 1. 20.
Matt. 26. 64.
Mar. 14. 62.
Luk. 22. 69.
Heb. 8. 1. 12. 2.
Rom. 8. 34.
Pet.

firm poſſeſſion, the durable continuance, the undiſturbed reſt and quiet of this glorious and happy condition, wherein he is enſtated; as alſo it doth augment the main ſenſe, ſitting being the moſt honourable poſture; and therefore ſignifying to the utmoſt that eminency of favour and reſpect he hath in God's ſight; as alſo, it may denote farther the nature and quality of his preferment: his being conſtituted to rule and to judge; and therefore expreſſed as ſitting upon a Throne of Majeſty; upon a Tribunal of Juſtice.

So much briefly may ſerve for the Explication of theſe two Points: (For as to the words ſubjoined, *The Father Almighty*, whereof the latter is additicious and not extant in the more ancient Forms of this Creed, having conſidered them before, treating upon the beginning of the Creed, and particularly having there taken the word *Almighty* in its greateſt latitude, ſo as to include both παντοκράτωρ and παντοδύναμος, paſſing over the critical diſtinction made between them; I ſhall not repeat any thing concerning them.)

Now as to the Ends of our Saviour's glorious aſcenſion and abode in Heaven, the effects produced thereby, the uſes which the belief and conſideration thereof may conduce to; the ends and effects thereof, I ſay, declared in Scripture, are briefly,

1ſt, That as a Prieſt and Advocate he might there intercede for us; for the pardon of our ſins, for the acceptance of our perſons, for the ſucceſs of our prayers, for the ſupply of our needs, for the collation of all benefits and bleſſings on us; repreſenting his merits, pleading our cauſe, preſenting our ſupplications, and interpoſing his favour and authority in our behalf. *He ever liveth to make interceſſion for us: He is our High-prieſt, ſitting at the right hand of the Majeſty in the Heavens*, there performing that Office for us: *Who ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt who is at the right hand of God, who alſo intercedeth for us* (there.) *If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous: God exalted him as a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins.* It is by him that we do προσέρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, have our acceſs to God, not only by vertue of his merits, but by his continual act of mediation: it is he, that in the golden Cenſer, at the golden Altar before God, offers up the incenſe of our Prayers, conſecrated and perfumed by his hand.

Heb. 7. 24. 8. 1. Rom. 8. 34. 1 Joh. 2. 2. Act. 5. 31. Heb. 7. 25. Apoc. 8. 3.

2dly, He aſcended and reſides in Heaven, that as a King he might govern us, protect us, ſave and deliver us from our enemies; that he might ſubdue and deſtroy his and our enemies; the enemies of his Kingdom and of our Salvation; the world, the fleſh, the devil, ſin, death, and hell; whatever oppoſes his glory, his truth, his ſervice; and conſequently impedes our ſalvation, either by open violence, or fraudulent practice. God did ſay unto him: *Sit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footſtool*; and accordingly, *He muſt reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet:* No power ſhall be able to withſtand his will and command, who ſits at the helm of omnipotent Soveraignty; at thy right hand which governs and orders all things. But having before ſpoken concerning the Royal Office, and Lordſhip of our Saviour, I ſhall add no more to this purpoſe.

Pſal. 110. 1. Act. 2. 34. Heb. 1. 13. 10. 13. 1 Cor. 15. 25.

3dly, Our Saviour tells us himſelf, *that he went to heaven to prepare a place for us; to prepare manſions of joy and bliſs in God's preſence, where is fulneſs of joy, at his right hand, where are pleaſures for ever-more.* He is our πρόδρομος, our fore-runner in Heaven, that hath diſpoſed things there for our entertainment and reception: *It is his will, that where he is, there we ſhould be alſo, that we might contemplate and partake of his glory.*

Joh. 14. 2. Pſal. 16. 11. Heb. 6. 20. Joh. 17. 24.

4thly, Our Saviour alſo tells us, that it was neceſſary he ſhould depart hence, that he might ſend the divine Spirit, the power from on high, to enlighten, ſanctifie, and comfort us: *If I go not away* (ſaith he) *the Paraclete will not come unto you; but if I go, I will ſend him unto you:* That is, God in his wiſdom hath appointed (for the exaltation of our Saviour's honour) that ſo incomparably excellent a gift ſhould be the reward of his obedience; the conſequence of his triumph; the fruit of his interceſſion; an ornament of his royal eſtate; a pledge of his princely munificence: it was reſerved as a moſt royal gift, fit to be given at his Coronation; his being inaugurated and inveſted in Soveraign dignity, power and glory: Whence it is ſaid, *The Holy Spirit was not yet*, (underſtand, was not yet poured forth and beſtowed in that manner and meaſure, as God did intend to do it hereafter) *becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified*: It was from Jeſus, received into glory, that excellent gift was deſigned to come, in God's purpoſe and promiſe. Add hereto conſequently,

Joh. 16. 7. Luk. 24. 49. Joh. 7. 39.

5thly,

5thly, That all good gifts and graces beſtowed on the Church in general, and upon every member thereof ſingly, uſeful for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edification of Chriſt's body, do proceed hence: *To every one of you* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt*: Whence he ſaith, (the Pſalmiſt ſaith, prophecying of our Saviour) *Having aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* Ephes. 4. 7, 8. &c. Pſal. 68. 19.

6thly, I might add, that God thus advanced our Saviour to ſo high a dignity, to declare the love he bears to piety, righteouſneſs, and obedience, in ſo highly rewarding and dignifying it: *For becauſe he was obedient to the death, therefore did God exalt him*: *for the ſuffering of death, do we ſee Jeſus crowned with glory and honour.* The belief therefore and conſideration of theſe truths will ſerve (briefly) to nouriſh and encreaſe our faith; to cheriſh and ſtrengthen our hope; to excite and inflame our devotion; to direct and elevate our affections; to enforce and engage, to encourage and quicken our obedience. Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9.

To nouriſh, I ſay, and cheriſh our faith and hope: If the reſurrection of our Saviour did beget in us a ſtrong perſuaſion concerning the truth of, and a lively hope of the good proceeding from our Saviour's undertaking and doctrine; his aſcenſion declared by the ſame indubitable teſtimonies and authorities muſt needs nouriſh, augment, and corroborate them. We cannot diſtruſt any promiſes made by him; we cannot deſpair of any good from him (not of relief, ſuccour, ſupply in our ſtreights, or in our needs; of comfort in our afflictions, of protection in our dangers, of deliverance from our miſeries) from him who is aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the divine power; having all things committed to his authority and diſpoſal. It alſo ſerves to excite and enflame our devotions: for having ſuch a mediatour in heaven, ſo near in God's preſence, ſo much in his favour; ſuch a maſter of requeſts; ſo good a friend at court; ſuch a favourite at hand to preſent up, to commend, to farther our petitions: *We may* (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* injoins us) *come to the throne of grace with all freedom of ſpeech and boldneſs, that we may receive mercy, and find grace for ſeaſonable aid*: We need not doubt of that promiſe being fulfilled: *Whatever ye ſhall ask in prayer, believing, ye ſhall receive*: And what greater incitement can there be to devotion, than the aſſurance of ſo good acceptance, of ſo happy ſucceſs thereof? The proper influence alſo of theſe conſiderations is to direct and elevate our affections, from theſe inferiour, mean, vain, and baſe things, to the things above: *Seek the things above* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God*; where Chriſt our life, our hope, our treaſure, our head is; there ſhould our hearts be, thither ſhould our affections tend; there ſhould our πολίτευμα (our buſineſs and converſation,) be where the family is to which we relate, and its Maſter; where the city is, where our final reſt and abode ſhould be (*for we are but ſtrangers and pilgrims, and ſojourners here*) with its Lord and Governour; where our country is, the place of all our eſtate and concernment, and he reſides which only can make it good to us. It, laſtly, doth engage and encourage us to all kind of obedience; to conſider, that high reward of eternal glory and happineſs, which our Saviour hath obtained as a reward of his obedience, and as a pledge of like reward deſigned to us, if we inſiſt in his footſteps: *Let us run the race that is ſet before us* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *looking to the author and finiſher of our faith, Jeſus, who for the joy ſet before him endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet at the right hand of God*: *I covenant to you* (ſaith our Saviour) *a Kingdom, as my Father covenanted me a Kingdom*: ſuppoſing we obey his commandments, we ſhall obtain a like excellent and happy eſtate: As we ſee God hath performed to him, ſo will alſo he make good his word to us: *The Word* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *is faithful and aſſuredly true: If we have died with him* (to luſt and ſin) *we ſhall alſo live with him* (in joy and glory;) *if we endure* (in obedience and patience) *we ſhall alſo reign with him*: To which bleſſed Kingdom God in his Mercy bring us all, through the grace, merits and interceſſion of him, who with God the Father and the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth for ever: To whom be all praiſe and glory for ever. *Amen.* 1 Pet. 1. Heb. 4. 16. Matt. 21. 22. 1 Joh. 5. 14. Col. 3. 1, 4. Col. 1. 27. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 13. 14. Heb. 11. 16. Heb. 12. Luk. 22. 29. 2 Tim. 2. 11. Rom. 8. 17.

From

From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

THis is the laſt of thoſe particular characters, whereby the grand object of our faith, Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, our Lord and Saviour, is deſcribed, containing a moſt eminent office peculiar to him, implying the manner of executing it, and determining the extent thereof: The belief of which is of principal conſequence, and in a ſpecial manner influential upon practice: Whether we conſider the nature of the office, or the quality of the perſon deſigned thereto: The office, to judge; the perſon, He: Jeſus the Son of God and the Son of Man (he that was born, that died, that performed and ſuffered ſo much for us) he ſhall judge. *Shall judge*: There is no conſideration, whereof man's mind is capable, more apt to excite men to the performance of duty, to reſtrain them from offending, and to beget in them a care and conſcience of what they do, than this, that they muſt ſometime hereafter certainly be forced to render an account of their actions; that they muſt undergo a moſt ſtrict and ſevere ſcrutiny; and ſhall be dealt with according to the reſult thereof; ſo as to be approved and rewarded for their good, condemned and puniſhed for their bad lives; a man conſidering and being perſuaded of this, muſt neceſſarily accuſe himſelf of extreme folly and madneſs, if he do not provide for that account, and order his life in reſpect thereto. This perſuaſion, I ſay, is the ſharpeſt ſpurr imaginable to the doing of good, the ſtrongeſt curb from doing ill, that could be deviſed; and therefore all nations in ſome manner have acknowledged it as a fundamental principle of Religion, (men generally with a ready inclination have embraced it as ſo) that after this life men ſhall be brought to a juſt impartial bar, their actions ſcanned exactly, their perſons doomed accordingly to comfort or pain.

And indeed ſetting this apart, all other incentives to virtue, and all avocatives from vice (which common experience or philoſophical ſpeculation do afford us) ſeem very blunt and faint; do promiſe ſmall effect: the native beauty and intrinſick worth of virtue, the conveniences flowing from it, the commendation that attends it, its moſt goodly fruits of health, peace and tranquility, comfort and ſatisfaction of mind; (beſide, that they are uſually balanced with contrary inconveniences, difficulties, croſſes, troubles, and pains) if they do not extend beyond this tranſitory life, how can they in reaſon be very conſiderable and efficacious to engage men to adhere thereto? how can the worſt of preſent evils, accompanying or following vice, its innate deformity and turpitude, the diſtempers, diſturbances, and diſgraces ſpringing from or waiting on it, (which alſo are often tempered with ſome kinds of pleaſure, advantage, and ſatisfaction) if no more hereafter is to be feared, be ſufficient to deter, or diſcourage men from the purſuit thereof? the danger of death it ſelf (the moſt extreme puniſhment which man can inflict, and which our nature doth moſt abhor) doth not ſignifie much toward the diverting indigent, or ambitious, or paſſionate men from the moſt deſperately wicked attempts: It is *Tully*'s obſervation, and he infers from it the neceſſity of ſuppoſing future puniſhments, in order to men's reſtraint from ſuch actions: *Ut aliqua* (ſaith he) *in vita formido improbis eſſet poſita, apud inferos ejuſmodi quædam illi antiqui ſupplicia impiis conſtituta eſſe voluerunt, quòd videlicet intelligebant his remotis non eſſe mortem ipſam pertimeſcendum*: (That in this life there might be ſome fear upon wicked men, thoſe Ancients would have ſome puniſhments appointed below for impious perſons; becauſe forſooth they underſtood, that theſe being ſet apart, death it ſelf was not much to be feared.) Neither is this perſuaſion thus only a ſpecial inſtrument of virtue, but the ſuppoſal thereof is otherwiſe a neceſſary ſupport of all Religion, ſecuring the firſt and main principles thereof, the being of a God, and his providence: the belief of a Deity, according to any toterable notion thereof; of a providence over humane affairs, ſuch as might engage and encourage to religious performance, cannot ſubſiſt without ſupporting a future judgment: the objections that aſſail both would ſtrike too hard, and pierce too deep, if this ſhield did not receive and repell them. To ſee the moſt innocent and virtuous perſons conflict all their days with croſſes and hardſhips; and (as it ſometimes happeneth) after all to die miſerably, in great pain and ignominy; and again, to obſerve perſons moſt outragious in lewdneſs and injuſtice to flouriſh and rant it out in a long undiſturbed courſe of proſperity, ending their lives fairly and quietly; hath cauſed ſome men to doubt whether, hath induced others flatly to disbelieve, that there is a good, and a juſt Governour of the World; and that not without apparent cauſe, ſuppoſing

IV. in Catil.

Dies deficiat, ſi velim numerare quibus bonis malè evenerit, nec minus ſi commemorem, quibus improbis optime *Cic. de Nat. D. III.*

poſing all accounts to be made up here; no reckoning to remain to be caſt up by divine goodneſs and juſtice hereafter: then would it in ſome ſort ſeem true what he ſaid, Θεῶν ὄνειδος τὸς κακὸς εὐδαιμονεῖν ('tis a reproach to God that bad men ſhould be ſo happy) then had *Diagoras* argued probably from an unpuniſhed perjury, that he which ſuffered himſelf and others under his care to be ſo abuſed, did not exiſt, or did not regard what was done: and *Dionyſius* might have authorized his ſacrilege by his proſperous navigation; and with ſome ſhew might *Diogenes* ſay, that *Harpalus* his ſucceſsful treachery and rapine did *teſtimonium contra Deos dicere*, yield a ſhrewd teſtimony againſt the Being and Providence of God: But on the contrary, ſuppoſing a judgment to follow, and a proceeding according thereto, all theſe diſcourſes have no force or moment: God's preſent connivence (as it were) or patient indulgence toward bad men, will argue no more than what becomes him, his exceſs of goodneſs in expecting thoſe bad men's return to a better mind; or his wiſe ſeverity in ſuffering them to proceed to an inexcuſable degree of wickedneſs, to be ſtrictly inquired into and ſeverely puniſhed hereafter; as neither then doth God's permitting good men to ſuffer deeply here, infer any thing prejudicial to his goodneſs or juſtice; ſince thereby he makes them fitter for, and gives them a ſurer title to that reward, which he intends hereafter, after trial and approbation of their virtue, to confer upon them. Thus doth this doctrine clear the Providence and eſtabliſh the great Attributes of God; therefore doth Chriſtianity moſt fully and clearly teach, moſt earneſtly and frequently inculcate this point, with all poſſible advantage both for the juſtification of the divine attributes, and the excitation of us to a virtuous and pious life. It tells us, that all men's actions are regiſtred in books written with greateſt punctuality and exactneſs (the books of divine omniſcience) that all perſons ſhall be cited, and preſented at the bar (*we muſt all*, φανερωθῆναι, *be made to appear*, παρίσασθαι, *be ſet forthat the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt: I ſaw the dead, great and ſmall, ſtanding before God's throne,*) that every thought, every word, every work of man ſhall be diſcloſed and diſcuſſed, with its due quality and deſert: (*God will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of hearts: Every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, thereof they ſhall render account at the day of judgment. Every work ſhall be brought into judgment, with every ſecret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil;*) that according to the quality of their doings thus detected and examined, the merits of each cauſe weighed, every plea heard, every caſe conſidered and tried according to truth: Men ſhall be acquitted and commended; or declared guilty and condemned; a definitive ſentence paſſing upon every one (ἔπαινος γενέσθαι ἑκάστῳ, praiſe, that is, generally a due taxation and eſteem according to deſert) ſhall be made to every one by the righteous Judge. That this ſentence doth include a gracious reward and a juſt puniſhment aſſigned reſpectively; everlaſting glory and joy to them which have done well, endleſs ſhame and ſorrow to them who have done ill; which ſhall be infallibly executed: (For, *God will render to every man according to his works—To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, ſeek for glory and honour and immortality eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs, indignation and wrath; tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul of man that doeth evil:* But——*glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good* ——So St. *Paul* in the 2d to the *Romans: We muſt all appear before the tribunal of Chriſt,* ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος, *that every one may bear according to the things done in the body, whether good or evil.* That all this ſhall be performed in a moſt publick and ſolemn manner, in open court, in the face of all the world; before angels and men; to the conviction and ſatisfaction of all; ſo that the conſciences of all concerned ſhall be forced to acquieſce in their doom as moſt juſt and equal; and all ſhall confeſs and ſay with them in the Revelation: *Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power be to the Lord our God; for true and righteous are his ways: Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; righteous and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.*

Cic. de Nat. D. III.

Improborum igitur proſperitates, ſecundæque res redarguunt (ut Diogenes dicebat) vim omnem Deorum ac poteſtatem.

Dan. 7. 10. Rev. 20. 12.

Rom. 14. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Rev. 20. 12.

1 Cor. 4. 5. Matth. 12. 36.

Eccleſ. 12. 14.

Vid. 2 Theſſ. 1. 7, 8, 9.

Matt. 16. 27. Rom. 2. 6. 2 Cor. 5. 10.

Matt. 24. 34. &c. Vid. Matt. 25. 31. Luke 12. 9. Rom. 2. 5. Rev. 15. 3. 16. 7. 19. 2.

Thus (and much more fully than time will permit me to relate) doth our Religion and holy Scripture ſet out that judgment, which all men hereafter muſt undergo, wherein the wonderful clemency of God ſhall be demonſtrated, wherein his exact juſtice ſhall be declared, wherein the knotty myſteries of his providence ſhall be unfolded; wherein his honour (that ſeems now to ſuffer ſo much) ſhall be fully repaired and vindicated; wherein all ſcores, that now run on, ſhall be quitted and made

Rom. 2. 5.

even. Such, I ſay, ſhall the judgment it ſelf be; the conſideration of which, if it make no impreſſion upon our hearts, if it beget no dread within us, if it do not render us ſomewhat wary and watchful over our doings, what means can be imagined able? what method apt to do it? what a deſperate hardneſs and inſenſibilty do we lie
Acts 24. 25. under? how deplorably blind and ſtupid are we? More ſtupid than *Felix*, who hearing St. *Paul* diſcourſe of Judgment to come, could not forbear trembling: More blind and ſenſeleſs than thoſe obſtinate ſons of darkneſs, the Devils themſelves, who believe and tremble.

But paſſing the Judgment, let us (which ſhould more ſtill engage us, and may work farther on us to the ſame purpoſe) conſider the Judge: *He ſhall come to judge* —— He: *He that came once in our nature* (with wonderful condeſcenſion of grace and charity) *to free us from ſin and miſery*: he that ſuffered ſo deeply for us; he that died
Rom. 14. 4 to redeem us; he ſhall come to judge. The original and abſolute right, or power of judging appertains to God; whoſe creatures, whoſe ſubjects, whoſe ſervants we are
Heb. 12. 23. naturally: As he is the ſovereign Lord and King, ſo is he the judge of all: As we
Gen. 18. 25. owe obedience to the laws he hath preſcribed us; performance of the ſervice he hath allotted us; improvement of the talents he hath committed to us; ſo we ſtand bound to render account to him of the due performance in thoſe reſpects; and obnoxious to the judgment he ſhall make thereof. All judgment therefore muſt be exerciſed either immediately by God himſelf, or in ſubordination to him, in his name and right, by vertue of authority and power derived from him: And it (for the honour of his Son, for the comfort of us) hath he delegated and committed to Jeſus, our Saviour: Not immediately by himſelf, but by his Son he hath determined to judge the World:
John 5. 22. *The Father judgeth no man* (ſaith our Saviour himſelf) *but hath committed all*
Acts 17. 31. *judgment to the Son*: And, *God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *hath appointed a day in which he will judge the World in righteouſneſs by the man, whom he hath ordained*: And
Acts 10. 42. (ſaith St. *Peter*) *God hath commanded us to preach unto the people, and to teſtifie that it is he, which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead*: and, *it*
Rom. 14. 10. *is the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, before which we muſt all appear*: In fine, *The Father*
2 Cor. 5. 10. John 5. 27. (ſaith our Saviour) *hath given to the Son authority, to execute judgment*, for that he is *the Son of man*; (hath committed to him authority regal, and judicial; *for that he is that ſon of man, whom God had deſigned to this office, even of old*, as we ſee in *Daniel* 7. 13, 14. and in *Eſay* 9. 6, 7.)

John 5. 23. It is plain then that our Saviour is by deſignment and deputation from God inveſted with this great office and power; and why God ſo appointed him many reaſons may be aſſigned; upon many accounts our Saviour's perſon may appear moſt fit for this grand employment. How could God more plainly ſhew his goodneſs in this matter, than by conſtituting ſuch a Judge? Seeing that Judgment ſhould paſs upon us, it was neceſſary and requiſite; how could the terrour and ſeverity thereof be better tempered, than by putting the execution thereof into ſuch hands? Whom, were the choice permitted to us, ſhould we rather ſubmit to, than to him, who is by nature our brother; who in diſpoſition is meek and lowly, compaſſionate and merciful; who by ſo many ſignal experiments hath expreſſed ſuch an exceſs of kindneſs and charity toward us? who hath ſo conſpicuouſly evidenced himſelf to be the beſt friend of mankind; that he ardently deſires the ſalvation of all men, even of his worſt enemies, whom he ſpent his blood for, whom he prayed for dying, whom he continually invites to reconciliation and repentance? How alſo could God better declare his juſtice, than in exalting him to this pitch, who out of obedience and complyance with his will deſcended ſo low, and underwent ſo much? Who better deſerved a Crown; who more righteouſly would manage a Scepter, than he who willingly bore a Croſs; who patiently ſubmitted to a ſcourge? It was alſo equal and fit, that he who was unworthily rejected and deſpiſed; cruelly abuſed and perſecuted; unjuſtly accuſed, condemned and ſlaughtered by men, ſhould be requited with power to right himſelf upon them; to reprobate them worthily who had unworthily rejected him; to judge them juſtly, who had wickedly condemned him; to puniſh them ſeverely, who had unmercifully afflicted him; that he ſhould ſee his proud and ſpiteful enemies lying under his feet, at his diſcretion.

Add hereto the wiſdom of God in deſigning him to be judge, whom they who were to be judged might ſee and hear, and converſe with; whom the godly with cheerful ſatisfaction and comfort, the wicked with befitting terrour and aſtoniſhmen

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might behold; they with unexpreſſible joy hear him commending, acquitting and bleſſing them, thoſe with diſmal amazement and regret hear him pronouncing the fatal ſentence and curſe upon them; they with humble thankfulneſs acknowledge his grace, thoſe with confuſion confeſs their guilt: *Behold* (ſaith St. *John* in the *Revelation*, (1. 7.) *he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him, even they who did pierce him.* The dreadful preſence of God were neither diſcernible, nor ſupportable by guilty men; who may ſtand in his ſight, when once he is angry? Jer. 10. 10. Pſal. 76. 7. Pſal. 130. 3.

1. Who could endure to hear that voice at which the earth melteth; that reproof, at which the pillars of heaven tremble; that majeſty, in preſence whereof the pureſt Seraphims are conſtrained to hide their faces, how ſhould impure men abide that face which no man can behold and live? but the milder, though glorious and bright aſpect of the Son of man, all men in ſome manner may be capable to ſee: and if we believe St. *Auſtin*, *Rectum erat ut judicandi viderent judicem*: It was fit that they who were to be judged ſhould ſee their Judge.

So much reaſon there was (and more queſtionleſs, beyond what we can know or comprehend) that our Saviour Jeſus ſhould be deſigned and deputed to this office; in it we may admire the wiſdom and adore the juſtice of God; for it we may applaud his goodneſs and clemency.

We may alſo (that this doctrine may have the greater impreſſion upon our hearts and influence upon our practice) farther conſider how great an aggravation it will ſeem to our whether fooliſh perverſeneſs, or ſlothful negligence, what extreme diſingenuity, how wretched ingratitude it will argue in us to be caſt and condemned by ſuch a Judge: a Judge ſo juſt and equal; ſo mild and gentle; ſo benign and favourable to us? With what face we having tranſgreſſed his moſt good and righteous laws; having violated our manifold obligations and engagements toward him; having abuſed his ſo great love and good-will towards us; having rejected his gracious tenders of mercy and favour; defeated his moſt ſerious purpoſes, fruſtrated his moſt earneſt endeavours for our good; having ſo forfeited all his favour, and incurred his moſt grievous diſpleaſure, ſhall appear in his preſence? how ſhall we bear the frowns of ſo dear love changed into fierce diſdain? of higheſt patience turned into extreme fury? of ſo great majeſty provoked by ſuch affronts? with what heart ſhall we be able to hear that voice, which did once ſo ſweetly and affectionately ſound words of peace and comfort in our ears, that ſo kindly invited us to peace, ſo meekly entreated us to complyance, now uttering only bitter complaints and rebukes, thundring forth words of indignation and terrour: denouncing horrible threats and curſes upon us? But let this ſuffice for the nature of the office and act of judging; and for the perſon exerciſing it: Here is farther implyed,

2. The manner of its exerciſe, or execution; or rather the manner of his addreſs and proceeding thereto; (*From thence he ſhall come.*) The which we have in Scripture (for begetting anſwerable veneration, regard and awe within us) deſcribed to be with greateſt ſolemnity, glory, and magnificence; He came once in a meek humility to teach us our duty, but he ſhall come again with a terrible majeſty to exact an account thereof; taking his progreſs from the higheſt heavens, in a moſt royal ſtate, attended upon with a numerous, or rather an innumerable, πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, all his holy Angels, it is *Matt.* 25. *v.* 31. *When the ſon of man ſhall come in his glory, and all his holy Angels with him*; that is, an innumerable company (as we read it *Heb.* 12. 22.) an innumerable numerous and pompous train of glorious Angels, accompanied with triumphant ſhouts and acclamations; a trumpet (blown by the mouth of an Arch-angel) ſounding before him an univerſal ſummons, with a noiſe ſo loud and piercing, as ſhall immediately, and with the twinkling of an eye, ſhake all the earth, and rouſe the dead out of their mortal ſlumber. *This ſame Jeſus* (ſaid the Angels to the Apoſtles, expreſſing the thing in a more plain and ſimple manner) *which is taken up from you into heaven, ſhall ſo come in like manner as ye have ſeen him go into heaven*; (a cloud took him up from their eyes; the clouds ſhould reſtore him to ſight: *For behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him*, ſaith St. *John*;) and, *They ſhall ſee the ſon of man* (himſelf tells us) *coming upon the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.* And, *The Lord himſelf* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *ſhall deſcend from heaven,* ὲν κελεύσματι (with a ſhout, with an exciting ſummons) *with the voice of an Arch-angel, with the trump of God*——*The ſon of man ſhall come in the glory of his father with his Angels; and then ſhall he render to every man according to his practice. When the ſon of man ſhall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels.*

Acts 3. 21. 1 Theſſ. 4. 16. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 15. 52. Acts. 1. 11. Vid. 2. Theſſ. 2. 7, 9. Rev. 1. 7. Matt. 24. 30. 26. 64. 1 Theſſ. 4. 16. Matt. 16. 27. 1 Theſſ. 1. 7.

So the Scriptures (to the purpoſe fore-mentioned, to beget reſpect and dread in us) declare that our Saviour ſhall come at the end of the World, at the day of Judgment, and how.

Here is farther determined the extent of this Judgment: He ſhall come to judge; whom, how many? All, without exception; expreſſed by the words, *Quick and dead*: which expreſſion is taken from thoſe words of St. *Peter* (*Acts* 10. 42.) wherein our Saviour is ſaid to be deſigned by God κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, *the judge of the living and the dead*: or of St. *Paul* (2 Tim. 4. 1.) *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and his Kingdom*: or thoſe of St. *Peter* again (1 Ep. chap. 4. verſ. 5.) *Who ſhall render an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and dead*: and a like place, *Rom.* 14. 9. *That he may be Lord both of the dead and living*: Theſe places evidently confirming the truth of the propoſition, yet ſo that the meaning thereof hath remained ſomewhat dubious, and that themſelves have ſeemed to need explication; for it being a common law, to which all men by nature, by deſert, by divine appointment are ſubject, to undergo death; (*For what man is he that ſhall not ſee death? It is* * *appointed for men once to die, and after death judgment,*) why ſhould not the dead comprehend all that are to be judged? as we ſee it expreſſed in the Revelation, *I ſaw the dead, ſmall and great, ſtanding before God——and the dead were judged from the things written in the books according to their works*——the dead were judged, no mention is made of the living: wherefore ſome have interpreted the dead and living not for a diſtinction of perſons, but of parts in men; the living ſouls, and dead bodies of men; others have taken them metaphorically, *the living*, (that is, righteous men, men endued with a ſpiritual life;) *the dead*, (that is men dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, void of ſpiritual ſenſe and activity.) But the difficulty mentioned is not ſo ſtrong, as to force us upon ſo remote and abſonous expoſitions: St. *Paul* hath evidently enough ſhewed us how to underſtand the words, and how to ſolve the knot propounded; that by the living, are to be underſtood thoſe, who ſhall be found (and as it were ſurprized) alive, when our Saviour comes; by the dead all others, who before that time had died, and ſhall be raiſed at the ſound of the laſt trump: *This we ſay to you* (ſaith he to the *Theſſalonians*) *in the word of the Lord*, (or as the word of the Lord) *that we which live, remaining at the preſence of the Lord, ſhall not prevent them which are aſleep*: Our Lord therefore ſhall find ſome alive, when he comes: Therefore what is ſaid of all men's being appointed to taſte death, is to be underſtood with this exception; all but thoſe, whoſe death ſhall be prevented by our Lord's coming (which is ſet out as ſudden and unexpected, like the coming of a thief in the night;) neither are thoſe perſons ſo exempted from death, but that they muſt undergo that which is equivalent thereto, a change, which ſhall render them alike prepared for judgment with them, who have died: *Behold*, (ſaith St. *Paul* again to the *Corinthians*) *I tell you a myſtery: We ſhall not indeed all fall aſleep* (or not all die) *but we ſhall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye*——Which words with ſufficient evidence declare the meaning of the expreſſion here: The ſum is, that all men, none excepted, of what condition or quality, what nation or time, what age ſoever, ſhall be judged: High and low; rich and poor; wiſe and ignorant; good and bad: the mightieſt Princes and Lords, as well as the meaneſt Subjects and Slaves; the deepeſt Scholars, as well as the ſimpleſt Idiots; in a word, all men whatever, without any exception, without any acceptance of perſons muſt appear before this Judge, muſt undergo this trial and ſentence.

Pſal. 89. 48. Heb. 9. 27. * ἀπόκειται. Rev. 20. 12.

1 Theſſ. 4. 15. ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου.

Matt. 24. 42. 1 Theſſ. 5. 2.

1 Cor. 15. 51.

Thus ſhall He come to judge both quick and dead: Than the belief of which point, there is none more neceſſary, than the conſideration of which none more profitable; neceſſary and profitable in many reſpects.

1. The faith and regard thereof will preſerve us from disbelieving, from being offended with, from repining at the providence of God; from being diſſatisfied with his proceeding and diſpenſations here either toward our ſelves or others.

Rom. 14. 4, 10. Jac. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 5.

2. It may alſo keep us from raſh cenſure, and invading our Lord's office; *Who art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant; to his own maſter he ſtands or falls; Why doſt thou judge thy brother; or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? we ſhall all ſtand at the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt: There is one Law-giver who can ſave or deſtroy, who art thou that judgeſt another? Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who ſhall enlighten the hidden things of darkneſs, and manifeſt the counſels of hearts.*

2. It

3. It may ſupport and comfort us againſt all unjuſt and uncharitable cenſures; groundleſs ſurmiſes and ſlanders; undeſerved ſcorns and reproaches of men; for that aſſuredly at that judgment right ſhall be done thee, thy innocence ſhall be cleared, thy honour vindicated and repaired; *God ſhall bring forth thy righteouſneſs as the light, and thy judgment as the noon day*: ſo that approving thy conſcience to God, thou mayeſt ſay with St. *Paul, With me it is a very ſmall thing that I ſhould be judged of you, or man's judgment.* Pſal. 37. 6. 1 Cor. 4. 3.

4. It is the moſt powerful and effectual means poſſible to beget ſincerity in us; to render us circumſpect; to ſtir us up to diligence in all our converſation; in our thoughts, words, and actions: For ſince the moſt inward receſſes of our hearts muſt be ſearched out, our moſt ſecret deſigns and deſires muſt be brought to light, what profit will it be to diſſemble, to diſguiſe, to conceal our thoughts? Since we muſt render an account of every thought that riſeth in our minds (at leaſt which is entertained there) of every word that paſſeth through our mouth, of every action we undertake, what reaſon have we,

5. With more attentive and accurate regard to conſider and mind what we do? Since it is certain we ſhall be judged, but uncertain when we ſhall be called thereto, how watchful are we concerned to be, how obſervant of our Saviour's admonition? *Watch, for ye do not know the day nor the hour, in which the ſon of man cometh? If thou doſt not watch, I ſhall come upon thee as a thief, and thou ſhalt not know at what hour I ſhall come upon thee.* It may be (for all we know) the next day, the next hour, when death ſhall call us to that priſon, where we ſhall be detained until the time of our being preſented at the barr; and what a miſery will it be to be ſurpriz'd, to be found unprepared, unable to render a good accompt? *What manner of perſons ought we to be in all holy converſation and godlineſs; looking for and haſting unto the coming of the day of God?* Matt. 24. 42. 25. 13. 2 Pet. 3. 12.

6. No perſuaſion, no conſideration doth promiſe ſuch efficacy towards the rowſing of our paſſions, or duly ordering and employing them upon religious practice; eſpecially it ſets on work thoſe two great engines, and mighty ſprings of action, fear and hope. How can we believe and think of this point without being poſſeſſed with a hideous fear of abiding ſo ſtrict a trial, of falling under ſo heavy a condemnation (if we are ſenſible of having been very faulty or negligent in performance of our duty) without a very comfortable hope of coming well off, of finding favour and mercy in that day, of being happily rewarded, if we are conſcious to our ſelves of having endeavoured ſeriouſly and carefully to pleaſe God, and obey his Commandments: If we can in our hearts ſay with St. *Paul, I have combated the good combat, I have finiſhed the race, I have kept the faith*, we may alſo ſay confidently with him: *From henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which in that day the Lord, the righteous Judge, ſhall render unto me*: If, *by vertue of the grace of God, which appeared to all men*, and according to its inſtruction we have *denied ungodlineſs, worldly luſts, and lived ſoberly, righteouſly, and piouſly in this preſent world*, we may joyfully expect *the bleſſed hope and appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* 2 Tim. 1. 18. 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8. Tit. 2. 12. 13.

I conclude, exhorting and wiſhing that the meditation of this moſt important buſineſs may be continually preſent to our minds, that we may ſeem (with that devout man) always to hear the laſt trumpet ſounding in our ears and piercing into our hearts, that ſo with a pious awe and a well-grounded hope, we may *expect the coming of our Lord, and love his appearance*: that being hence reſtrained from all impious and vicious converſation, being moved to a watchful and circumſpect purſuit of all virtue and piety; guiding our lives inoffenſively in all good conſcience towards God and men, we may be able to render a good account, and with comfort unexpreſſible hear thoſe happy ſentences: *Well done good and faithful ſervants, enter into your Maſters joy. Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World.* Unto the poſſeſſion whereof, God in his mercy bring us by the merits of our Saviour, in obedience to our Lord, according to the grace and mercy of our moſt righteous Judge, *Jeſus*; To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, One God, bleſſed for ever, be all praiſe and glory. *Amen.* 2 Tim. 4. 8. Matt. 25. 21. 34.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.

THE whole Creed (as was ſometime formerly obſerved) being probably built upon, and ſeeming no other than an enlargement or dilatation of that faith and confeſſion required at baptiſm in the Bleſſed Trinity, having ſurvey'd the two former parts concerning the two firſt perſons, God the Father, and God the Son; we are now come to the third great Branch thereof, wherein we profeſs our belief in the Holy Spirit of God; which is in order the third grand object of our faith: whereof ſeeing there is here only a ſimple mention (as it were made) without any deſcription, any characters thereof expreſſed, (ſuch as in this Creed are aſſigned to the other Perſons; ſuch as in the *Conſtantinopolitan* and other Creeds after it, are attributed to this) we muſt endeavour in ſome manner to ſupply that omiſſion, by conſidering, 1. The *Quid*. 2. The *Quale*, thereof. Firſt, I ſay, what is its nature. 2. What peculiar characters, offices, and operations (according to that myſtical œconomy revealed in the Goſpel) are attributed and appertain thereto.

As for the firſt, the Nature thereof, or what it is; we may obſerve that the word *Spirit* (which primitively and properly ſignifies *wind*, or *breath*) becauſe the wind is a being not immediately expoſed to ſenſe, yet of great mobility and force, diſcovering it ſelf to be ſo, by many great and conſpicuous effects, is therefore tranſlated to denote thoſe excellent intellectual Beings, which, by reaſon of their more pure and ſubtle nature, being otherwiſe indiſcernible to ſenſe, do yet by manifeſt operations diſcover their exiſtence and great activity, are called *ſpirits*; ſuch as are in the firſt place God Almighty, (who inviſibly pervades and penetrates, and actuates all things, and is therefore by even *Virgil* himſelf, according to *Lactantius* and *Macrobius* his judgment, ſtyled *Spirit*) and next the Angels, and then the ſouls of men. Of theſe Beings there is one, mentioned through the Scripture, called *the Holy Spirit*, *the Spirit of God*, *the ſpirit of Chriſt*, *the eternal Spirit*; and ſometimes ſimply by way of excellency, *the Spirit*: the nature of which Spirit we may beſt underſtand, by conſidering that the Holy Scripure doth attribute and aſcribe to him, 1. Divine properties and perfections, communicably peculiar to God. 2. Divine works and operations. 3. Divine appellations and titles. 4. A co-ordination in dignity; a participation of divine honour and worſhip. 5. An eſſential union with God the Father and God the Son; together with, 6. A perſonal and relative diſtinction from them. Alſo, 7. A derivation of Being from the two firſt Perſons, with an intimate relation unto them ſpringing thence. From the declaration and proof of which particulars, will plainly follow thoſe doctrines, which we are bound to believe, againſt thoſe, who have preſumed to contradict and oppugn either the perſonality, or the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, or his proceſſion from the Father and the Son. Briefly therefore I ſay,

Lact. I. 5.

—— Cœlum ac terram campóſque liquentes
Lucentémque globum terræ Titaniáque atra
Spiritus intus alit—— *Virg.*

Otherwhere,

—— Deum námque ire per omnes
Terráſque tractúſque maris, cœlumque profundum.

Macedonians, Sabellians, Socinians, and the like, ἑτεροδοξοῦντες.

1. The Scripture aſcribes to the Holy Ghoſt the divine properties and perfections; the very word *Holy* (ſo abſolutely and ſpecially, and characteriſtically attributed to him) ſeems it ſelf to import ſo much: for (as it is in *Hannah*'s prayer) 1 Sam. 2. 2. *there is none holy as the Lord, there is none beſide him:* none abſolutely, perfectly holy, but God; (Holy, that is, by nature exalted and ſeparated from all other things at a diſtance unapproachable, peculiarly venerable and auguſt,) whence the Holy One is a name, and diſtinguiſhing attribute of God. The name *Spirit*, ſimply put, may ſeem alſo to imply the ſame; denoting higheſt purity and actuality. But we have farther the perfections of Eternity, Omnipreſence, Omniſcience, Omnipotence (the moſt high perfections, and proper to God) attributed to him. Eternity; for he is expreſly called Heb. 9. 14. πνεῦμα αἰώνιον: *Who through the eternal Spirit offered himſelf ſpotleſs to God.* Omnipreſence: *Whither* (ſaith *David*) Pſal. 139. 7. *ſhall I go from thy ſpirit? or whither ſhall I flee from thy preſence?* The Queſtion imports a negation, and a reaſon thereof: there is no flying from God's Spirit, for that it is every-where. Omniſcience: 1 Cor. 2. 10, 11. *The ſpirit ſearcheth all things*, (that is, perfectly to the bottom underſtands all things) *even the depths of God*; the things of God, which to know is as far above a creature, as for one man to know the thoughts, inclinations, and affections of another man, (ſuch an argument St. *Paul* inſinuates;) particularly Preſcience, the knowledge of future events (which is the higheſt and hardeſt kind of knowledge, and immediately proper to God, and therefore called *divination*) is in a ſpecial manner every-where appropriated to the Spirit, as the immediate fountain thereof; whence he is called *the prophetical Spirit*; to which we may add, independency of will and action;

Vid. Mr. Med. diſc. 2. p. 15.

action: *For* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *all theſe things* (the production of all thoſe excellent graces, the diſtribution of all thoſe admirable gifts) *doth the one and the ſame ſpirit work, dividing to every one as he pleaſeth.* Ubi vult ſpirat; *the ſpirit blows where he pleaſeth*, doth every where what he will. Abſolute goodneſs: *Thy ſpirit is good* (ſaith *David*) *lead me into the land of uprightneſs*; perfect veracity, implied by the abſtract word, *truth*: *It is the ſpirit* (ſaith St. *John*) *that witneſſeth, for the ſpirit is truth*: Truth it ſelf, the higheſt, moſt perfect truth.

1 Cor. 12. 11. Joh. 3. 8. Pſal. 143. 10. 1 John 5. 6.

2. Laſtly, Omnipotence; demonſtrated by thoſe works which are ſaid to be done by him; which are the greateſt and hardeſt poſſible: ſuch as Creation; *working of Miracles; Revelation of future events; Vivification; Renovation of men's minds; †Juſtification, and the like; which both, according to the nature of the thing, and in Scripture-account, do require a power no leſs than infinite and moſt divine to effect them: the places are frequent and obvious, which aſcribe ſuch works to the holy Spirit; I cannot ſtand to recite them.

*Rom. 15. 19. † 1 Cor. 6. 11. Rom. 4. 5.

3. To the Holy Ghoſt are alſo aſſigned the divine names and titles: *Jehovah, Lord, God*, and thoſe conſequently which go along with them. For often and upon divers occaſions the ſame things are ſaid to be done by God, or to God, and by, or to the Spirit; one word interpreting, or concurring in ſignification with the other, by reaſon of that real identity which belongs to the things ſignified by them. It is ſaid of the diſtruſtful and diſobedient *Iſraelites* in the *Pſalms*, *That they tempted God and limited the Holy One of Iſrael*; That *they tempted and provoked the moſt High God, and kept not his teſtimonies*: which is expreſſed thus by the Prophet *Eſay*; *They rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit*. St. *Peter* in the *Acts* chargeth *Ananias* of having *lyed to the Holy Spirit*; and having *lyed to God*: *Why* (ſaith he) *Ananias, hath Satan filled thy heart to lye unto* (or cozen) *the Holy Spirit?—Thou haſt not lyed unto men, but to God*: Queſtionleſs by both thoſe expreſſions deſigning the ſame thing, and implying the Holy Ghoſt to be God. Our Saviour is ſaid to be *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, and therefore to be called *the Son of God*: he is ſaid to perform miracles ſometimes by the power of God, ſometimes by the power of the Holy Ghoſt: *If I* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *by the Holy Spirit caſt out Devils: If I by the finger of God caſt them out* (ſaith St. *Luke*.) And it is ordinary for what is ſometimes called *the Word of God*, to be otherwiſe called *the Word of the Spirit*; proceeding from the ſame underſtanding, being dictated by the ſame operation. We are alſo ſaid to be θεοδίδακτοι, taught of God, in reſpect to the inſtruction and guidance received from him; in fine, every good Chriſtian is ſaid to be *a temple*; *a temple of God*; becauſe *the Spirit of God dwells in him*.

Pſal. 78. 41. 56. Iſa. 63. 10. Act. 5. 3, 4. Luk. 1. 35. Rom. 15. 19. Matt. 12. 28. Luk 11. 19. 1 Theſſ. 4. 9. Vid. Act. 28. 25, 26. 2 Cor. 3. 17. 1 Cor. 3. 16, 17. Epheſ. 2. 22.

4. A co-ordinate dignity; a parity of honour and worſhip with God the Father, and God the Son is aſcribed to the Holy Spirit: this appears ſignally in our Saviour's inſtitution of Baptiſm to be adminiſtred in the joint names of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; whereby we are initiated into the like faith and acknowledgment; are obliged to the ſame worſhip and obedience of all three perſons. The ſame appears by that benediction of St. *Paul*, imploring upon the *Corinthians* the divine favour and aſſiſtance, according to that myſtical œconomy, which the Goſpel exhibits: *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus, and the love of God* (that is, of God the Father) *and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all.* As alſo from that place of St. *Paul*: *By Chriſt we have acceſs in one Spirit to the Father*: He having an equal ſhare with God our Saviour in the Goſpel-diſpenſation of grace and ſalvation unto men. We alſo have the ſame co-ordination clearly ſuppoſed in 1 *Cor.* 12. 4, 5, 6. *There are* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *diviſions of favours, but the ſame Spirit*: *and there are diviſions of miniſteries, but the ſame Lord*, (*i. e.* the ſame Chriſt:) *and there are diviſions of operations, but the ſame God*, or Father: All the gracious gifts of the Goſpel are beſtowed; all the ſacred miniſtries are managed; all the wonderful performances are brought to paſs by the joint and equal conduct and co-operation of theſe three divine perſons. And that ſoveraign regard our Saviour hath declared due to the honour and authority of the Holy Ghoſt, inſomuch that blaſphemy againſt him is a ſin peculiarly irremiſſible, argues his divinity; ſince neither according to the reaſon of the thing could offending againſt the fame of a creature, be capable of ſuch aggravations; nor could God in a manner preferr the honour of a creature before his own.

2 Cor. 13. 13. Epheſ. 2. 18.

5. That there is an eſſential union between the Holy Ghoſt and the other divine perſons, is both by evident conſequence deducible from, and is immediately aſſerted in

in Scripture. For that there is but one God, is there continually taught and inculcated upon us, and how it calls the Holy Ghoſt, we have ſeen; therefore neceſſarily the Holy Ghoſt doth partake of that one divine eſſence. Alſo, that the Holy
1 Cor. 2. 11. Ghoſt is God, is inferr'd from that compariſon of St. *Paul* between the Spirit of man in reſpect to man, and the Spirit of God in reſpect to God; as the Spirit of man is intrinſecal to a man, ſo the Spirit of God is to him: and by reaſon of the perfect ſimplicity of the divine nature, that which ſubſiſts in God muſt neceſſarily
1 John 5. 7. be God. In fine, St. *John* expreſly tells us, *That there are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one*: they are one, and yet,

6. There is a perſonal diſtinction of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son; for they are Three: three perſons, for that not only diſtinct names, but peculiar o-
Joh. 15. 26. 14. 26. perations are aſſigned to them; which ſhould not be done without good reaſon, if
Rom 8. 27. there were no perſonal diſtinction: that which alſo appears from his being ſaid to
Epheſ. 2. 18. *proceed from the Father* and to *be ſent from him*; from his *being an advocate* and
Gal. 4. 6. *interceding with the father*; his *crying within us Abba Father*, our having *acceſs in*
Joh. 15. 26. 16. 13, 14. *him to the father*. As alſo *his being ſent by the Son*; his *glorifying him*; *receiving of his*; his *not ſpeaking for himſelf*: which expreſſions plainly argue a perſonal diſtinction. As do alſo our Saviour's birth by him, his performing miracles by him; in a word, God's executing all his purpoſes of grace and power by him.

7. Laſtly, That the Holy Spirit doth derive the common divine eſſence from the
Matt. 10. 20. John 14. 26. 15. 26. father and the ſon is thence ſufficiently apparent, for that he is called *the ſpirit of the Father*, and alſo *the ſpirit of the Son*: the Spirit of the Father, becauſe he doth
Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον. in a manner incomprehenſible doth proceed and eminate, from the father; is of him, is ſent by him: for the ſame reaſon is he the Spirit of the Son: where-
1 Cor. 2. 12. Gal. 4. 6. Rom. 8. 9. 1 Pet. 1. 11. Phil. 1. 19. fore he is alſo expreſly ſaid to be *ſent by the ſon*.

From theſe truths thus briefly declared doth follow that the Holy Ghoſt is one of the divine perſons, in order the third, partaking of the divine nature, and receiving it by communication from the Father and the Son. Which is all we intended to ſhew concerning his nature. I proceed to conſider the peculiar characters, offices, and operations of the Holy Spirit. There be many particular functions, and operations in a ſpecial manner attributed and appropriated to the Holy Spirit; which as they reſpect God ſeem reducible to two general ones, the declaration of God's mind and the execution of his will; as they reſpect man (for in regard to other beings the Scripture doth not ſo much conſider what he performs, as not ſo much concerning us to know) the producing in us all qualities and diſpoſitions, the guiding and aiding us in all actions requiſite or conducible to our eternal happineſs and ſalvation doth in a manner comprize them.

John 15. 26. Eph. 1. 17. Rev. 19. 10. Luke 1. 70. 1. I ſay, the declaration of God's mind: Whence he is called *the ſpirit of truth, the ſpirit of prophecy, the ſpirit of Revelation*; for that all ſupernatural light and inſtruction hath ever proceeded from him: He inſtructed all the prophets *that have been ſince the world began* to know, he enabled them to ſpeak the mind of God concerning things preſent and future: Holy men (that have taught men their duty, and
2 Pet. 1. 21. led them in the way to happineſs) were but his inſtruments, and *ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt*: By his inſpiration the Holy Scriptures (the moſt full and
1 Tim. 3. 16. John 16. 13. Vid. 1 Cor. 2. 10. certain witneſſes of God's mind) were conceived; He *guided* the Apoſtles *into all truth*; and by them inſtructed all the world in the knowledge of God's gracious intentions toward mankind and the Holy myſteries of the Goſpel. All the knowledge
Eph. 3. 5. we can pretend to in theſe things doth proceed from his revelation, doth rely upon his authority.

2. The execution of God's will. Whence he is called the *power of God* (the ſubſtantial power and vertue of God) and *the hand of God*, and whatever God hath de-
Luk. 1. 35. Luk. 11. 19. Pſal. 33. 6. Job. 26. 13. Gen. 1. 1. ſigned he is ſaid to perform by him. *By him he framed the world*: he *garniſhed the heavens* (as *Job* ſpeaketh.) By him he *governs the world*, all extraordinary works of providence (when God beſide the common law and uſual courſe of nature interpoſeth) all miraculous performances, being attributed to his energy; but eſpecially by him (that which next is to be conſidered) he manages that work, by divine goodneſs ſo earneſtly deſigned, of man's ſalvation: Which he doth,

3. By working in us good diſpoſitions and qualities; by guiding and aiding us in our actions. We are naturally void of thoſe good diſpoſitions of underſtanding, of will, of affection, which are neceſſary to make us any-wiſe acceptable to God, fit to

ſerve

ſerve and pleaſe him, capable of any favour from him, of any true happineſs in our ſelves; our minds, I ſay, are blind and ſtupid; ignorant and prone to errour; eſpecially in things ſupernatural and abſtracted from ordinary ſenſe; our wills ſtubborn and froward, vain and unſtable; inclining to evil, and averſe from what is moſt truly good; our affections very irregular and unſettled; to remove which bad diſpoſitions (inconſiſtent with God's friendſhip and favour; tending to miſery) and to beget thoſe contrary to them, the knowledge and belief of divine truth, a love of, and willing compliance with goodneſs; a well-compoſed, orderly, and ſteady frame of ſpirit, God Acts 16. 14. in mercy hath appointed the Holy Spirit, who firſt opening our hearts, ſo as to let in and apprehend the light of divine truth propounded to us; then by repreſentation of proper arguments perſuading us to embrace it, begets divine knowledge and faith in our minds (which is the work of illumination, and inſtruction, the firſt part of his Office) then by continual impreſſions bends our inclinations and mollifies our hearts and ſubdues our affections to a willing compliance with, a cheerful complacence in that which is good and pleaſing to God: ſo begetting all pious and virtuous inclinations in us; reverence to God, charity to men; ſobriety and purity and the reſt of thoſe amiable and heavenly virtues: (which is the work of ſanctification, another great part of his office) both which together (illumination of our mind, ſanctification of our will and affections) do conſtitute that work, which is ſtyled *the Regeneration, Renovation, Vivification, New-creation, Reſurrection; putting off* Tit. 3. 5. *the old, putting on the new man*; of a man; the faculties of our ſouls being ſo much Eph. 4. 23. changed, and we made, as it were, other men thereby: able and apt to do that to Eph. 2. 5. which before we were altogether indiſpoſed and unfit. Neither only doth he alter Col. 2. 13. and conſtitute our diſpoſitions, but he directs and governs our actions; leading and Col. 2. 12. moving us in the ways of obedience to God's will and law. As we live by him Eph. 2. 10. 4. 24. (have a new ſpiritual life implanted in us) ſo we walk by him, by his continual 2 Cor. 5. 17. guidance and aſſiſtance. He reclaims us from ſin and errour; ſupports and ſtrengthens Gal. 5. 25. us in temptation; adviſes, excites, encourages us to works of virtue and piety; par- Rom. 8. 14. ticularly he guides and quickens us in devotion; ſhewing us what we ſhould ask; raiſing in us holy deſires and comfortable hopes thereof; diſpoſing us to approach unto Rom. 8. 26, God with fit diſpoſitions of love, and reverence, and humble confidence. 27. 1 Joh. 5. 14.

It is alſo a notable part of the Holy Spirit's office to comfort and ſuſtain us, as in all our religious practice, ſo particularly in our doubts, difficulties, diſtreſſes, and Rom. 15. 13. afflictions, to beget joy, peace, and ſatisfaction in us in all our doings and all our 1 Pet. 1. 8. ſufferings: Whence he hath the title of *Comforter*. Heb. 3. 6.

It is alſo a great part thereof, to aſſure us of God's love and favour; that we are his children; and to confirm us in the hopes of our everlaſting inheritance. We feel- 2 Cor. 5. 5. ing our ſelves to live by him, to love God and goodneſs; to deſire and delight in 1. 22. pleaſing God, are thereby raiſed to hope God loves and favours us; and that he ha- Eph. 1. 14. ving by ſo authentick a ſeal ratified his word and promiſe; having already beſtowed ſo ſure a pledge, ſo precious an earneſt, ſo plentiful firſt-fruits, will not fail to make good the remainder deſigned and promiſed us of everlaſting joy and bliſs.

Laſtly, The Holy Ghoſt doth intercede for us with God; is our advocate and aſſiſtant in the preſenting our ſupplications, and procuring our good: He cries in us; he pleads for us to God: whence he is peculiarily called παράκλητος; that is, one who is called in by his good word or countenance to aid him, whoſe cauſe is to be examined; or whoſe petition is to be conſidered.

To which things I may add, That the Holy Ghoſt is deſigned to be as it were the 1 Cor. 12. 12, ſoul, which informs, enlivens and actuates the whole body of the Church; connect- 13. ing and containing together the members thereof in ſpiritual union, life, and motion; eſpecially quickning and moving the principal members (the Governours and Acts 20. 28. Paſtors) thereof; conſtituting them in their function, qualifying them for the diſ- Eph. 4. 12. charge thereof, guiding and aſſiſting them therein.

Such is the office, ſuch the operations of the Holy Ghoſt; the which we ſhould more diſtinctly and fully conſider; if the time and nature of this exerciſe would give leave.

The uſe of theſe doctrines (the influence, the belief and conſideration of this Article ſhould have upon our practice) is briefly, 1. To oblige us to render all due honour and adoration to the divine Majeſty of the Bleſſed Spirit. 2. To work in us an humble affection and a devout thankfulneſs to God for ſo ineſtimable a favour conferr'd upon us, ſuch as is the preſence and inhabitation, the counſel, conduct and aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit in us; Him we muſt acknowledge the author of our ſpiritual life; of all good diſpoſitions in us; of all good works performed by us; of all happineſs obtain-

able by us; to him we muſt render all thanks and praiſe: Therefore, 3. To excite us to deſire earneſtly, and pray for God's Spirit; the fountain of ſuch excellent benefits; ſuch graces, ſuch gifts, ſuch privileges, ſuch joys, and bleſſings unexpreſſible; If we heartily invite him, if we fervently pray for him, he will certainly come: So
Luk. 11. 13. hath our Saviour promiſed; *that our heavenly father will give the Holy Spirit to them which ask him.* 4. We ſhould endeavour to demean our ſelves well toward the Holy Spirit; yielding to that heavenly gueſt, vouchſafing to come unto us, a ready entrance and kind welcome into our hearts; entertaining him with all poſſible reſpect and obſervance, hearkning attentively to his holy ſuggeſtions and carefully obeying them; not quenching the divine light or devout heat he kindles in us; not reſiſting his kindly motions and perſuaſions; not grieving or vexing him; that ſo with ſatisfaction he may continue and abide with us, to our infinite benefit and comfort; it ſhould engage us to cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit, that we may be fit temples for ſo holy and pure a ſpirit to dwell in; leſt he loath and forſake us. 5. It is matter of comfort and encouragement (exceedingly uſeful and neceſſary for us) to conſider, that we have ſuch a guide and aſſiſtant in our religious practice and ſpiritual warfare. If our luſts be ſtrong, our temptations great, our enemies mighty, we need not be diſheartned; having this All-wiſe and Almighty friend to adviſe and help us: His grace is ſufficient for us againſt all the ſtrengths of Hell, Fleſh, and the World. Let our duty be never ſo hard, and our natural force never ſo weak, we ſhall be able to do all things by him that ſtrengtheneth us: If we will but faithfully apply our ſelves to him for his aid, we cannot fail of good ſucceſs.

Eph. 4. 4.

The Holy Catholick Church.

THE *Holy Catholick Church:* In the more ancient Forms it ran only, *Holy Church*, (the word *Catholick* being left out) and in ſome of them it had not the ſame poſition, as now, being put in the laſt place; and it ſeems in the moſt ancient Symbols the Church was not propounded as an object of faith directly and immediately, but was mentioned obliquely, upon occaſion of remiſſion of ſins miniſtred by it; of eternal life obtained in it: as we may reaſonably deem from that no-
Epiſt. ad Magnum. table place in St. *Cyprian: Nam cum dicunt* (when they profeſs in the Symbol at Baptiſm) *credis remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam per Eccleſiam:* To which
Cap. 6. kind of expreſſion that place in *Tertull. de Baptiſmo*, ſeems to allude, *Cùm ſub tribus & teſtatio fidei, & ſponſio ſalutis pignorentur, neceſſariò, adjicitur Eccleſiæ mentio.* And if we conſult the moſt ancient Summaries of faith extant in *Irenæus* and
Vid. lib. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos. *Tertullian*, and compoſed by them, queſtionleſs according to the general ſenſe of their
* Theodoret. I. 12. hiſt. times, we ſhall not find this Article propounded; not even in the * *Nicene* Creed it ſelf. It is therefore moſt probable that this Article (either in ſubſtance, or at leaſt according to this manner of propoſal and expreſſion) is of a later ſtanding than the reſt; being introduced (as is likely) upon occaſion of thoſe many hereſies and ſchiſms, which continually ſprang up, to ſecure the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, the authority of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the peace and unity of the Church, by obliging men to profeſs their diſclaiming any conſent or conſpiracy with thoſe erroneous and contentious people (who had deviſed new, deſtructive or dangerous conceits againſt the general conſent of Chriſtians, and drove on factions contrary to the common order and peace of the Church;) to profeſs, I ſay, their diſclaiming ſuch heretical principles and factious proceedings; and their conſtant adherence to the doctrines generally embraced by the Churches founded and inſtructed by the Apoſtles; as alſo their perſiſtance in concord and communion with them; their readineſs to obſerve the received cuſtoms and practices derived by them from Apoſtolical inſtitution; their ſubmiſſion to the laws and diſciplines eſtabliſhed in them by lawful authority. This I conceive to have been the meaning of them, who firſt inſerted this Article, of believing the Holy Church, into the Creed: *I believe*; that is, I adhere unto, (for as we did at firſt obſerve, *belief* here is to be underſtood as the nature of the matter ſhould require,) I adhere unto, or am perſwaded that I ought to adhere unto that body of Chriſtians, which diffuſed over the world, retains the faith taught, the diſcipline ſettled, the practices appointed by our Lord and his Apoſtles.

And that men ſhould be obliged to do thus, there was ground both in the reaſon of the thing and in Scripture. In reaſon, there being no more proper or effectual argument to aſſure us that any doctrine is true, or practice warrantable, to convict Sectaries deviating from truth or duty, than the conſent of all Churches; of whom (being

ing ſo diſtant in place, language, humour, cuſtom) it is not imaginable that they ſhould ſoon or eaſily conſpire in forſaking the doctrines inculcated by the Apoſtles, or the practices inſtituted by them, (which argument preſſed by *Tertullian*, *Irenæus* and other ancient defenders of Chriſtian truth and peace, may well, as in matters of this kind, go for a demonſtration: and that ſentence of **Tertullian* may well paſs for a certain principle and axiom: *Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non eſt erratum, ſed traditum.* Tertul. de præſcript. Iren. 1, 2, 3, &c.

* *De præſcr. cap.* 28. Conſtat id eſſe ab Apoſtolis traditum, quod apud Eccleſias Apoſtolorum fuerit ſacroſanctum.

And for Scripture, as it fortells that pernicious hereſies ſhould be introduced; that *many falſe prophets ſhould ariſe and ſeduce many*; that *grievous wolves ſhould come in, not ſparing the flock*; and *men ſhould ariſe, ſpeaking perverſe things to draw diſciples after them*; as they warn us to *take heed of ſuch men*; to *reject* and *refuſe hereticks*; to *mark thoſe, which make diviſions and ſcandals* beſide the doctrine, which Chriſtians had learnt, and *to decline from them*; to *ſtand off* (ἀφίςασθαι) *from ſuch men as do* ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach things different from* Apoſtolical doctrine, and *do not conſent to wholeſom words* (the words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt) *and the doctrine according to godlineſs.* As it teaches us that Hereſies and Factions are works of the fleſh; [proceeding from pride and ambition; ſelf-intereſt and covetouſneſs; peeviſh and perverſe humour; blindneſs and vanity; raſhneſs and inſtability; dotage, diſtemper, and corruption of mind; deceit, cozenage, craft, and hypocriſie; want of good conſcience and reverence to God;] ſo it alſo deſcribes the univerſality of them who ſtick to the truth, and obſerve the law of Chriſt; are diſpoſed to charity and peace *with all thoſe, who call upon our Lord with a pure mind*, (that is, with all ſincere Chriſtians) *to be one body*, knit together and compacted of parts affording mutual aid and ſupply to its nouriſhment, and joined to, deriving ſenſe and motion from *one head, and informed by one ſpirit*; as one houſe, *built upon the foundation of Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone, in whom all the building is fitly framed and connected*: As one nation, or people, ſubject to the ſame law and government; (uſed to the ſame language, cuſtom, and converſation;) one city, one family; one flock under one ſhepherd; laſtly, one Church, or Congregation: for as ſometimes every particular aſſembly of Chriſtians, and ſometimes a larger collection of particular Societies combined together in one Order, or under one Government, are termed Churches (ἐκκλησίαι,) ſo the whole Aggregation of all Churches, of all Chriſtian people in the World, is frequently called *the Church*: Even as the whole body of thoſe who lived in profeſſion and obedience to the Jewiſh law (which was a type and image of the Chriſtian Church) was called קהל (*Cahal*) ἐκκλησία, *the Congregation*; from whence I conceive this name was taken; and as among them that word did ſignifie ſometimes * any particular aſſembly, ſometimes the whole Body of ſuch perſons, who had right and obligation to aſſemble for the ſervice of God; ſo correſpondently was the word uſed in the New Teſtament; ſometimes for any Society, leſſer or greater; ſometimes for the whole Body of God's new people; all the true ſubjects and ſervants of Chriſt; that is, for the Catholick or Univerſal ſociety of the Faithfull; yet even in this latter ſenſe there is ſome diſtinction: for ſometimes it is taken in a ſenſe (partly extenſive, partly reſtrained) ſo as to ſignifie all thoſe good men, and only ſuch, which in all places and all times did or ſhall faithfully worſhip and ſerve God; ſometimes in a ſenſe (in one reſpect more wide, in another more ſtrict) for all thoſe who at preſent, in any age, through all parts of the World, do openly profeſs the ſincere faith and obedience of Chriſt; maintaining an external practice agreeable to that profeſſion; according to both which ſenſes we may interpret the Holy Catholick Church here, they being, as to the duty required of us, conjoined and co-ordinate: For whatever is ſaid of the Church in Scripture, (all the characters and commendations attributed to it;) as it doth principally agree to it in the firſt of theſe ſenſes, ſo it doth in ſome kind and meaſure agree to the latter: And therefore (without diſtinguiſhing) we may ſay that this is the Holy Catholick Church, which we believe: the *Sion which the Lord hath choſen, which he hath deſired for his habitation, where he hath reſolved to place his reſt and reſidence for ever*: *The mountain ſeated above all mountains, unto which all nations ſhould flow*: *The houſe of God, built upon a rock; againſt which the gates of hell ſhall not prevail*; the pillar and firmament of truth which it by its profeſſion and practice in a manner ſupporteth and maintaineth: *The New Jeruſalem and City of God*; *the Mother of us all*; *the beloved Spouſe of the Lamb*; *The elect generation, royal prieſthood, holy nation, peculiar people*: *The*

2 Pet. 2. 1. Act. 20. 29, 30. Matt. 24. 11. 7. 15. Tit. 3. 10. Rom. 16. 17. Coloſſ. 2. 8. 2 Theſſ. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 6. 4, 5. Eph. 4. 4. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Eph. 1. 22. Eph. 4. 16. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 12. Eph. 4. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 2. 21. 1 Pet. 2. 4, 5. 1 Pet. 2. 19. Eph. 2. 19. Heb. 12. 23. Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10.

* Ubi tres ſunt, etiam laici, ibi eccleſia eſt. *Tertul. Exh. Caſt.*

Pſal. 132. 13. Iſa. 2. 2. Mic. 4. 1. Matt. 16. 18. Apoc. 3. 12. Gal. 4. 26. Apoc. 19. 7.

Matt. 22. 2. 25. 10. Eph. 5. 25, &c. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Act. 20. 28. *Church which Chriſt hath purchaſed with his own blood; which he delivered himſelf for, that he might ſanctifie it, and cleanſe it with the waſhing of water by the Word; that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church, not having ſpot or wrinkle,* nor any ſuch thing, *but that it might be Holy, and unblemiſhed.*

1 Pet. 2. 18. 1 Cor. 6. 20. 7. 23. Eph. 1. 4. 1 Pet. 2. 5. Apoc. 1. 6. 5. 10. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2. 26. 18. Ex. 19. 5, 6. 1 Cor. 3. 17. Jud. 20. 2 Tim. 1. 9. Heb. 3. 1. Rom. 12. 1. &c. 1 Pet. 1. 15. Holy we ſee it is expreſsly ſaid to be in Chriſt's deſign: Holy, as conſiſting of perſons ſeparated from the World (from profane and vain converſation,) and wholly devoted to God's ſervice; *choſen to be Saints, and without blemiſh before God in love*; perſons *conſecrated and conſtituted Prieſts, to offer ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable to God, through Jeſus Chriſt.* Holy, as in many reſpects peculiarly related to God; *as his choſen people,* (in which reſpect the *Jews* were anciently called *a Holy,* which is interpreted a choſen, ſpecial, peculiar, precious, ſeparate people) *as his houſe and temple*; wherein he in a ſpecial manner doth reſide, wherein he is continually worſhipped: *Now the temple of God is holy, whoſe temple are you* (ſaith St. *Paul*: as, οἰκεῖοι τῦ Θεῦ, his domeſticks and familiars; as his children. Holy, as *redeemed by Chriſt: cleanſed by his blood; ſanctified by his ſpirit; as profeſſing a Holy faith: as partakers of a holy and heavenly calling; as endued with holy graces, and diſpoſitions; performing holy ſervices; obliged to holy converſation.*

Heb. 13. 9. Eph. 4. 14. The belief and conſideration of which point doth ſerve, 1. to engage us to perſiſt in the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, delivered by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; atteſted unto by the general conſent of Chriſtians; avoiding all novelties of opinion; *not being carried about with various and ſtrange doctrines; not being like children toſſed with waves, and carried about with every wind of doctrine,* in the cozenage of men, in craft according to the method (or artifice) of deceit; not being deluded with fine words, or fair pretences of many innovators. But ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ; holding the truth in love. 2. In love, that is another duty we are hence obliged to; to maintain a hearty charity and good affection toward all good Chriſtians; charity, which is the band that unites the Church, which preſerves it in a ſweet order and unity; Conſequently, 3. Readily to correſpond and communicate with all good Chriſtians (all ſocieties ſincerely profeſſing and practiſing faith, charity and obedience to our Lord) communicating I ſay in all offices of piety; 4. Submitting to all lawfull order and diſcipline; ſtudying peace, and to our power promoting concord among them: Conſequently, 5. To Diſavow and ſhun all factious combinations whatever of men corrupting the truth, or diſturbing the peace of the Church. In fine, ſincerely to wiſh in our hearts; to pray earneſtly for; to promote by our beſt endeavours, the peace and proſperity of that Holy Catholick Church, whereof we ſhould be members and children: All which things St. *Paul* directs us to in thoſe few words: *Purſue Righteouſneſs, Faith, Charity, Peace with thoſe that call upon* (or are called by the name of) *the Lord, with a pure heart.* I proceed.

2 Tim. 2. 22.

The Communion of Saints.

THE words were not extant in any of the ancient Creeds, but were afterwards inſerted; nor (as I conceive) doth the meaning of them much differ from what was intended in the precedent article, concerning the Catholick Church; and perhaps it was adjoined thereto, by way of appoſition, for interpretation thereof. For it ſeems the meaning of them is this, That all the Saints (thoſe which are ſo either in outward eſteem, as profeſſing Chriſtian faith and obedience; or thoſe which are ſo in heart and inward diſpoſition; thoſe which either now converſe upon earth, or which are received into heaven, all the Saints) either in obligation ſhould or in effect do communicate, partake, join together, conſent and agree in what concerns Saints or Members of the ſame body; in believing and acknowledging the ſame heavenly truth; in performance of devotions and offices of piety toward God; with and for one another; in charitable affection and good-will toward each other; in affording mutual aſſiſtance and ſupplies toward each others either temporal or ſpiritual good; in mutual condolency and compaſſion of each others evil; congratulation and complacency in each others good; *in minding* (according to St. *Paul*'s words) *with care the ſame thing for one another: ſo that if one member ſuffers, all the members ſuffer together with it; or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.* This briefly ſeems to be the meaning of this point, and I need not farther labour to ſhew the uſes thereof; the doctrine ſo plainly carrying its obligation and uſe in its face.

1 Cor. 12. 25, 26.

Com-

Concerning the Power of the Keys.

I Treated laſt upon the *Catholick Church* and *Communion of Saints*; between that Article and that which immediately follows concerning the *remiſſion of ſins*, I think it convenient to interpoſe a brief conſideration upon the *Power of the Keys*; the which we are directed and enjoined ſometimes to diſcourſe on, and may do it, as it ſeems, here moſt ſeaſonably, it having ſo near a relation to the matter of both thoſe Articles; the Church, in which, by which, for which it is exerciſed; (by it alſo the communion of Saints being maintained and preſerved) and the Remiſſion of ſins, which (eſpecially as to be underſtood here) is a partial and moſt conſiderable effect or conſequent of its uſe. For though Remiſſion of ſins may be taken in its utmoſt latitude for all remiſſion indulged by God, and by what means, in what manner, upon what account ſoever diſpenſed; yet according to the intention of thoſe who compiled the Creed, it ſeems principally to deſign that formal remiſſion of ſins, which was conſigned by the Churches miniſtery; this being performed by vertue of a power imparted by Chriſt to the Church; called, as we ſhall ſee, *the power of the Keys*; concerning which therefore it will be not unſeaſonable for us here briefly to diſcourſe.

As God Almighty being King and Soveraign Lord of the world, doth govern it partly by his own immediate hand of Providence, partly by the mediation of viſible deputies and vicegerents conſtituted by him in ſeveral provinces of that his Kingdom; who receiving authority from him are obliged under him to govern in their reſpective places, according to rules of juſtice and equity preſcribed by him to the promotion of his honour and praiſe of his name; to the procurement of his ſubjects benefit and welfare (conſiſting chiefly in their leading a ſafe, quiet and commodious life here, with enjoyment of thoſe comforts which are ſuitable to mens nature) each in his province moſt particularly regarding the welfare of thoſe ſubjects committed to their charge, yet ſo as withal to reſpect the common peace and proſperity of mankind, maintaining (ſo far as may be) good correſpondency with the reſt, obſerving the rules of juſtice and humanity toward all. This authority committed to them by God containing all powers neceſſary or conducible to thoſe purpoſes; the power of making and impoſing laws; of propounding and beſtowing rewards; of appointing and inflicting puniſhments, with obligation on the ſubjects part to entire obedience and ſubmiſſion.

In the ſame (or in a very like) manner doth Chriſt the Head and ſupreme Governour of the Church, adminiſter his Spiritual Kingdom; partly by the immediate direction and governance of his holy Spirit, partly by his preſidency of governours appointed by him in ſeveral provinces and ſocieties thereof; to manage things in ſuch order as may beſt conduce firſt to his glory and ſervice (as well by the propagation and enlargement of this empire, as preſervation and maintenance thereof in good condition; by procuring due reverence to his perſon and obedience to his laws) as may alſo conſer to the beſt advantage of his ſubjects, and their ſpiritual welfare, (conſiſting in their being inſtructed in duty, and diſpoſed to perform it, their being purified from ſin, and perfected in holineſs, and fitted for the poſſeſſion of that eternal happineſs to which they are called, and deſigned for them;) each in his province and ſociety (yet ſo as withal to reſpect the good of the whole body, maintaining charitable affection toward, and peaceable commerce with the reſt) being particularly obliged to promote thoſe ends; ſuch authority including all power requiſite to that purpoſe; of eſtabliſhing fit orders and rules to be obſerved in their reſpective ſocieties; of diſpenſing encouragements, and inflicting penalties agreeable to the nature of their office, and conducible to their deſignment; the ſubjects of this Kingdom being obliged to obedience and compliance with thoſe orders, to ſubmit to thoſe penalties and cenſures. Now this authority (either all or a great part of it) is commonly called *Poteſtas clavium*, by a name taken from thoſe words of our Saviour wherein he promiſeth St. *Peter* that he would *give him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*: Concerning which promiſe we muſt firſt obſerve, that however it was made to St. *Peter* upon a ſpecial occaſion, yet the matter thereof was not peculiar and reſtrained to his perſon; for the particulars conjoined therewith, and which explain the meaning thereof, are otherwhere aſſigned to others, as well as him: Chriſt there declares that upon him he *will build his Church*; and other-where we are informed that the Church is built upon the

Matt. 16. 19.

Eph. 2. 20. Apoc. 21. 14. Matt. 18. 18.

Joh. 20. 23. the *foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles:* He promiſes that what he ſhall *bind or looſe upon earth ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven*; and the ſame privilege is promiſed otherwhere, in expreſs terms to any congregation or ſociety of Chriſtians, and in terms equivalent to a certain meeting of diſciples. This privilege therefore and authority was by our Saviour committed to the Church; and if to the Church, then (as to its uſe and exerciſe) to the governours thereof, who act in behalf thereof; to whom its preſervation is commended, upon whom the care of its welfare, its peace, its honour is incumbent: the which we ſhall at preſent ſuppoſe, and which by the nature, practice, end and deſign of this power will farther appear.

Claves illas regni cœlorum in beato Petro cunctis ſuſcepimus Sacerdotes. *Ambroſ. Ep.* 83.

At preſent, for the better underſtanding the nature and extent of this power, we will conſider, 1. Its Name. 2. Its object or correlative term. 3. The equivalent phraſes by which it is expreſſed or explained. 4. The practice and exerciſe thereof. 5. The riſe and occaſion of its inſtitution. 6. The neceſſity and uſefulneſs thereof: From the conſideration of which particulars, we may collect wherein it conſiſts, to what it tends, how far it extends. We will touch them briefly.

1. The name *Keys* being metaphorical, implies the thing thereby deſigned in its nature or ſome chief property (moſt obvious and conſpicuous) to reſemble Keys. Now they (as being inſtruments deſigned to no other purpoſe) have no other nature or property than opening or ſhutting the avenues or paſſages from one place to another; and conſequently their effects being either to give entrance and admiſſion, or to detain and keep within; or to ſtop the paſſage and exclude from a place; neceſſarily all or ſome of theſe actions (or ſomewhat anſwerable and like thereto) muſt agree to this power, in reſpect to that ſtate or place, which it refers to; it muſt be therefore a power either admiſſive into, or retentive within, or excluſive from, or all theſe together, in reſpect to the Kingdom of heaven, whereof it is called *the Keys*; no other reaſon being conceivable of its obtaining that appellation; and we ſee, when this metaphor is uſed in like caſes, either all or one of theſe effects are by way of interpretation expreſſed; as when of the Holy and true One (that is, of our Saviour)

Apoc. 3. 7. it is ſaid in the Revelation, *That he hath the Key of David*; it is ſubjoined; *He openeth, and none ſhutteth; he ſhutteth, and none openeth.* And when our Saviour

Luk. 11. 52. imputes to the Lawyers, that they *took away the Key of knowledge*; he explains the meaning of his expreſſion by adding, *they would not enter themſelves, and thoſe who were entring, they hindred*; and likewiſe in St. *Matthew*, concerning the Scribes

Matt. 23. 13. and Phariſees: *Ye ſhut the Kingdom of heaven* (the ſame thing as here) *before men, for your ſelves do not enter, nor do you ſuffer thoſe that are entring.* Whence it ſeems may be collected, that this power (this having the Keys) is a power of admiſſion into, and excluſion from the place or ſtate, which it relates to: which we muſt next conſider; for ſuch muſt this power be, as its term or object doth admit or require.

2. As to the term it relates to, the Kingdom of heaven, that according to the New Teſtament uſe is capable eſpecially of two acceptions. It firſt commonly ſignifies the ſtate or conſtitution of religion under the Goſpel, in oppoſition or contradiſtinction to the ſtate of things under the ancient law. In the time of the law God's Kingdom was in a manner earthly; The land of *Iſrael* was his dominion; in *Salom* was his ta-

Pſal. 114. 2. 76. 2. bernacle, and his dwelling-place in *Zion: Jeruſalem* was his royal ſeat (*the city of the great King*) the temple there his palace; he governed more immediately by oracles from time to time put into the mouth of his prieſts and prophets conſulting him for orders and directions; he received more viſible ſervices and homages from his ſubjects; he granted earthly conveniencies and privileges for them; he encouraged them to the obedience of his law by promiſes of temporal reward; deterr'd them from diſobedience and diſloyalty by threatning temporal pains and damages; but under the Evangelical diſpenſation, as God's Kingdom is more capacious and unlimited in extention, ſo he hath aſſumed no peculiar reſidence upon earth, nor is worſhipped otherwiſe than as being in heaven, the natural ſeat of his ſpecial Majeſty and Glory; he rules by a law perpetual and immutable, revealed from thence; the ſacrifices and adorations he requires are ſpiritual and inviſible for the moſt part and addreſſed thither; the privileges appertaining to the ſubjects of this Kingdom chiefly referr thither; they are allured to obedience by rewards to be conferred there; are withdrawn from diſobedience by penalties referring to a future ſtate: this ſtate therefore of things is called *the Kingdom of heaven; of God; of Chriſt*; that which * was coming

* Ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c.

coming and approaching in the time of our Saviour's humble ſojouring upon earth; is now preſent, he reigning in heaven, into which they are ſaid to be tranſlated; to have *acceſs unto the heavenly Jeruſalem*; to be *made fellow-citizens and co-heirs with the ſaints in light*; to have *their converſation in heaven*, to *partake a heavenly calling*, to be *ſeated together with Chriſt in heavenly places*; who with ſincere perſuaſion of mind embrace the doctrine of Chriſt, with firm reſolution ſubmit to his law, becoming thereby ſubjects of this heavenly Kingdom, undertaking the obligations, and partaking the privileges belonging thereto. This ſtate, I ſay, or relation is thus called; or (which comes to the ſame thing, and makes no alteration as to the matter in hand) taking the word *perſonally* (and concretely as it were) the ſociety of men put into ſuch a ſtate, the body of perſons ſtanding ſo related, (that is, the Church of Chriſt) may be called *the Kingdom of heaven*. This acception is ſo frequent and obvious that 'tis needleſs to cite inſtances or ſtand upon the confirmation thereof: but the phraſe is alſo ſometime taken for the perfection or utmoſt improvement of this ſtate; that αἰώνιος βασιλεία, *everlaſting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, (as St. *Peter* calls it) that ſtate of glory and bliſs into which all good Chriſtians, who ſhall through this temporal life perſiſt in faithful obedience unto God, ſhall hereafter be received; that Kingdom into which *not every one, who ſaith Lord, Lord*, (who makes an external profeſſion or pretence) *but he that doth the will of God, who is in heaven, ſhall enter*. Now whereas theſe two ſtates (one being a ſtate of grace and favour with God here; the other of glory and joy with God hereafter) are in their nature, and according to their prime intention inſeparably coherent; one being ſubordinate to the other; that as a ſtep or degree, a way or tendency to this; this a completion and conſummation of that: that being ſuppoſed as precedent in order to this, this in deſign conſequent upon that, therefore what immediately concerns one, doth by conſequence reſpect the other: and in our caſe a power to open or ſhut; to admit into, or exclude from the ſtate of grace may be ſuppoſed and ſaid, in a manner, conſequently to be a power of opening and ſhutting a ſtate of glory hereafter, and reciprocally, both jointly may be well underſtood in their kind and order. But ſince the perſons, to whom this power is imparted, do exerciſe it here (and what thou ſhalt bind or looſe upon earth, ſaith our Saviour, implying the uſe of that power which he promiſed to communicate to St. *Peter*) ſince the immediate effects thereof are here below, therefore it ſeems fit that we underſtand the Kingdom of heaven in our caſe more directly and immediately the preſent Kingdom of heaven, or ſtate of grace into which Chriſtians are here received (or if you pleaſe, the ſociety it ſelf of perſons ſo enſtated) though more remotely and by conſequence it may imply the ſtate of glory hereafter.

Col. 1. 12, 13. Eph. 2. 19. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 3. 1. 12. 22. 2 Pet. 1. 11. Matt. 7. 21. Acts 20. 24.

We ſhould therefore conſider how theſe ſtates (eſpecially that of grace here more immediately reſpected) may be opened or ſhut; how one man may be enabled or empowered to permit entrance, or debarr others from it; and this we may conceive effectible either by yielding ſome real furtherance on one ſide, or ſome effectual hindrance on the other in reſpect of getting into or abiding in this ſtate; or elſe by ſome formal act of judgment and authority, by vertue of which ſome are admitted to partake the rights and privileges of this ſtate, or ſome excluded and rendred incapable thereof. I ſay, firſt, by real furtherance or hinderance: as on the one ſide, they who inſtruct or ſhew the way; who perſuade; who encourage men to enter; who afford any means or opportunities, may be ſaid to open this ſtate (as in like manner it is ſaid that *God did open to the Gentiles a door of faith*; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *a great and effectual door was opened to him at Epheſus*, and another at *Troas*; and he exhorts the *Coloſſians* to pray *that God would open to him* θύραν τῦ λόγυ, *a door of preaching the myſtery of Chriſt*; where opening a door denotes miniſtring opportunities and advantages of performing the things ſpecified.) And on the other ſide they who keep from knowing the way, which leads thither; who diſſuade or diſcourage from entring; who ſubſtract the means, or prevent opportunities of doing it; who interpoſe obſtacles or obſtructions of difficulty, danger, or damage may be ſaid to ſhut, or exclude (thus are the ſcribes ſaid *to ſhut the Kingdom of heaven*,) that is to hinder men from embracing the doctrine, or ſubmitting to the rule of Chriſt, by diſcouraging them from giving attention and credence to what he taught (which is other-where called *taking away the Key of knowledge*) as alſo by terrifying them from acknowledgment of the truth they ſaw and liked, by reproaches, perſecutions and puniſhments laid on them who did it. Thus may this ſtate be opened and

Acts 14. 27. 1 Cor. 6. 9. 2 Cor. 2. 12. Col. 4. 3. Matt. 23. 13. Luk. 11. 52.

and ſhut; as alſo it may ſo by judicial and authoritative acts; by way of conſent and approbation declared; of deciſion and ſentence pronounced: in ſuch manner as we duly ſee men admitted into, and debarred from the ſtate of citizens and freemen (from enjoying in eſteem and effect the capacities, and immunities, belonging to the members of ſuch or ſuch ſocieties and corporations) by the conſent or diſſent, approbation or refuſal, decree or ſentence formally ſignified of perſons empowered to thoſe purpoſes. Now regarding the nature of that ſtate whereof we are ſpeaking, as to real furtherance, ſince reſpect to Glory's glory and man's ſalvation obliges all men, to endeavour that men be brought into this ſtate, the ſame being in a ſpecial manner incumbent upon the govèrnours and paſtors of the Church, therefore this may be conceived one way of opening or one part of this power; although to ſhut by way of real hindrance, in the manner deſcribed, cannot properly belong to any; duty and charity forbidding really and finally to obſtruct entrance into the ſtate of grace: the Scribes and Lawyers being blamed for not ſuffering men (otherwiſe willing and diſpoſed) to enter into the Kingdom of heaven. As to the other kind of opening and ſhutting by legal proceeding, as all perſons, according to charitable eſtimation, worthy and well qualified ought to be admitted thereinto; ſo neither according to the reaſon of the thing it ſelf, nor in regard to the publick benefit, nor reſpecting the good of the perſons pretended thereto, ſhould ſome be permitted to enjoy the communion thereof; therefore to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate ſuch perſons, the appointment and uſe of ſuch a power is requiſite. This will appear more plainly when we come to conſider the neceſſity and utility of this power. Farther,

3dly, For the phraſes equivalent, by which in places of the Goſpel moſt parallel this power is expreſſed and explained, they are eſpecially thoſe of binding and looſing; of retaining and admitting ſins: As for binding and looſing; when our Saviour had promiſed to beſtow upon St. *Peter* the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he ſignifies what effect the uſe of them ſhould produce, by adding conjunctively—— *And whatever thou ſhalt bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and what thou ſhalt looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.*

Now *binding* may ſignifie any kind of determination, of reſtraint, of detention upon perſons or things; and looſing that which is oppoſite thereto, the leaving indifferent, laying open, ſetting free of any perſon or thing reſpectively. He that (having good authority to do ſo) injoins or prohibits any thing doth bind that thing, (determining its moral quality, making it to be good or bad, lawful or unlawful) and binds the perſons concerned to obſervation or abſtinence: he that permits the ſame thing to be done, or diſpenſes with its doing, may be ſaid to looſe: Thus all laws are bonds, and are ſaid to oblige: and the removing or ſuſpending their force in whole or in part, (by abrogation, or diſpenſation or exception) is conſequently a looſing or relaxation; and the power of binding and looſing thus would be a power legiſlative, of making and repealing laws, and rules of action; and in ſome analogy hereto, the power (with authority, and by office) of interpreting laws, that is, of determining and declaring what is commanded, what prohibited, what permitted, may be called a *power of binding and looſing* (and if we believe Mr. *Selden* and *Grotius* perhaps from him (in 16 *Mat.*) is ſo commonly termed among Jewiſh writers) alſo the exerciſe of any juriſdiction, the deciſion of any caſe, the warding any amends to be done, any mulct to be impoſed, any puniſhment to be inflicted, is a binding: to which kind of binding it ſeems plain that place doth more
Matt. 18. 18. particularly referr, wherein our Saviour pronounces valid the arbitration between perſons in difference made by one or two friends; or (if that cannot terminate the controverſie) the final judgment of the Church, concerning which he with aſſeveration pronounces: *Amen (verily) I ſay unto you, that whatſoever ye* (a Church of you my Diſciples) *ſhall (viz.* in this manner, by way of juriſdiction or arbitration) *bind upon earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven:* All your ſentences and deciſions (duly and impartially made) ſhall be valid and ratified by God himſelf. Alſo the reſult of any contract is an obligation, and they who make or enter into it do bind the parties concerned (themſelves and others.) Moreover the detaining any how under ones power or diſpoſal is binding, and the ſetting free thence a looſing anſwerable thereto, (*ought not,*
Luk. 13. 16. ſaith our Saviour, *this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound this eighteen*
Act. 10. 38. *years to be looſed from this bond on the ſabbath-day?* that which is here called *bound* by *Satan*, is otherwhere expreſſed by καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, being under the

power

power and dominion of the Devil.) Alſo binding may imply detaining in any preſent condition (as ſuppoſe a condition of guilt, of disfavour, of obnoxiouſneſs to wrath and puniſhment, either *poſitively*, by keeping on the ſhackles, which hold them; or *negatively*, by withdrawing the means of getting out; and correſpondently looſing, is a freeing from ſuch a ſtate, by removing the cauſes which hindred, or applying the means which procure liberty. And to this laſt ſenſe the other equivalent phraſe (uſed in St. *John* of *retaining* and *remitting of ſins*) doth ſeem to referr, John 20. 23. *Whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſeſoever ſins ye retain they are retained*; that is, whomſoever ye ſhall think fit to detain in a ſtate of guilt, to refuſe pardon and reconcilement unto, they ſhall continue in ſuch ſtate, they ſhall reſt deprived of thoſe benefits; whomſoever ye ſhall judge worthy to be abſolved from guilt and received unto favour, they ſhall effectually be pardoned and reconciled in God's ſight: your act in reſpect to that remiſſion or retention ſhall be approved and ratified in heaven. Now from theſe conſiderations concerning the name of this power, and the term or object thereof; and of the phraſes in ſome meaſure equivalent to that, whereby it is expreſſed, although we may probably inferr ſomewhat concerning the nature thereof, yet the perfect nature and full extent thereof ſeems beſt deducible from that which we muſt next conſider.

4. The practice and exerciſe of this power; which being by our Saviour committed to his Church, and to the Apoſtles as Governours thereof, and acting in its behalf, we cannot ſuppoſe they would act beyond or beſide it. What we ſee them (in way of office and authority) doing, applicable and agreeable to the meaning of thoſe words, as hitherto in ſome ſort explained, we may well believe done by vertue of this power, ſo expreſly by our Lord beſtowed on them; and the like we may reaſonably ſuppoſe concerning the Churches nearly ſucceeding to their times, that what they generally practiſed in way of government was by authority not arbitrarily aſſumed to themſelves, but derived from Chriſt's donation and appointment; declared to be ſo, directed and determined to particular uſe by the Apoſtles; when they planted and ſettled each Church. Now for the Apoſtles practice, we find as (firſt) to the opening part of this power, that they did with great earneſtneſs and diligence labour to bring Men into the Kingdom of Heaven by inſtruction, invitation and perſuaſion (not ſparing any pains, not regarding any difficulty, not ſhunning any danger for the effecting hereof;) *Not* (to uſe St. *Paul*'s words in the *Acts*) *keeping back any thing that was profitable, but ſhewing and teaching them publickly from houſe to houſe, thoroughly teſtifying both to Jews, and alſo to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* That having thus induced men, and qualified them to enter, (by entertaining the doctrine of Chriſt, and reſolution to live according thereto) they did actually admit them into this ſtate; by a ſolemn act, containing a ſymbolical repreſentation of the nature of this ſtate, with the benefits and privileges accompanying it; declaring the perſons ſo admitted to be received into a ſtate of entire favour with God; to be freed from all precedent guilt; to have all their ſins remitted and blotted out; to be redeemed from the power of darkneſs and tranſlated into the Kingdom of Chriſt, God's beloved Son. That by conſtant exhortation to perſeverance, and progreſs in faith and obedience (againſt all temptations, perſecutions and ſeductions) in St. *Paul's* words, *Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wiſdom, they might preſent* (or *render*) *every man perfect in Chriſt Jeſus:* They did endeavour to preſerve and retain men in this ſtate; that when men being overborn by temptation of the fleſh, or perſecution of the world, or ſeduced by the cunning of falſe teachers did decline, and were in danger of deſerting the profeſſion or practice agreeable to this ſtate, they did labour zealouſly to reclaim, and re-ſettle them therein: and, that ſuch having fallen from it of themſelves, or having been (by reaſon of their ſcandalous and contagious practice) in way of cenſure and puniſhment removed from it, they were ready (upon their repentance ſufficiently declared) to receive and reſtore them; re-inſtating them in their former condition, and remitting their offences; *If any man*, (ſaith St. *Paul*) *be prevented in a tranſgreſſion, ye that are ſpiritual, καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον, reſtore*, (reeſtabliſh, ſet in a right and entire ſtate) *ſuch an one, in the ſpirit of meekneſs; conſidering thy ſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted*: and, *If any one doth not obey our words — mark ſuch a one, and do not converſe with him, that he may be aſhamed: however do not account him an enemy, but admoniſh him as a brother.*) And more plainly, St. *Paul* injoins the *Corinthians* to account a puniſhment impoſed upon a grievous offender,

Act. 2. 14, &c. 20. 18, &c. Act. 2. 38. 3. 9. Col. 2. 12, 13, &c. Rom. 4. 25. 1 Cor. 6. 11. Col. 1. 18. Gal. 6. 1. 2 Theſſ. 3. 14. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 8, 10.

offender ſufficient; that they *ſhould favour* (or indulge with, or forgive) *and comfort him, leſt he ſhould be ſwallow'd up with grief*; that they ſhould *confirm love toward him*; declaring, that what favour they ſhould ſhew in ſuch caſes, he ſhould
2 Cor. 13. 10. conſent and comply with them therein: And he otherwhere tells us, that the power
1 Cor. 5. 5. he had beſtowed upon him by Chriſt, according to which he might, upon occaſion, uſe perſons ſeverely, was for edification, and not for deſtruction; that the extremeſt puniſhment inflicted (delivery to Satan, from whoſe dominion they were by entrance
1 Tim. 1. 20. into Chriſt's Kingdom freed) was for deſtruction of the fleſh, *that the ſpirit might be ſaved in the day of judgment*; and that they *might learn not to blaſpheme*, intimating
1 Tim. 5. 22. a reſtitution into this ſtate by repentance: And laſtly, whereas St. *Paul* adviſes *Timothy* not to *lay ſuddenly his hands upon any man, nor* (thereby) *to partake with other men's ſins*; he ſeems to intimate the practice of receiving offenders into full communion of the Church, and re-admittance into this ſtate, ſignified by that ceremonious action. Thus did the Apoſtles uſe the power of the Keys on one hand; opening, and admitting, and keeping within the ſtate of Grace. We alſo ſhall find them ſhutting and excluding from it: by refuſing and rejecting ſuch as were not worthy
*Εὐθετοι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῦ θεῦ. and * well diſpoſed for it; withdrawing the means of inſtruction, and perſuaſion; not *caſting their pearls to ſwine; ſhaking the duſt off their feet, when men* (as it is
Luk. 9. 62. in the *Acts*) *did thruſt away the word of God, and did not judge themſelves worthy of eternal life*.
Acts 13. 46. 51. 18. 6. We find them alſo exerciſing authority upon ſuch as were admitted; dealing ſeverely with perſons walking diſorderly in any kind of lewd and vicious practice; diſobeying their words and orders; making diviſions and ſcandals; breathing falſe and bad doctrines, contrary to that which they had taught: ſuch they injoin Chriſtians to decline from, and avoid all communion and converſation with
Rom. 16. 17. &c. them: ſuch as bad leaven, they command to be purged out from the Chriſtian con-
2 Theſſ. 2. 3. gregations; to be taken from among them; to be delivered up to Satan. Thus did
1 Cor. 5. 7. 2. 11. they ſhut the Kingdom of Heaven; and ſo, according to their example and order (as we ſhould in reaſon ſuppoſe) did the Governours of the Chriſtian Church after them both open and ſhut it: opening it by baptiſm (which the Fathers ſometime expreſ-
Baſ. Naz. &c ly call κλεὶς βασιλείας, *the Key of Heaven*) and receiving perſons well inſtructed and well diſpoſed into it; opening it again by receiving perſons, who had been for heinous offences put out, upon due teſtification and reaſonable aſſurance of their amendment and repentance; and ſhutting it upon perſons unfit to enter; ſeparating and excluding from it ſuch as notoriouſly misbehaved themſelves therein, to the diſhonour, diſturbance, and detriment of the Church. I cannot inſiſt upon particulars, nor ſtand to produce teſtimonies concerning them; let one clear paſſage (as to the latter part, *ſhutting*) out of *Tertullian*'s Apologetick, wherein he declares the manner
Cap. 38. commonly practiſed in the Chriſtian Churches, ſuffice. *Cretæ* (ſaith he) *fidem ſanctis vocibus paſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, diſciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus denſamus; ibidem etiam exhortationes, caſtigationes, & cenſura divina; nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conſpectu, ſummumque futuri judicii præjudicium eſt, ſi quis ità deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omnis ſancti commercii relegetur.*

5. As for the riſe and occaſion of this power (beſide the neceſſity and utility thereof, which might cauſe it to be appointed) we may conſider, that as all (or the greater part of) inſtitutions and ceremonies practiſed among Chriſtians, as the whole frame of government in their Churches, ſeem to have been drawn from, or according to the pattern of God's ancient Church; (Chriſtianity not affecting novelty or difference from that, but ſo far as conſiſted with its main deſign of reforming men's minds, and promoting the ſpiritual ſervice of God, and ſuited with reaſon or expediency, endeavouring conformity to it and reſemblance thereof;) ſo it ſeems our Saviour in this particular did but accommodate and veſt in the governours of his Church a power uſed in that of the *Jews*; for we ſhall find this power in its ſeveral parts not only repreſented in type, but expreſſed in direct and real practice. We ſee that the Jewiſh Church was opened to Proſelytes by circumciſion, by waſhing, by
Numb. 15. 2. Levit. 14. expiatory ſacrifices; that unclean and leprous perſons were excluded from the camp and congregation; prohibited conteſt and converſation, that they might not annoy or infect thoſe which were pure and ſound; that upon their recovery and purification they were reſtored to ſociety and converſation; that that Church was wholly ſhut upon enormous offenders, (ſuch who could not be kept in order, who preſumptuouſly neglected ſome great duty, or violated ſome great commandment; who diſ-

grace

graced the Religion by ſcandalous practice, or diſturbed the peace by contumacious carriage, refuſing to hear the Judge and the Prieſt;) that, I ſay, ſuch perſons were quite ſhut out by total extermination and exciſion. We find alſo ſeveral degrees of Eccleſiaſtical cenſure (anſwerable to the degrees of offence) practiſed among them; alluded to in the New Teſtament; ſeparating from communion and converſe; excluſion from the ſynagogue; anathematizing or imprecating, and devoting to God's judgment: the practice of which things being grounded in reaſon, and ſuitable to the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, (as well as to that of the Jews) and conducible to the welfare thereof, 'tis no wonder a power of doing the like was granted unto the Chriſtian Church, and exerciſed by the ſuper-intendency thereof. But theſe things I cannot ſtand to purſue minutely and diſtinctly.

Vid. Ez. 10. 8. Luke 6. 22. John 11. 22. 12. 42. Gal. 1. 8. 9. &c.

I ſhould, laſtly, conſider the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of this power; how neceſſary and conducible it is to promote the ends of Chriſtian religion; to preſerve the honour of the Church, and of its Governours; to ſecure the members thereof from contagion of bad manners and influences of bad example; to maintain good order and peace; to reſtrain from offending; and reform them that ſhall offend; and to the like purpoſes. But I ſhall leave this Point to your farther conſideration.

The forgiveneſs of ſins; the reſurrection of the body; the life everlaſting.

THAT it is the natural condition of mankind, to lie under a violent proclivity (or rather an unavoidable neceſſity) of frequently tranſgreſſing the plaineſt dictates of reaſon, the ſureſt rules of equity, however fortified by the authority of God himſelf; commanding and requiring duty, promiſing reward, and threatning puniſhment, continual experience ſhews; that hereby men do not only much diſgrace and abuſe themſelves (doing againſt the dignity of their nature and their own particular welfare) but highly injure, diſhonour, and ill requite God (their Maker, their natural Lord, their Benefactour, from whom they have received their being, under whoſe power they wholly are, to whom they owe all their Good; and conſequently to whom all obedience, reſpect, and gratitude is due from them) is alſo manifeſt; their own conſciences will tell them ſo much; their own reaſon will therefore condemn them; that hereby they are involved in a ſtate of guilt and debt, become obnoxious to the juſt wrath and vengeance of God, beyond all poſſibility of making (by themſelves) any reparation or ſatisfaction; (for they are more apt to incurr new, than able to make amends for old blame; to accumulate more, than to diſcharge foregoing debts;) that hence they muſt fall into a condition of reſtleſs fear and inextricable perplexity of mind, dreading the effects of divine juſtice and vengeance, ſometime to come upon them; that there cannot in reality be any other relief or deliverance from this diſtreſs than from the benignity of God diſpoſing him to bear patiently, to forgive mercifully theſe offences; not in their apprehenſion any ſuch relief (any freedom from ſuch diſcomfort and anxiety) than from a plain ſignification of God's being ſo graciouſly diſpoſed, is alſo clear from the ſame light. Now of ſuch a diſpoſition in God (to be appeaſed and to pardon offences) we find a general preſumption among thoſe who have had any knowledge or opinion concerning God, (drawn, I ſuppoſe, partly from primitive tradition, partly from experience of God's forbearance to puniſh and continuance to beſtow the common benefits of Providence upon offenders, partly from an opinion that bounty and clemency are perfections and excellencies worthy of God, or laſtly, from a natural inclination in men (neceſſary to that quiet and comfort of their minds, to flatter themſelves with pleaſing hopes;) we find, I ſay, ſuch a general preſumption concerning God's diſpoſition to be reconcilable and merciful to offenders; eſpecially upon their acknowledgment of guilt and need of favour, together with a declaration of their willingneſs to make him ſuch amends as they are able to do: ſuch a preſumption to have been, that univerſal cuſtom of preſenting ſacrifices and obligations to God doth ſufficiently ſhew: which implied in them who preſented them a confeſſion of guilt to be expiated, of puniſhment to be deſerved (ſuch as was repreſented in the deſtruction of a living creature,) as alſo a deſire of making ſatisfaction (intimated by their cheerful parting with ſomewhat dear and valuable to them;) upon which conſiderations of humble acknowledgment, of willingneſs to ſatisfie in a manner ſo ſignal and ſolemn, declared they did hope God's wrath would be appeaſed and his judgments averted from them: Such it ſeems was the common preſumption of mankind;

ἐκούσιοι. Rom. 5. 10.

Teſtimonium animæ naturaliter Chriſtianæ. Tert.

which yet could not ſatisfy or quiet the minds of them who ſhould conſider, that as ſuch performances could not really take away guilt, nor ſufficiently repair thoſe ineſtimable wrongs and affronts put upon God, ſo God had never plainly declared his intention to conſider or accept them; ſo that in effect their opinion was ſomewhat unreaſonable, and their hope groundleſs. This obſervation I propound as yielding a good argument (the general conſent of mankind) to prove that the doctrine (concerning remiſſion of ſins obtainable from God) is a fundamental point, and a principal part of all Religion, and that yet (as to any ſolid and certain ground of believing or hoping it) it is peculiar to Chriſtian Religion; God never before the revelation Evangelical, having clearly and fully ſignified, that he would pardon offences (at leaſt all of them, heinous and preſumptuous offences) committed againſt him. What
Rom. 2. God would have done he had taught partly by a natural law and light implanted in every man's ſoul, partly by expreſs promulgation made to the Patriarchs of old, and derived to poſterity from them by tradition; how men in reſpect thereto behaved themſelves, their conſcience (*accuſing or excuſing them*) could teſtify; but how, in caſe of tranſgreſſing thoſe dictates and laws, he would deal with them, he never
Gal. 3. plainly had diſcovered. Indeed the Jewiſh diſpenſation (which was particular and
Numb. 15. 27, &c. preparatory to Chriſtianity) did appoint and accept Expiations for ſome leſſer faults, committed out of ignorance and infirmity; but did not pretend to juſtify from all
Acts 13. 38. things (as St. *Paul* in the *Acts* ſpeaks) nor promiſe or give hope of pardon upon any terms for great preſumptuous ſins committed wilfully, with a high hand: it rather threatens an indelible continuance of guilt upon an extreme and inevitable ven-
Numb. 15. 30 geance againſt the perpetrators of them: *The ſoul* (ſaith the Law) *that doth preſumptuouſly, the ſame reproacheth the Lord, and that ſoul ſhall be cut off from among his people: Becauſe he hath deſpiſed the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that ſoul ſhall utterly be cut off*, (by God's ſpecial Providence) *his iniquity ſhall be upon him.* And we know how ſolemn and dreadful imprecations were
Deut. 27. 26. Gal. 3. 10. pronounced againſt not only the tranſgreſſours of ſome particular laws, but generally againſt all thoſe who did *not continue in all things written in the law to do them*: ſo that the remiſſion tendred by *Moſes* was of a very narrow extent, and ſuch as could hardly exempt any man from obligation to and fear of puniſhment. Indeed, to prevent utter deſpair, and that which is naturally conſequent thereupon, a total neglect of duty; God was pleaſed by his Prophets among that people occaſionally to intimate ſomething of farther grace reſerved, and that he was willing (upon condition of humble and ſincere repentance) to receive even thoſe, who were guilty of the higheſt offences, to mercy. But theſe diſcoveries, as they were ſpecial and extraordinary,
Luk. 1. 77, 78. 2 Cor. 6. 2. ſo were they farther preparatory to the Goſpel, and as dawnings to that bright day of grace, which did by Chriſt ſpread its comfortable light over the world, revealing to mankind a general capacity of God's favour (procured in a manner admirable and ſtrange) obtainable by means declared, upon terms propounded therein.

Thereby is fully and clearly manifeſted to us how God in free mercy and pity to us (all our works being unworthy of any acceptance, all our ſacrifices unfit in the leaſt part to ſatisfy for our offences) was pleaſed himſelf to provide an obedience worthy of his acceptance, and thoroughly well-pleaſing to him (imputable to us as performed by one of our kind and race; and apt to appeaſe God's juſt wrath againſt ſuch a generation of rebels) to provide a ſacrifice in nature ſo pure, in value ſo precious, as might be perfectly ſatisfactory for our offences: in regard to which obedience God is become reconciled, and opens his arms of grace to mankind; in reſpect to which ſacrifice, he tenders remiſſion to all men, that upon his terms (moſt equal and eaſie terms) are willing to embrace it. This is the great doctrine, ſo peculiar to the Goſpel, from
Vid. Lu. 1. 77. Act. 20. 24. Luke 2. 10. Lu. 24. 47, 48. whence eſpecially it hath its name; from whence it is ſtyled *the Goſpel of grace; this is the good tidings of great joy to all people*, which the Angel firſt preached at our Saviour's birth; which the Apoſtles were ordained *to preach and teſtifie unto all nations* as the main point of Chriſtian Religion (that in our Saviour's name *repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached unto all nations*) that God had *exalted him to his right hand as a prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins*: (to give repentance, that is to give μετανοίας τόπον, *i. e.* a room for repentance in order to mercy, to make it acceptable and available for the remiſſion of ſins:)
Act. 5. 31. Heb. 12. 17. Act. 13. 38. 1 Joh. 2. 12. Rom. 11. 32. Gal. 3. 22. *God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *did conclude all men under diſobedience, that he might have mercy upon all: All men have ſinned and are come ſhort of the glory of God; But, we*

are juſtified freely by his grace, by the redemption which is in Chriſt Jeſus; whom God hath propounded a propitiatory by faith in his blood, for the demonſtration of his righteouſneſs, toward the forgiveneſs of fore-paſt offences. In which words of St. *Paul*, all things concerning the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe are expreſſed or implied: the nature of it (freeing us from guilt, and rendring us juſt in God's ſight:) the cauſes whence it ſprang; the external impulſive in reſpect of God, or occaſion thereof, our neceſſity and miſery; the internal impulſive, God's grace, and free goodneſs; alſo the meritorious cauſe, procuring it (our Saviour's obedience, and ſuffering; whereby he did make attonement for our ſins;) the ends whither it tends (the demonſtration of God's goodneſs, and his juſtice; or of his merciful juſtice, ſignified by the word δικαιοσύνη,) the terms and condition, upon compliance with, or performance of which the effect of it ſhould follow; (Faith, that is a ſincere embracement, or hearty perſuaſion concerning the truth of that doctrine or revelation, which offered it; implying alſo a firm reſolution to ſubmit to the yoke of Chriſt, and obey his righteous laws;) laſtly, the means of conveying, declaring, and confirming it (implied by the words, πάρεσις πεφγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων, the remiſſion of fore-paſt ſins; ſuch as was ſolemnly exhibited, ſignified, ratified in the Church-miniſtries of baptiſm, abſolution, and reconciliation upon penance and confeſſion; eſpecially the firſt.) Theſe things I cannot inſiſt upon particularly or diſtinctly, nor do much need to do ſo, having had occaſion to conſider moſt of them formerly in theſe diſcourſes, eſpecially when we ſpake concerning the ſalvation procured by Jeſus, the ſacerdotal office of Chriſt, the death and paſſion of our Saviour: I ſhall therefore only now briefly touch (that which ſeems here ſpecially referred to) the ordinary manner of conveying this great grace to men, by the miniſtry of the Church. To which purpoſe we may conſider, that although it be true that God generally propounds remiſſion of ſins (upon account of our Saviour's performances and in his name) to *all that truly repent, and turn unto him*; that he chiefly grants it upon this conſideration; nor with-holds it from any upon the blameleſs default of any other performance; yet he requires (and to comply with his will therein, is part of duty which the repentance mentioned diſpoſes to, and is declared by;) God requires, I ſay, (as well for the publick edification and the honour of the Church, as for the comfort and advantage of the perſons more immediately concerned herein) that this repentance,

Rom. 3. 4. 5. &c.

Acts. 26. 20. 3. 19.

1. Be publickly declared and approved by the Church; that this remiſſion be ſolemnly and formally imparted by the hands of God's Miniſters, declared by expreſs words, or ratified by certain ſeals, and ſignified by myſterious repreſentations appointed by God: Thus hath every man (upon declaration of his real faith and repentance, to the ſatisfaction of the Church) being admitted to baptiſm, the entire forgiveneſs of his ſins, and reception into God's favour, conſigned unto him therein; confirmed and repreſented by a viſible ſign, ſhewing, that as by water the body is waſhed and cleanſed from adherent filth, ſo by the grace then imparted, the ſouls of them (upon whom that myſtical rite is performed) are cleared from the guilts that ſtained it, *their ſins are wiped out* ('tis St. *Peter*'s expreſſion in the *Acts*) *their hearts are ſprinkled from an evil conſcience* (as it is in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*) *they are ſaved* (or put into a ſtate of ſalvation; as St. *Peter* aſſures us.)

Acts 2. 38. 3. 19.

Act. 3. 19. Heb. 10. 22. 1 Pet. 3. 21.

2. Likewiſe, if Chriſtian men having fallen into ſin, or failed of duty toward God, do ſeriouſly confeſs their fault, and heartily repent thereof, when the miniſters of the Church in God's name and for Chriſt's ſake do declare (or pronounce) to them ſo doing, or ſo qualified, the pardon of their ſin, and abſolve them from it; we need not doubt that their ſins are really forgiven; and the pardon expreſſed in words, is effectually diſpenſed unto them.

3. Moreover, if perſons having committed notorious enormities, adjudged of a deadly and deſtructive nature (*ſins unto death*, St. *John* calls them) inconſiſtent with the ſtate of grace, and ſcandalous to the Chriſtian profeſſion, are therefore juſtly ſecluded from communion of the Church; when upon ſubmiſſion to the penances injoined, and ſatisfactory demonſtrations of repentance, they are reſumed into the boſom of the Church, we may be aſſured that (according to the Catholick reſolution againſt the *Novatians*;) ſuppoſing the repentance true and real, their ſins are remitted, and they reſtored to a ſtate of grace: For ſince God hath expreſsly declared, that if the *wicked will turn from all his ſins that he hath committed, and keep all God's ſtatutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not*

1 Joh. 5. 16.

Ezek. 18. 21. 22. 27. 30.

not die; All his tranſgreſſions that he hath committed, they ſhall not be mentioned unto him;——he ſhall ſave his ſoul alive——iniquity ſhall not be his ruin——th
Ez. 1. 16, 17, 18. if we *waſh our ſelves, and make our ſelves clean, and put away the evil of our d ings from God's eyes, and ceaſe to do evil——Though our ſins be as ſcarlet, th ſhall be as white as ſnow; though they be red like crimſon, they ſhall he as wool.* Since God *delights not in the death of any ſinner, but rather deſires that all men*
Matt. 18. 13. Luk. 15. *ſhould be ſaved*: Since our Saviour intimates the ſatisfaction he hath in *finding the ſheep* that had erred from his fold; and God is ſo highly pleaſed with the *return of a prodigal ſon* (that had ſpent abroad all his ſuſtenance in riot) *home to his houſe*: Since our Saviour's performances are in value and vertue ſufficient to ex-
1 Joh. 2. 2. piate for the greateſt offences, to redeem the moſt grievous ſinners: *ſo that if any man ſins, he hath*, upon due repentance, *an advocate with the father*: Since the
1 Cor. 13. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 5. deſign of ſuch puniſhments, inflicted upon offenders, reſpects edification, not deſtruction; and procures the ruin of the fleſh that the ſpirit may be ſaved; Theſe things, I ſay, being conſidered, the Church (to which the publick and ordinary diſpenſation of God's grace, according to the diſpoſitions and conditions which he hath declared to require in order to men's becoming capable thereof, is committed) hath ſufficient warrant to receive ſuch perſons into a ſtate of grace and reconciliation with God; ſo that
Joh. 20. 23. Matt. 18. 18. we need not doubt but *whoſe ſins they* ſhall thus *remit, ſhall* in effect (according to our Saviour's word) *be remitted; whom they* ſhall thus *abſolve on earth*, they *ſhall be abſolved in heaven*. But theſe things I have formerly touched, in diſcourſing upon the power of the Keys; I ſhall only add a few words concerning the uſe and practical influence this Point, being believed and conſidered, ſhould have upon us. And,

1. It ſhould engage us to admire the goodneſs of God; and with grateful hearts to praiſe him for it. If we ſhould offer the higheſt injuries, affronts, and deſpights to the Majeſty of an earthly prince among us (ſo infinitely inferiour to that of God) we ſhould have reaſon to admire his goodneſs and clemency, did he paſs them over, did he not with extreme ſeverity avenge them: there can be no higher than thoſe we have offered to Almighty God (none capable in any compariſon of ſuch aggravations) how unexpreſſibly great therefore is his goodneſs that freely offers us pardon; that earneſtly invites and intreats us to accept it; that hath been at ſuch an expence, and condeſcended ſo low to purchaſe for us the means thereof? It is
2 Cor. 9. 14, 15. ὑπερβάλλουσα χάρις, an exceſſive grace of God; ὑπερβάλλων πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος, an exEph. 2. 7. ceſſive riches of grace; ἀνεκδιήγητος δωρεὰ (*an unutterable gift*) of God, as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh: Let us conſider our ſtate, and the nature of God, with the aggravations of our offences grounded on them, and we ſhall in ſome meaſure perceive it ſo; and what thankfulneſs we are conſequently obliged to render.

2. It ſhould beget in us, as grateful reſpect, ſo ardent love to God, in proportion to the favour we have received: It was his love that moved him to forgive us our
Eph. 2. 4. ſins (*God being rich in mercy, for his great love, with which he loved us, did quicken us with Chriſt, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins.*) And to this love of pity in God, ſhould anſwer a love of reverence in us toward ſo gracious a Lord. Our Saviour you know propounds the queſtion to St. *Peter* concerning two debtors, of whom
Luk. 7. 41. & 47. one did owe 50, the other 500 pence; and both being forgiven by the creditor *whom he thought of the two ſhould love him moſt*: he anſwers according to the plain dictate of nature, *he to whom moſt was forgiven*: and our Saviour approves his anſwer with an ὀρθῶς ἔκρινας, *Thou haſt judged rightly*: And the Holy Penitent (*Mary Magdalen*) *becauſe many ſins were forgiven her, therefore did love much*: ſo doth reaſon and example oblige us to do.

3. It affords matter of comfort to us; a comfortable ſenſe of mercy conferred; a
Pſal. 32. 1, 2. Rom. 5. 1. comfortable hope of mercy to be obtained: *Bleſſed is he* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *whoſe tranſgreſſion is forgiven, whoſe ſin is pardoned——Bleſſed is the man, unto whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity——Being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God.* All good Chriſtians are in this bleſſed ſtate, and may enjoy a delightful ſatisfaction in reflecting thereupon, able to ſupport them againſt all other occaſions of ſorrow
Iſa. 44. 22. or diſpleaſure that may befall them; and, it will fortifie us againſt deſpair to conſider, that however God hath been offended by our ſins, he will be appeaſed by our repentance; ſo that our ſins ſhall be blotted out and vaniſh as a thick cloud, which paſſing away, leaves a ſerene ſky behind it. *If any man ſin, we have an advocate*, &c.

4. It is alſo an engagement to obedience: *Behold*, (ſaid our Saviour to the diſJoh. 5. 14. eaſed man) *thou art made whole, ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing come upon thee*. Having obtained a cure and ſtate of health by God's grace, we by relapſing into ſi-

expoſe

expoſe our ſelves to greater danger, we incurr deeper guilt: Our ſtate, though not wholly deſperate, becomes very perillous. 'Tis better continuing in the ſhip, than committing our ſafety to a plank. Pœnitentia tabula poſt naufragium. *Tertull.*

5. Laſtly, the conſideration of this point will ſhew us how much we are obliged (in conformity and compliance with God) to bear with and forgive the offences or injuries done againſt us; you know how ſtrongly our Saviour preſſes the conſideration of God's free pardon beſtowed on us to this purpoſe: How he ſets out the unreaſonableneſs and diſ-ingenuity of them which are *hard-hearted toward their brethren and fellow-ſervants in this caſe*; how he threatens unavoidable ſeverity toward thoſe, who *do not from their hearts forgive their brethren their treſpaſſes*, and promiſes remiſſion of ſins, *to them who* (according to what they in their prayers profeſs themſelves to do) *ſhall forgive to men the offences committed againſt them*; making it not only an indiſpenſible condition, but (as it were) a means of obtaining God's mercy and favour. But I leave it to your meditation to make farther profitable deductions from this point. So I proceed: Matt. 18. 6. Matt. 18. 35. Matt. 6. 14.

The Reſurrection of the Body.

Τῆς σαρκὸς, *of the fleſh*, it is in Greek; which comes to the ſame; the immortality or ſurviving of the ſoul after death (as being a foundation of receiving reward and puniſhment for men's deeds in this life) hath been in all Religions (except perchance that of the ancient Jews; but they afterwards found it neceſſary to ſuppoſe this point——when they found the moſt pious obnoxious to greateſt affliction, which propounded great rewards and puniſhments in this life, aſſuring that Providence which diſpenſed them, by ſenſible experiments) hath been, I ſay, almoſt in all Religions deemed a neceſſary principle, as the moſt potent excitement to virtue; the moſt powerful determent from wickedneſs; the moſt ſatisfactory ground of reſolving difficulties concerning the nature and providence of God; which general conſent (running through all ancient Religions) according to that of *Cicero*, *Permanere animos arbitramur conſenſu nationum omnium*, argueth it not only agreeable to common reaſon, but deduced from original tradition; without which (conſidering the variable diſpoſitions and capacities of mankind) it is hard to conceive ſo many Nations ſhould unanimouſly conſpire in an opinion of that nature (ſo removed from ſenſe) however reaſonable. Indeed the Philoſophers, men affecting to ſoar above the pitch of vulgar apprehenſion, and who perceiving the great ſuperſtition and vanity immixt with common Religions (as they had been by fraud and folly corrupted, and become degenerate from primitive tradition) did not ſcruple to call any thing delivered in them to queſtion, and to determine about them according to reaſons offering themſelves, did differ herein; yet ſo as ſcarce any, who acknowledged a Divinity, which (having made and governing the World, and to whom therefore reverence and ſervice from men was due) did not approve and aſſert it; as indeed they muſt needs do in conſonance to their opinion concerning God; all arguments upon which Religion is built, inferring it; which they did endeavour farther to confirm by reaſons, draw from the nature of man, which you may ſee collected and elegantly urged by *Cicero* in the firſt of his *Tuſculane* Queſtions: which arguments yet we may perceive had not ſo great an efficacy either upon him, or upon *Socrates* himſelf (the firſt great promoter of this doctrine as deducible from reaſon) that they were thoroughly confident of its truth, and freed from all doubt concerning it. The certainty thereof we owe to Chriſtianity alone, and to his inſtruction, *who brought life and immortality* (that is, immortal life) *to light*: It plainly teaches us, that when we die, we ſhall not wholly periſh like brute beaſts (or rather natural bodies, when they are diſſolved) that our ſouls do not vaniſh into nothing, nor are reſolved into inviſible principles, but return into God's hand, and the place by him appointed for them; there continuing in that life, which is proper to a ſoul. This Chriſtianity teacheth us; and not only ſo, but farther, that our bodies themſelves ſhall be raiſed again out of their duſt and corruption; and our ſouls ſhall be re-united to them; and our perſons reſtored to their perfect integrity of nature: the bringing of which effects to paſs, by the divine power, is called moſt commonly *the reſurrection of the dead*, (or *from the dead*, ἐκ νεκρῶν) and ſimply *the reſurrection*; ſometimes *the regeneration* (or iterated nativity) and *being born from the dead*; which names plainly imply a reſpect to the body, and to the perſon of a man, as conſtituted of body and ſoul: the Tuſc. 1. 2 Tim. 1. 10. ἐγερσεν. Heb. 11. 19. ἀναγαγεῖν. Heb. 13. 20. Matt. 19. 28. Coloſ. 1. 18. Apoc. 1.

the meer permanency of our ſouls in being and life, could not be called (with any propriety or truth) *a reſurrection*; that which never had fallen, could not be ſaid to be raiſed up; that which did never die, could not be reſtored from death; nor could men be ſaid to riſe again but in reſpect to that part, or that ſtate, which had fallen and ceaſed to be: And as to be *born at firſt* ſignifies the production and union of the parts eſſential to a man, body and ſoul, ſo to be *born again* implies the reſtitution and re-union of the ſame; a man becoming thereby the ſame entire perſon, which he was before. The ſame is alſo ſometimes ſignified in terms more formal and expreſs: *the quickning of the dead; the vivification of our mortal bodies; the redemption of our body; this corruptible* (τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, this very ſame corruptible) *putting on immortality; thoſe which are in the Graves hearing Chriſt's voice, and proceeding forth to reſurrection of life or judgment; The awaking of them which ſleep in the duſt of the earth; The ſea, the death, the hell* (or univerſal Grave) *yielding up their dead:* which expreſſions, and the like, occurring, moſt clearly and fully prove the reſtitution of the body, and its re-union with the ſoul, and the perſon becoming in ſubſtance completely the ſame that he was; which truth of all perhaps, which Chriſtianity revealed, as moſt new and ſtrange, was the hardlieſt received, and found moſt oppoſition among the Heathens, eſpecially Philoſophers. *Hearing the reſurrection of the dead, ſome of them mocked; others ſaid, We will hear thee again about this:* ſo was St. *Paul*'s diſcourſe entertained among the *Athenians*; ſome derided it as (it ſeems) conceiving it a thing altogether impoſſible, or very improbable to happen; they did not ſee how it could, why it ſhould be done (as *Pliny*, ſome-where counting the revolution of the dead to life, a thing impoſſible to be performed, otherwhere a * childiſh foppery to ſuppoſe it;) but why it ſhould be impoſſible to the divine power, no good reaſon can be aſſigned: To recollect the diſperſed parts of a man's body; to diſpoſe them into their due order; to reduce them unto a temper fit to ſerve vital functions; to re-join the ſoul unto the body ſo reſtored why ſhould it be impoſſible, why ſeem hard to him, who firſt framed and temper'd our body out of the duſt, and inſpired the ſoul into it? yea to him, who out of meer confuſion digeſted the whole world into ſo wonderful an order and harmony? to him that into a dead lump of earth inſerted ſuch varieties of life? that from ſeeds buried in the ground, and corrupted there, cauſes ſuch goodly plants to ſpring forth? that hath made all nature to ſubſiſt by continual viciſſitudes of life and death? every morning (as it were) and every ſpring repreſenting a general reſurrection: [*Ah Lord God* (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*) *thou haſt made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and ſtretched-out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee*: (too hard for omniſcient wiſdom to contrive, for omnipotent ſtrength to execute.)] And what difficulties ſoever fancy may ſuggeſt, can we doubt of that to be poſſible, which experience ſhews us to be done? Let that paſſage in the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſuffice, concerning very dry bones ſcattered about in an open field, which at God's word came together and united in order; the ſinews and the fleſh coming upon them, and the skin covering them; and laſtly, breath coming into them, ſo that they lived and ſtood upon their feet an exceeding great Army; whether we ſuppoſe it to be a parable or a hiſtory, to relate to the laſt reſurrection or not, implies yet a poſſibility of ſuch a reſurrection, and yields a lively reſemblance thereof: But more plainly do many inſtances of particular reſurrections, for the confirmation of our faith recorded in Scripture: *Women* (ſaith the author to the *Hebrews*) *received their dead by reſurrection*; relating to the Widow of *Sarepta*'s child, who by *Elias*'s prayer did revive; and the *Shunamite*'s child raiſed by *Eliſha*; to which might be added the man, who being let down into *Eliſha*'s Sepulchre, and touching the bones of that Prophet, did revive and ſtand upon his feet: And in the New Teſtament we have likewiſe divers examples of perſons by our Saviour raiſed and reſtored from death to life, *Jairus* his daughter, the young man of *Naim*, *Lazarus*, (who had been four days dead, in which time bodies come to putrifie and ſmell) and more remarkably 'tis ſaid in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, that at our Saviour's death *many tombs were opened, and many bodies of Saints, that had departed, roſe; and coming out of the tombs* (after our Saviour's reſurrection) *entered into the Holy City, and did appear to many* (or publickly;) a clear and full experiment of a miraculous reſurrection, like to that we believe: But above all, our Saviour's reſurrection may confirm our faith herein, it being deſigned to that purpoſe, πίστιν παρεχὼν πᾶσιν, *God holding forth* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *a convincing argument to all of the reſurrection* (and other appendant verities taught in the Goſpel) *raiſing him up from the dead: And if Chriſt be*

preached

Rom. 4. 17. 8. 11. 23. 2 Cor. 5. 2. &c. 1 Cor. 15. 53. Joh. 5. 28. Dan. 12. 2. Apoc. 20. 13.

Act. 17. 32. Vid. Orig. c. Celſ. l.

Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. VII. 55.

* Puerile deliramentum.

1 Cor. 15. 36, &c.

Jer. 32. 17.

Ezek. 37. 1. &c.

Heb. 11. 35. 1 King. 17. 23. 2 King. 4. 36. 2 King. 13. 21.

Joh. 11. 39.

Matt. 27. 52.

πρὸς πολλοῖς.

Act. 17. 32. 1 Cor. 15. 12.

preached that he roſe from the dead; how ſay ſome, that there is no reſurrection of the dead? how can any man deny that to be poſſible, which is ſo really exemplified? nay, how can we doubt that we ſhall follow, when we ſee him going before; as the *captain of life*; as *our fore-runner*; as *the firſt-fruits of them that ſleep*, and *firſt-born from the dead*; as that ſecond *Adam*, whom it is congruous that we ſhould all conform to in the reſtitution of our nature, as we did to the firſt *Adam* in the decay thereof; that we ſhould live by him, as we died by the other; and bear the Image of the heavenly immortal man, as we did that of the earthly and mortal one: Neither (as not impoſſible ſo) can this reſurrection be ſhewed improbable, or implauſible, but rather very conſonant to the reaſon of the thing. Man, according to original deſign and frame, doth conſiſt of ſoul and body; thoſe parts have a natural relation, an aptitude, and an appetite (it ſeems by their unwillingneſs to part) to cohabit, communicate, and co-operate with each other: many actions very proper to man's nature cannot be performed without their conjunctions, concurrence, many capacities of joy and comfort (with their contraries) reſult thence: the ſeparation of them we ſee how violent and repugnant it is to nature; and we are taught that it is penal, and a conſequent of ſin; and therefore cannot be good and perfect. No wonder then, that God deſigning to reſtore man to his ancient integrity, and more (to a higher perfection) to reward him with all the felicity his nature is capable of, (on one hand I mean, as on the other hand to puniſh and afflict him according to his demerit) ſhould raiſe the body and re-join it to the ſoul, that it might contribute its natural ſubſerviency to ſuch enjoyments and ſufferings reſpectively: not to omit the congruity in juſtice, that the bodies which did partake in works of obedience and holineſs, or of diſobedience and prophaneſs (which, in St. *Paul*'s language, were either ſlaves to impurity and iniquity, or *ſervants of righteouſneſs unto ſanctification*) ſhould alſo partake in ſuitable recompences; that the body which endured grievous pains for righteouſneſs, ſhould enjoy comfortable refreſhments; that which wallowed in unlawful pleaſures ſhould undergo juſt torments.

1 Cor. 15. 21, 22, 49.

Rom. 6. 19. Tertul. Apol. &c.

I omit (the time ſo requiring) many conſiderations pertinent to this purpoſe: I ſhall only add, what we farther learn in Scripture (which alſo the reaſon of the thing would teach us) concerning this point; that as the bodies of men ſhall be raiſed the ſame in ſubſtance, ſo they ſhall be much altered in quality: for whereas according to their preſent temper and frame our bodies are frail and weak, apt by every ſmall impreſſion upon them to be broken, or impaired, needing continual reparation, and notwithſtanding all means uſed to preſerve them growing to decay and diſſolution; and whereas they are deſtined after their reſurrection, to a continual abiding in joy or pain; it is neceſſary they ſhould be ſo changed as that they may be fit without decay to enjoy thoſe everlaſting comforts, able without diſſolution to undergo thoſe endleſs pains: and particularly farther, whereas the body here doth clog the ſoul, doth excite troubleſome paſſions, doth incline to ſenſual deſire, doth require much care to preſerve and pleaſe it; ſuch things being inconſiſtent with or prejudicial to that ſtate of ſpiritual reſt and joy, which good men are deſtined to; a change muſt needs be made therein, preventive of ſuch inconveniencies: *for* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *fleſh and blood* (a body ſo brittle and paſſible, ſo apt to be affected by, ſo addicted to ſenſible goods) *cannot enter into the Kingdom of God; nor can corruption inherit incorruption; but this corruptible muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put on immortality, the dead muſt be raiſed incorruptible*; there muſt be a very ſudden mutation (ſo St. *Paul* in ſeveral places expreſsly tells us) a metamorphoſis into a reſemblance with Chriſt's glory: *a tranſfiguration of our vile body into conformity with his glorious body. Our body is ſown in corruption, it ſhall be raiſed in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, raiſed in glory; ſown in weakneſs, raiſed in power; ſown a natural body, raiſed a ſpiritual.* But ſo much concerning the Reſurrection, I proceed to that which follows thereupon.

1 Cor. 15. 50, 53, 49, 52.

1 Cor. 15. 52. 1 Theſſ. 4. 15, 16, 17. 2 Cor. 3. 18. Phil. 3. 21. Vid. 1. Cor. 15. 42, 43, 44.

Life everlaſting.

THE immediate conſequent of the Reſurrection (common to juſt and unjuſt) is (as we have it in the Catalogue of fundamental doctrines, ſet down by the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*,) κρῖμα αἰώνιον, that judgment, or doom by which the eternal ſtate of every perſon is determined; *accordingly every man muſt bear the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether it be good or evil.* Now

Heb. 6. 2. 2 Cor. 5. 10.

this ſtate generally taken (as reſpecting both the righteous and bleſſed; the wicked and miſerable) as it doth ſuppoſe a perpetual duration in being and ſenſe, ſo it may be called everlaſting life; although life (as being commonly apprehended, a principal good, and all men having naturally a ſtrong deſire to preſerve it, with reference also perhaps to the phraſes uſed under the law, wherein continuance in life is propoſed as a reward to the obedient, and death threatned to tranſgreſſours) is uſed to denote peculiarly the bleſſed ſtate; as death (the moſt extreme of legal puniſhments, and moſt abominable to nature) is alſo uſed to ſignifie the condition of the damned; *the reſurrection of life, and reſurrection of damnation*; *everlaſting life* and *everlaſting puniſhment* (*ſhame and everlaſting contempt*) being oppoſed. Although I ſay life be commonly thus taken (as is alſo the reſurrection ſometimes for that which belongs only to the righteous, tranſmitting them into happineſs) yet the reaſon of the thing requires, that here we underſtand it generally, ſo as to comprehend both ſtates (both being matters of faith equally neceſſary, as it were, and of like fundamental conſequence;) both yielding both the higheſt encouragements to a good, and determents from a bad life. For as on the one hand what can excite us more to the performance of duty than ſo happy a ſtate; a ſtate of higheſt dignity and glory, of ſweeteſt comfort and joy; of joy, full in meaſure, pure in quality, perpetual in duration, perfect in all reſpects to the utmoſt capacity of our nature: wherein all our parts and faculties ſhall be raiſed to their higheſt pitch of perfection; our bodies become free from all corruptibility and decay; all weakneſs and diſeaſe; all groſſneſs, unwieldineſs, defilement, and deformity, ſhall be rendred incorruptible, glorious and ſpiritual: our ſouls in their nature perfected, in their inclinations rectified, in their appetites ſatisfied; the underſtanding being full of light, clear and diſtinct in knowledge of truth, free from error and ignorance; the will ſteadily inclined to good, ready to comply with God's will, free from all perverſeneſs and weakneſs; our affections ſet in right order and frame, with conſtant regularity tending to that which is truly good, and taking full delight therein. Wherein we ſhall enjoy the bliſsful preſence and ſight of God, ſmiling in love and favour upon us, of our gracious redeemer, of the holy angels, of the juſt made perfect; whoſe company and converſation how unconceivably ſweet and delightful muſt it be? wherein nothing adverſe, or troubleſome can befall us; no unpleaſant or offenſive object preſent it ſelf to us; no want or need of any thing; no care, or fear, or ſuſpicion; no labour or toil; no ſorrow or pain; no regret or diſtaſt; no ſtir or contention; no liſtleſſneſs or ſatiety: *God will wipe* (as it is in the Apocalypſe) *every tear from their eyes*; and death ſhall be no more, nor ſorrow, nor clamour (or complaint) nor pain any more; in fine, a ſtate ſurpaſſing all words to expreſs it, all thoughts to conceive it, of which the higheſt ſplendours and choiceſt pleaſures here are but obſcure ſhadows (do yield but faint and imperfect reſemblances) comparable to which *no eye hath ſeen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it aſcended into any heart to conceive the like*, (as St. *Paul* out of the Prophet *Eſay* tells us) the firm belief, I ſay, and careful conſideration of the certainty by a pious and holy life, of acquiring right unto and poſſeſſion of ſuch a ſtate muſt needs be the greateſt excitement poſſible thereto; as muſt the loſs and falling ſhort thereof be of mighty efficacy to withdraw us from impiety: As on this hand, ſo on the other hand, the being perſuaded, that by neglecting our duty and tranſgreſſing God's law we ſhall certainly incur intolerable pains and miſeries without eaſe or reſpit; without hope or remedy, without any end: that we ſhall for ever not only be ſecluded from God's preſence and favour, be deprived of all reſt, comfort, and joy; but detruded into utmoſt wretchedneſs; a ſtate more dark and diſmal, more forlorn and diſconſolate than we can imagine; which not the ſharpeſt pain of body, not the bittereſt anxiety of mind any of us ever felt, can in any meaſure repreſent; wherein our bodies ſhall be afflicted continually with a ſulphureous flame, not ſcorching the skin only, but piercing the inmoſt ſinews; our ſouls inceſſantly bit and gnawed upon by a worm (the worm of bitter remorſe for our wretched perverſeneſs and folly; of horrid deſpair ever to get out of this ſad eſtate) under which vexations unexpreſſible, always enduring pangs of death, always dying, we ſhall never die: This perſuaſion, I ſay, muſt needs moſt effectually deterr us from thoſe courſes of impiety, which certainly lead to ſo miſerable a condition; if it cannot, what can do it? We muſt, beyond all impreſſion that any reaſon can make upon us, be irrecoverably ſtupid or obſtinate; infinitely careleſs of our own good, bent to our ruin. But theſe things the time will not permit me farther to dilate upon; and I did

Vid. Deut. 5. v. ult.

Joh. 5. 29. Matt. 25. 45. Dan. 12. 2. Phil. 3. 11. Luk. 20. 35.

Pſal. 16. 11.

1 Cor. 15. 42, 43, 44. 2 Cor. 3. 18. Phil. 3. 21. 1 Cor. 13. 12.

1 Joh. 3. 2. Heb. 12. 22.

Apoc. 3. 4.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Eſ. 64. 4.

did formerly (in treating upon our Saviour's coming to judgment) ſomewhat largely preſs conſiderations of this nature. I ſhall only therefore conclude with a Prayer to Almighty God, that according to his infinite mercy he by his gracious aſſiſtance leading us in the ways of piety and obedience, would bring us into everlaſting life and happineſs; withdrawing us from impiety and iniquity, would deliver us from eternal death and miſery: To whom be all praiſe and glory for ever. *Amen.*

AN EXPOSITION OF *The* LORD's PRAYER.

AMong all the Duties preſcribed to us by our Religion, the rendring due Worſhip to God is in nature, and for conſequence, the principal: God thereby being moſt directly honoured and ſerved, we from it immediately deriving moſt ample and high benefits; to the performance of which duty we are furniſhed with excellent direction, and aſſiſtance from that Prayer, which our Lord (at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions) dictated, and recommended to his Diſciples; both as a pattern, according to which they ſhould regulate their devotions (*Pray thus*, or in this manner, ſaith he in St. *Matthew*) and as a form, in which they ſhould expreſs them (*When you pray, ſay*; that is, ſay this or in theſe words; ſo he enjoins them in St. *Luke*): unto it therefore we ſhould carefully attend as to our beſt rule; and we ſhould frequently uſe it as our beſt matter of devotion; to the well-performing of both which duties, it is requiſite that we ſhould diſtinctly underſtand the particulars contained therein, in order to which purpoſe we ſhall endeavour to explain them; but firſt let us premiſe a few words in general about Prayer.

Matt. 6. 9. Luke 11. 2.

Quamlibet alia verba dicamus quæ affectus orantis vel præcedendo formet ut clareat vel conſequendo attendit ut creſcat nihil aliud dicimus, quàm quod in iſta Dominica Oratione poſitum eſt ſi rectè & congruenter oramus. Aug. Epiſt. 121. *Vide illum.*

Prayer in its latitude of acceptation doth comprehend all devotion, or worſhip immediately addreſſed unto Almighty God; conſiſting of praiſe, which we render to God in regard to his moſt excellent perfections, and glorious works; of ſubmiſſive gratulation, declaring our ſatisfaction in all the diſpenſations of his moſt wiſe and juſt providence; of thankſgiving, for the numberleſs great benefits we have received from him; of acknowledging our total dependance on him, and our ſubjection to him; of profeſſing faith in him, and vowing ſervice to him; of confeſſing the ſins we have committed againſt him, with the guilt and aggravation of them; of deprecating the wrath and puniſhment due to us for our offences; of petition for all things needful and convenient for us; of interceſſion for others, whoſe good we according to duty or charity are concerned to deſire and promote; Prayer, I ſay (although according to its moſt reſtrained ſenſe it only doth ſignifie one of theſe particulars, namely the petition of what is needful or expedient for us, yet) in its larger acception, as it commonly is uſed, it doth comprize them all; and ſo we may well take it here; this form, although ſo very brief, being with ſo admirable wiſdom contrived, as without ſtraining the words beyond their natural importance, we may, applying a moderate attention, diſcern them all, as to their main ſubſtance, couched therein; ſo that we may indeed reaſonably regard this Prayer as a complete directory, and a full exerciſe of all our devotion toward God: of devotion, I ſay, the which (to engage, excite and encourage us to the careful and conſtant practice thereof) we may conſider injoined us as a neceſſary duty, commended to us as a requiſite means of good, and a ſpecial inſtrument of all piety, and as a high privilege granted to us by God.

1 Tim. 2. 1. —δεήσεις, προσευχαὶ, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίαι.

Οὐ μόνον ἐχόντως ἐστὶ δεῖσθαι καλὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ζήματα, ἀλλὰ βίβλος τελείου παιδαγωγία. Chryſ. Tom. V. p. 185. Tetius Evangelii, breviarium Text. de Orat. p. 2.

1. It is a natural duty and debt we owe to God (both in correſpondence to the deſign of our being made and endowed with rational capacities agreeable to our relations; and in requital for our being, and for all the good we have, and do continually receive from him) as moſt highly to love and reverence him in our hearts; ſo to declare our eſteem of his excellencies, and our ſenſe of his bounty toward us; to avow the dependence we have upon his will and providence; the obligations we are under to his mercy and goodneſs; to yield our due homage of reſpect, ſubmiſſion and obedience to him: if we do acknowledge a God, our Maker, our Lord, our continual Benefactour to be, we muſt conſequently acknowledge theſe performances in reaſon, juſtice and gratitude due to him; and God accordingly requires, and poſitively enjoins them: He is *the Lord our God, whom we muſt worſhip and ſerve*; the God *whom praiſe waiteth for*; *who heareth prayers*, and *to whom* therefore *all fleſh muſt come*; the Scripture is very frequent in commanding the duty.

Deut. 10. 20. Matth. 4. 10. Pſal. 65. 2.

2. It is a moſt uſefull means, or a condition requiſite for the procurement of benefits, and bleſſings upon us. God hath declared that he doth accept, he hath promiſed that he will reward all devotions, with an honeſt intention and pure mind offered up unto him; that he *is nigh unto all them that call upon him in truth*; that he will *be found of them who ſeek him with all their heart*; that *he will fullfil the deſire of them that fear him*; *he will hear their cry, and will ſave them*; that *they who ſeek him ſhall not want any good thing*; that, *whatever we ask in prayer believing we ſhall receieve*; that *if we ask it ſhall be given us, if we ſeek, we ſhall find*; *if we knock it ſhall be opened to us*. Prayer is alſo a means of procuring a bleſſing upon all our undertakings; it ſanctifieth every performance, *&c.* There is no good thing ſo great and precious, ſo high above the reach of common power; ſo ſtrange to expect or difficult to compaſs, which we may not eaſily and ſurely by this means obtain; relief in all diſtreſſes both of our outward and inward eſtate; ſupplies of all our needs both corporal and ſpiritual; comfort in all our ſorrows and ſadneſſes; ſatisfaction in all our doubts and darkneſſes of mind; help and ſtrength againſt all our temptations we may be confident to obtain, if we duly ſeek them from the Almighty diſpenſer of all good gifts: ſure promiſes there are and obvious examples hereof, too many to be now recited: as on the other hand; they that will neglect this duty, that will not vouchſafe to ſeek help and remedy of God, may be ſure to want it; ſhall certainly ſuffer for their proud contempt, profane diffidence, or fooliſh ſloth: *you will not* (ſaith our Saviour) *come to me, that you may have life*: no wonder then if they do not receive it, if they will not go thither for it, where only it is to be had. All good things are in God's hand, and we ſhall never by any force or policy get them thence without his will, moved by intreaty; all good gifts come from heaven, and thence we ſhall never fetch them down, without aſcending thither in our hearts and affections; ſpiritual goods eſpecially are ſo high above us, that we can never reach them otherwiſe, than by God's help by humble ſupplication obtained.

Εὐχῆς δεηταὶ ἀγαθῶν ὁ ἀνήκοος Θεός. Pſal. 34. 10. 145. 18, 19. 10. 17. Jer. 29. 13. 1 Joh. 3. 22. Matt. 21. 22. 7. 7. Luke 11. 9. John 14. 13. 15. 7. 16. 23. Joh. 5. 40.

3. It is not only a means by impetration acquiring for us, but it is an effectual inſtrument working in us all true good; It is the chanel, by which God conveyeth ſpiritual light into our minds, and ſpiritual vigour into our hearts. It is both the ſeed and the food of ſpiritual life; by which all holy diſpoſitions of ſoul, and all honeſt reſolutions of practice are bred and nouriſhed, are augmented and ſtrengthened in us. It exciteth, it quickneth, it maintaineth all pious affections; the love of God can no otherwiſe than by it be kindled, fomented or kept in life (without it we certainly ſhall have an eſtrangement, and an averſation from him) it alone can maintain a conſtant reverence and awe of God, keeping him in our thoughts, and making us to live as in his preſence; it chiefly enliveneth and exerciſeth our faith and our hope in God; it is that which begetteth in our hearts a ſavoury reliſh of divine things; which ſweetneth and endeareth to our Souls the practice of piety; which only can enable us with delight and alacrity to obey God's commandments: It alone can raiſe our minds from the cares and concernments of this world to a ſenſe and deſire of heavenly things. By it God imparteth ſtrength to ſubdue bad inclinations, to reſtrain ſenſual appetites, to compreſs irregular paſſions; to evade the allurements to evil, and the diſcouragements from good, which this world always preſenteth; to ſupport alſo with patience and equanimity the many croſſes and troubles we muſt ſurely meet with therein. It is, in ſhort, the only ſtrong bulwark againſt temptation and ſin; the only ſure guard of piety and a good conſcience; no man indeed can

Difficillimum eſt opus orare. Luth.

Fervour of Spirit. Rom. 12. 11. τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.

be a faithful ſervant to God, a real friend to goodneſs, a ſerious practicer of duty, without a conſtant tenour of devotion.

4. It is a moſt high privilege and advantage to us, that we are allowed to pray and addreſs our devotions to God. To have a free acceſs to the preſence and audience of an earthly Prince (to the effect of receiving from him all that we could deſire) would be deemed a matter of great honour, and much advantage; how much more is it ſo to us, that we are admitted to the preſence and ear of the great King of all the world; ſo mighty in power, ſo large in bounty, ſo full of goodneſs and pity; ſo thoughly able, ſo exceedingly willing to grant and perform our requeſts? How ſweet a thing, of what comfort and benefit is it, to have the liberty of *pouring out* Pſal. 62. 8. *our ſouls and our hearts* (as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks) before God; of disburthening our 42. 4. minds of all their cares, their deſires, their doubts, their griefs and anxieties into the breaſt of ſo kind a friend, ſo wiſe a counſeller, ſo able a helper; who alone indeed can afford relief, eaſe, ſatisfaction and comfort to us? Conſidering which things, we ſhall appear not only very diſobedient to God, and highly ingrateful toward him (who ſo infinitely condeſcends in vouchſafing to us *duſt and aſhes* (vile and Gen. 18. 27. unworthy creatures) leave to ſpeak and converſe with him) but very injurious and unfaithful to our ſelves, and to our own good; if we neglect this duty commanded, or ſlight this privilege indulged to us:

In the due performance of which we are directed and aſſiſted by this Form of Pray- *Deus ſolus do-cere potuit, ut ſe vellet orari.* er, compoſed and dictated for that purpoſe by him, who beſt knew what we ought Tert. *de Orat.* to pray for, and how we ought to pray; what matter of deſire, what manner of c. 9. addreſs; what diſpoſition of mind would be moſt pleaſing and acceptable to his Father; would moſt become and befit us in our approaches to him. We might conſequently obſerve many things concerning thoſe particulars, diſcernible in this Form: the ſublimity, the gravity, the neceſſity, the ſingular choiceneſs of the matter; together with the fit order, and juſt diſpoſition thereof; according to the natural precedency of things in dignity or neceſſity; the full brevity, the deep plainneſs, the comely ſimplicity of expreſſion; the lowly reverence ſignified therein, accompanied with due faith and confidence: theſe, and the like virtues directive of our devotion we might obſerve running generally through the whole contexture of this venerable Form; but we ſhall rather chuſe to take notice of them as they ſhall offer themſelves in their particular places, to the conſideration of which in order we now do apply our ſelves.

Our Father which art in Heaven.

Our Father; upon this title, or manner of compellation, we may firſt obſerve, that although our Saviour preſcribeth this Form as a pattern, and an exerciſe of private prayer to be performed in the Cloſet (and alone in ſecret as is expreſſed in the Matt. 6. 6, 9. *Goſpel*) yet he directeth us to make our addreſſes to God in a ſtyle of plurality, ſaying, not *my* Father, but *our* Father; thereby, it ſeems, implying; 1. That we ſhould in our Prayers conſider and acknowledge the Univerſality of God's power and goodneſs; 2. That we ſhould not in our conceit proudly and vainly appropriate or engroſs the regard of God unto our ſelves; but remember that our brethren have an equal ſhare with us therein. 3. That in all our devotions we ſhould be mindful of thoſe common bands which knit us together as Men and as Chriſtians (the band of nature and humanity; the more ſtrict tyes of common faith and hope; of manifold relations unto God that made us, and our Saviour that redeemed us, and the Holy Spitit who animateth and quickeneth us, and combineth us in ſpiritual union.) 4. That we ſhould bear ſuch hearty good-will, and charitable affection toward others, as not only to ſeek and deſire our own particular and private good, but that of all men; eſpecially of all good Chriſtians; who in a peculiar manner are God's children and our brethren: * *He did not bid us ſay* my *Father, but* our *Father, who art in Heaven, that being taught that we have a common Father, we might ſhew a brotherly good-will one toward another,* ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom.*

*Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, λέγων πατὴρ μου, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀλλὰ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ νὸν πατέρα ἓν ἔχωμεν ἅπαντες, ἀλλήλοις φιλῶμεν τοσαῦτα δὲ γράφω, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀδελφότητα. *Chryſ. in Matt. Tom. V. p.* 186.

As for the appellation *Father*; it doth mind us of our relation to God, who upon many grounds, and in divers high reſpects is our Father; (by nature, for that he gave us our being, and made us after his own image; by providence, for that he continually preſerveth and maintaineth us; by grace, for that he reneweth us to his

image

image in righteouſneſs and holineſs: by adoption, for that he allowesh us the benefit and privilege of his children, aſſigning an eternal inheritance to us;) of this relation, which as Creatures, as Men, as Chriſtians, we bear to God, it mindeth us, and conſequently how we ought in correſpondence thereto to behave our ſelves; yielding to him all reſpect, affection and obſervance; demeaning our ſelves in all things as becomes ſuch a relation, and rank: This indeed, of all God's names, titles and attributes, is choſen as moſt futable to the nature of the preſent duty; as moſt encouraging to the performance thereof, as moſt fully implying the diſpoſitions required in us, when we apply our ſelves thereto. Our Saviour uſed to compare Prayer to a Son's asking nouriſhment of his Father; arguing thence what ſucceſs and benefit we may expect from it: we come therein to God, not (directly) as to a Lord or Maſter, to receive commands; but rather as to a Father, to requeſt from him the ſuſtenance of our life, and ſupply of our needs; to render withall unto him our thankful acknowledgments, for having continuedly done thoſe things for us; and to demonſtrate our dutiful reſpect and affection toward him. It is natural for children in any danger, ſtrait, or want to fly to their parents for ſhelter, relief and ſuccour; and it is ſo likewiſe for us to have recourſe unto God, in all thoſe caſes, wherein no viſible means of help appear from elſewhere: And to do ſo the title of *Father* doth incourage us, ſignifying not only power and authority over us, but affection and dearneſs toward us: The name *God*, importing his excellent perfections; the name *Lord*, minding us of his power and empire over us, with the like titles declarative of his ſupereminent Majeſty, might deter us, being conſcious of our meaneſs and unworthineſs, from approaching to him; but the word *Father* is attractive and emboldning; thinking on *that* we ſhall be apt to conceive hope, that how mean, how unworthy ſoever, yet being his children, he will not reject, or refuſe us: For, *If men being evil do give good gifts unto their children; how much more will our Father, which is heaven, give good things to them that ask him?*

Matth. 7. 9. Luk. 11. 11.

Matth. 6. 11.

It alſo plainly intimates how qualified and diſpoſed in mind we ſhould come to God; namely, with high reverence, with humble affection, with hearty gratitude; as to the Author of our being, to him that hath continually preſerved and brought us up; from whoſe care and providence we have received all the good we have ever enjoyed; from whoſe mercy and favour we can only expect any good for the future. By calling God *Father*, we avow our ſelves obliged to honour and love him incomparably beyond all things; We alſo declare our faith, and hope in God; that we believe him well affected toward us, and willing to do us good; and that we thence hope to receive the good deſireable from him (the which are diſpoſitions neceſſary to the due performance of this duty.) It alſo implieth, that we ſhould come thereto with purity of mind and good conſcience, which is alſo requiſite to the ſame intent: for if we are conſcious of undutiful and diſobedient carriage toward God, how can we call him *Father?* with what heart, or face can we aſſume to our ſelves the title of children? *If* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *ye call upon him as Father, who impartially judges according to every man's work*, (that is, who only eſteemeth them for his children, who truly behave themſelves as becometh children) *paſs the time of your pilgrimage in fear* (or in reverence toward God.) We may add, that we alſo hereby may be ſuppoſed to expreſs our charity toward our brethren; who bear unto God, the Father of all men, the ſame common relation. But I proceed:

Matth. 21. 22. Jam. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 2. 8.

1 Pet. 1. 17.

Which art in Heaven.

God Almighty is ſubſtantially preſent every where; but he doth not every where in effects diſcover himſelf alike; nor with equal ſplendour in all places diſplay the beams of his glorious Majeſty. The Scripture frequently mentioneth a place of his ſpecial reſidence (ſeated in regions of inacceſſible light, above the reach, not only of our ſenſe, but of our fancy and conception) where his royal Court, his preſence Chamber, his imperial Throne are; where he his more immediately attended upon by glorious Angels, and bleſſed Saints; which place is called *Heaven*, the *higheſt heavens*; the τὰ ὕψιστα, the *higheſt places*; by his preſence wherein God is deſcribed here, as for diſtinction from all other parents here on earth, ſo to encreaſe reverence in us toward him (while we reflect upon his ſupereminent glory and majeſty) and to raiſe our hearts from theſe inferiour things unto deſire, and hope, and love of he[illegible] things

Luke 2. 14. 19. 38. Matt. 21. 9.

things; *withdrawing* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *him that prays from earth, and faſtning him to the place on high, and to the manſions above.* But ſo much for the Title.

Τῆς γῆς ἀπαγόμενον, καὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν γωνίοις, καὶ ταῖς ἄνω διατριβαῖς.

The firſt ſentence of our Prayer is,

Hallowed (or ſanctified) **be thy Name.**

Let us firſt (with St. *Chryſoſtom*) obſerve the direction we hence receive, in all our prayers to have a prime and principal regard to the glory of God; not ſeeking any thing concerning our own good before his praiſe; that for the order. As to the ſubſtance of this particular we may conſider, that ſanctity implying a diſcrimination, a diſtance, an exaltment in nature or uſe of the thing, which is denominated thereby; and God's name ſignifying himſelf with all that we can know of him; himſelf, as however diſcovered or declared, with all that relates to him, and bears his inſcription; we do here accordingly expreſs our due acknowlegments and deſires; for by a rare complication this Sentence doth involve both praiſe and petition; doth expreſs both our acknowledgment of what is, and our deſire of what ſhould be: we do I ſay hereby partly acknowledge, and praiſe the ſupereminent perfections of God above all things, in all kind of excellency, joining in that ſeraphical Doxology (which to utter is the continual employment of the bleſſed Spirits above) who inceſſantly *day and night*, cry out, *Holy, Holy, Holy*; confeſſing with the heavenly hoſt in the *Apocalypſe*, that *he is worthy of all honour, glory and power*; we do alſo partly declare our hearty wiſhes, that God may be every where had in higheſt veneration; that all things relating to him may receive their due regard; that all honour and praiſe, all duty and ſervice may in a peculiar manner be rendred unto him by all men, by all creatures, by our ſelves eſpecially: that all minds may entertain good and worthy opinions of him; all tongues ſpeak well of him, celebrate and bleſs him; all creatures yield adoration to his name, and obedience to his will: that he be worſhipped in truth and ſincerity, with zeal and fervency; this particularly in the Prophet *Eſay*, and by St. *Peter* is called *ſanctifying God's Name*, in oppoſition to idolatrous and profane Religion (*Sanctifie the Lord of hoſts himſelf, and let him be your fear, let him be your dread*, ſaith the *Prophet*; and, *Fear not their fear, nor be troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hearts*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*.) Thus do we here pray and wiſh in reſpect to all men, and to all creatures capable of thus ſanctifying God's Name; but more particularly we pray for our ſelves, that God would grant to us, that we by our religious and righteous converſation may bring honour to his name; ſo that *men ſeeing our good works may glorifie our Father which is in Heaven*: (*Vouchſafe*, ſaith he, *that we may live ſo purely, that all men by us may glorifie thee*: ſo deſcants St. *Chryſoſtom*.)

Apoc. 4. 8. Apoc. 4. 11. Τὸ ἁγιασθήτω ἀντὶ τοῦ δοξασθήτω φησίν. Chryſ. *Tom. V.* p. 186. Eſa. 8. 13. 29. 23. 1 Pet. 3. 14, 15. Matt. 5. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 12. Καταξίωσον φησὶν, ἵνα ὡς ἡμᾶς βίον καθαρῶς, οὕτως ἡμῶν ἅπαντας δοξάζειν, &c. Chryſ. *in* Matt. 6.

Thy Kingdom come.

This Petition, or devout wiſh, being ſubordinate to the former, as expreſſing a main particular of that, which is there generally deſired (we here to the glory of God deſiring a ſucceſsful and ſpeedy propagation of true Religion) ſeems in its direct and immediate ſenſe to reſpect the ſtate of things in that time, more eſpecially befitting our Lord's Diſciples then, when the Kingdom of God (that is, the ſtate of Religion under the Evangelical Diſpenſation) was coming and approaching; (according to that of our Saviour in St. *Luke*: *I ſay unto you of a truth, there be ſome of you ſtanding here that ſhall not taſte death, 'till they ſee the Kingdom of God*) whence it did become them in zeal to God's glory, and charity for mens ſalvation, to deſire that Chriſtianity might ſoon effectually be propagated over the world, being generally entertained by men with due faith and obedience: that is, that all men willingly might acknowledge God as their Lord and Maker, worſhipping and ſerving him in truth; that they might receive his bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt as their King and Saviour, heartily embracing his doctrine, and humbly ſubmitting to his laws; to which purpoſe our Lord injoins his Diſciples to *pray, that the Lord of the harveſt would ſend labourers into his harveſt*; and St. *Paul* exhorts the *Theſſalonians* to *pray, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified*. And in parity of reaſon, upon the ſame grounds, we are concerned, and obliged to deſire, that Chriſtian Religion may be ſettled and confirmed, may grow and be encreaſed; may proſper and flouriſh in the world; that God's authority may, to the largeſt extenſion of place, to the higheſt intention of degree, univerſally and perfectly, be maintained

Luk. 9. 27. Matt. 16. 28. 3. 2. Matt. 9. 38. 2 Theſſ. 3. 1.

tained and promoted, both in external profeſſion and real effect; the minds of all men being ſubdued to the obedience of faith; and avowing the ſubjection due to him; and truly yielding obedience to all his moſt juſt and holy laws. Thus ſhould we pray that God's Kingdom may come; particularly deſiring that it may ſo come into our own hearts; humbly imploring his grace, that he thereby would rule in our hearts, quelling in them all exorbitant paſſions, and vicious deſires, protecting them from all ſpiritual enemies, diſpoſing them to an entire ſubjection to his will, and a willing compliance with all his command-

Τυραννέμενοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν σώματος παθημάτων, καὶ μυρίας πεισόμενοι δεχόμενοι περιβολὰς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χρήζομεν βασιλείας, ἵνα μὴ βασιλεύσῃ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, &c. Chryſ.

Luk. 17. 21. ments: for this is *the Kingdom of God*, which (as our Lord telleth us) *is within*
Rom. 14. 17. *us*; the which *doth not* (as Saint *Paul* teacheth us) *conſiſt in meat and drink* (in any outward formal performances) *but in righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt*; that is, in obedience to God's will, and in the comfortable conſequen-
Matt. 6. 33. ces thereof: this is *the Kingdom of God*, which we are enjoyned, before any worldly accommodations, *firſt to ſeek*.

Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

This Sentence is likewiſe complicated of praiſe, good deſire, and petition: for we thereby firſt do acknowledge the wiſdom, juſtice and goodneſs of God in all reſolutions of his will, and diſpenſations of his providence.

1. We profeſs our approbation of all God's counſels, our complacence and ſatisfaction in all his proceedings, our cheerful ſubmiſſion and conſent to all his pleaſure; joining our ſuffrage, and ſaying in harmony with that bleſſed Choir in the Revelati-
Apoc. 15. 3. on: *Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.* We diſclaim our own judgments and conceits, we renounce our own deſires and deſigns, ſo far as they appear inconſiſtent with the determinations of God's wiſdom, or diſcordant with his pleaſure; ſaying after
Luk. 22. 42. our Lord, *Let not my will, but thine be done.*

2. We do alſo expreſs our deſire, that as in heaven all things with a free and undiſturbed courſe do paſs according to God's will and good-liking; every intimation of his pleaſure finding there a moſt entire and ready compliance, from thoſe perfectly
Pſal. 103. 20. loyal and pious ſpirits (*thoſe miniſters of his, that do his pleaſure*, as the *Pſalmiſt* calls them) ſo that here on earth the gracious deſigns of God may be accompliſhed
Luk. 7. 30. without oppoſition or rub; that none ſhould preſume, as the *Phariſees* and *Lawyers* are ſaid to do, ἀθετεῖν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, to diſappoint or defeat God's counſel: ἀπωθεῖσθαι,
Acts 13. 46. to thruſt away or repulſe *God's word*, as the *Jews* did in the *Acts*; to reſiſt, provoke, or defie God by obſtinate diſobedience; as many are ſaid to do in the Scriptures; but that every where a free, humble, hearty and full obedience be rendred to his commands.

3. We do alſo pray, that God would grant us the grace willingly to perform
Heb. 13. 21. whatever he requires of us, (*perfecting us*, as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaketh, *in every good work to do his will*, and *working in us that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight*) contentedly to bear whatever he layeth upon us; that God would beſtow upon us a
Phil. 4. 11. perfect reſignation of our wills unto his will; a chearful acquieſcence in that ſtate and ſtation wherein he hath placed us; a ſubmiſs patience in all adverſities, where-
1 Sam. 3. 18. into he diſpoſeth us to fall; a conſtant readineſs with ſatisfaction and thankfulneſs
2 King. 20. 19. (without reluctancy or repining) to receive whatever cometh from his will, whether
2 Sam. 15. 26. grateful or diſtaſtful to our preſent ſenſe; acknowledging his wiſdom, his goodneſs, his
Job. 2. 10. 1. 21. juſtice in all his dealings towards us; heartily ſaying with good *Eli*, *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good*; with *Hezekiah*, *Good is the word of the Lord,*
Pſal. 37. 5. 55. 22. *which thou haſt ſpoken*; with *David*, *behold here I am, let him do to me, as ſeem-*
Epict. Ench. 38. Plat. Criton. *eth good to him*; with *Job*, *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall*
Τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε, ὡς θεοῖς ἐπιτέλεσθαι τὰ σὰ πάντα, &c. *we not receive evil?* and, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord*: Yea, it were well, if we could, after the Heathen *Philoſopher*, upon all occaſions, with our hearts ſay, εἰ ταύτῃ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ γενέσθω. *If God will have it ſo, ſo let it be*: if we could obſerve thoſe rules and precepts,
Ant. IV. 31. Ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ συμβαίνοντα. Ant. III. which even the *Philoſophers* ſo much inculcate; to *commit all our affairs to God*;

to

4. 16. II. 17. X. 11. XII 1. Ant. VII. 31. X. 11. Sen. De Or. Sap. 32. *Ego ſecundum naturam vivo, ſi totum me illi dedo. Optimum eſt Deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt ſine murmuratione comitari*, &c. —— *hic eſt magnus, animus, qui ſe Deo tradidit* —— Sen. Ep. 37. 71, &c. de Prov. 5.

to love and embrace (*hugg*) *all events*; *to follow*, and *to accompany God*; to yield, deliver and reſign our ſelves up to him. (*Deo ſe præbere, dedere, tradere*, &c.) and the like.

Give us this day our daily bread.

I ſhall not ſtand to criticize upon the hard word here uſed, tranſlated *daily*; I only ſay, that of two ſenſes offering themſelves, both are probable, and by good authority countenanced; both are proper and ſuitable to the matter or nature of the thing: according to one we pray for the bread τῆ ἐπιούσῃ, *of the time to come*, or of that future life, which it ſhall pleaſe God to allow us; according to the other, we requeſt bread ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι, which is neceſſary for our being, and the preſervation of our lives; joining both together (which is more ſure and ſafe) we pray for a competent proviſion toward the maintenance of our life hereafter, during our appointed time: that for the ſenſe; upon the Petition it ſelf we obſerve,

Ἄριστον ἐπιούσιον τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος διαβαίνοντα, καὶ συγχεχρῆσθαι ταύτην δυνάμενον. Chryſ. *Tom. V.* 187.

1. That after we have rendred our due tribute of praiſe and reſpect unto God, we are allowed and directed to requeſt of him good things for our ſelves; beginning, as nature prompteth, with the preſervation of our beings and lives; whereby we become capable of receiving and enjoying other good things;

2. By doing which we alſo do imply the ſenſe we have of our total dependence upon God; avowing our ſelves to ſubſiſt by his care and bounty; diſclaiming conſequently all confidence in any other means to maintain or ſupport us; in any ſtore we have laid up, or eſtate we pretend to; in any contrivance or induſtry we can uſe; in any ſuccour of friends or relations; for that notwithſtanding all theſe, we do need our daily bread to be dealt to us by God, and muſt continually beg it as a gift from his hands.

3. We are by that word, σήμερον, *this day*, taught our duty (ſignifying withall our performance thereof) of being willing continually to rely upon God; not affecting to be ever ſo much beforehand, as not to need God's conſtant aſſiſtance: we ask not, that God would give us at once what may ſerve us for ever, and may put us out of any fear to want hereafter; we ask not for that which may ſuffice for a long time, for many years, many months, many days; but that God would give us to day, or rather *day by day* (τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, as it is expreſſed in Saint *Luke*) that is, that he would continually diſpenſe to us, what is needful for us; we ſhould not therefore deſire to have an eſtate ſettled upon us; to live by our ſelves, or on our own incomes; to be ſet out of God's houſe, or immediate protection and care; this in it ſelf cannot be (for God cannot alienate his goods from himſelf, nor can we ſubſiſt out of his hand) nor muſt we deſire it ſhould be: 'tis a part of Atheiſm, of Infidelity, of Heatheniſh profaneneſs and folly to deſire it (*theſe things*, ſaith our Lord, *do the Gentiles ſeek*; that is, they are covetous of wealth, and careful for proviſions to live without dependance upon God) but we muſt eſteem God's providence our ſureſt eſtate, God's bounty our beſt treaſure, God's fatherly care our moſt certain and moſt comfortable ſupport; *caſting all our care on him*, as being aſſured that *he careth for us*; *will not leave nor forſake us*; will not withhold what is neceſſary for our comfortable ſuſtenance.

Luk. 11. 3.

Matt. 6. 32.

Matt. 6. 25. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Heb. 13. 5. Phil. 4. 6.

4. It is here intimated, how ſober and moderate our appetites ſhould be, in regard both to the quality and quantity of the things we uſe: we are directed to ask τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, (as S. *Chryſoſtom* ſays) neceſſary food, not luxurious plenty or delicacy: it is bread (the moſt ſimple, homely, and common diet) that is, ſuch accommodations as are neceſſary to maintain our lives, and ſatisfie our natural deſires; not *ſuperfluities*, ſerving to pleaſe our wanton appetites, or humour our curious fancies; 'tis not variety, daintineſs, elegancy, or ſplendour we ſhould affect to enjoy, but be content to have our neceſſities ſupplied with the courſeſt diet, and the meaneſt apparel, if our condition requireth it, or God's providence in an honeſt way allotteth no other to us: we may ſoberly and thankfully enjoy what God ſends; but we ſhould not preſume to ask for, or deſire other than this.

And for the meaſure, we learn to ask only for ſo much as ſhall be fit to maintain us; not for rich, or plentiful ſtore; not for full barns, or for heaps of treaſure; not for wherewith to glut, or pamper our ſelves; but for daily bread, a moderate proviſion then to be dealt to us, when we need it.

It follows,

And forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us (*our treſpaſſes*, 'tis *our debts* (ὀφειλήματα) in S. *Matthew*; *our ſins* (ἁμαρτίας) in S. *Luke*; and they who *treſpaſs againſt us* are in both *Evangeliſts* called *our debtors*; for he that injures another is obnoxious and in debt to him; owing him ſatisfaction, either by making reparation, or undergoing puniſhment.

After the preſervation of our beings (the foundation of enjoying other good things) our firſt care, we ſee, ought to be concerning the welfare of our better part and ſtate; which chiefly conſiſts in the terms, whereon we ſtand, toward God, upon whoſe favour all our happineſs dependeth; and from whoſe diſpleaſure all our miſery muſt proceed: ſince therefore we all do ſtand obnoxious to God's wrath and juſtice; having omitted many duties which we owe to him, having committed manifold offences againſt him; it is therefore moſt expedient, that we firſt endeavour to get him reconciled to us by the forgiveneſs of our debts and offences; concerning which remiſſion, upon what account it is neceſſary, upon what terms it is granted, by what means it is obtained, in what manner it is diſpenſed by God, I have otherwhere touched, and it is not ſeaſonable now farther to inſiſt thereon; only it may be pertinent here to obſerve,

1. That this being the firſt of Petitions (formally ſuch, and) purely ſpiritual; we are hereby admoniſhed to lay the foundation of our devotions in humility; that we are obliged, before we preſume to ask any thing of God concerning our chief happineſs, and well-being, to reflect upon, acknowledge and confeſs our unworthineſs (not coming to our Prayers as the *Phariſee* did, doating upon our worthy qualities, and good deeds; but like the poor *Publican*, with a ſenſe of our infirmities and miſcarriages; ſo as to be ready to acknowledge our ſelves, as indeed we all are, guilty of many and great ſins) this is here implyed; for in requeſting pardon for our ſins, we confeſs our ſelves to be ſinners, and to need God's mercy.

2. We may hence learn the neceſſity and the excellency of that benefit we here beg. When the *Pſalmiſt* applied himſelf to praiſe God for his benefits, this he ſet
Pſal. 103. 2, 3. in the firſt place, as moſt needful and conſiderable to him: *Bleſs the Lord, O my Soul* (ſaid he) *and forget not all his benefits* (or rather, not any of his benefits) *who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diſeaſes*; and anſwerably, it is the firſt particular benefit we pray for.

3. We muſt take notice, that we are obliged to go to our devotions with univerſal
1 Tim. 2. 8. charity, and good-will toward others; *to lift up* (as Saint *Paul* injoineth) *holy hands, without wrath and doubting* (or *without wrath and diſſention*) to depoſe all enmi-
Matt. 5. 23. ty (as our Lord adviſeth) before we bring our oblation *to the altar* of God; reſerving no ſpight, or grudge toward any man, but having a heart clear of all ill-will, and deſire of revenge: being in affection of mind toward others as we do wiſh, and hope, and pray that God would be toward us: ſuch in all reaſon, equity and ingenuity ſhould our diſpoſition be; and ſuch God requires it to be; and ſuch we do aſſert and promiſe it to be; implying alſo a compact with God, no otherwiſe to deſire, or expect his favour and mercy toward us, than as we reſemble him in kind and merciful intentions toward our brethren: It is implied on God's part, that he vouchſafes pardon only upon theſe terms; yea more, that he doth truly promiſe pardon upon
Matth. 6. 14. our performing this condition; ſo our Saviour, purpoſely reflecting on this Petition, doth afterward expound it: *for*, ſaith he, *if you forgive to men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you*; it alſo implies a conſent on our parts, and ſubmiſſion to this condition, as moſt equal and reaſonable; ſo that if we break it, if we do retain any uncharitable inclinations, we deal falſely with God; we forfeit all pretence to favour and mercy from him; we are neither qualified for mercy, nor ſhall obtain it from God.

Lead us not into temptation.

Temptation is ſometime taken in a middle and indifferent ſenſe, for any occaſion, by which the moral quality of perſons (their virtue, or vice) is examined and diſco-
Gen. 22. 1. vered: ſo God is ſaid to have *tempted Abraham*, when he propounded to him the offering up of his Son; ſo he tempted the *Iſraelites*, by leading them in that long

journey

journey through the wilderneſs, *that he might know what was in their heart, whether they would keep his commandments, or no*; ſo he likewiſe tempted them by permitting Seducers to do wonderful things, *that he might know, whether they did love the Lord with all their heart, and with all their ſoul*: And becauſe affliction is of ſuch a nature, as to try the temper, diſpoſition and intentions of men, therefore temptation often is uſed for affliction. It ſeemeth alſo ſometimes put in a good ſenſe, for an occaſion deſigned to exerciſe, or to improve, or to declare the virtues of a perſon; ſo the inconveniences and croſſes incident to our nature and condition here, the which our Lord did undergo, are by Saint *Luke*, and others of the *Apoſtles* ſtyled temptations; ſo the *fiery trial* in Saint *Peter* was εἰς πειρασμὸν, to exerciſe and refine them, *that* (ſaith he) *the trial of their faith might be to praiſe, and honour, and glory*; ſo Saint *James* biddeth Chriſtians to *rejoice, when they fall into divers temptations*; that is, when they meet with opportunities of exerciſing their faith and patience; and ſo we may underſtand that place in *Deuteronomy*: *Who* ('tis ſaid) *fed thee with Manna, that he might humble, and prove thee* (or *tempt thee*, ἵνα ἐκπειράσῃ σε, ſay the LXX.) *to do thee good at thy latter end*; *that he might tempt thee*, that is, that he might render thee approved; might exerciſe and improve thy dependance on God, thy patience, thy obedience. But the word is commonly taken in a worſe ſenſe, for an occaſion preſented with ill purpoſe, or naturally tending and not eaſily avoided, of falling into ſin; a ſtumbling block, a ſnare; as when Saint *Paul* ſaith, that *they who will be rich, do fall* εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα, *into temptation, and a ſnare*; thus Saint *James* aſſureth us, that *God tempteth no man*; that is doth not intend to ſeduce or inveagle any man into ſin. Yet becauſe nothing in the world, either good or bad, doth happen without God's permiſſion and governance; and the Devil himſelf muſt obtain licence from God, before he can tempt any man, or do any miſchief (as we ſee in *Job*'s caſe, and in the hiſtory of *Ahab*) ſince God ſeeth whatever is done, and with greateſt eaſe could hinder it; and doth not otherwiſe than for ſome good end ſuffer any evil to be deſigned, or atchieved; it is the ſtyle of Scripture to attribute ſuch things in ſome ſenſe to him; as when God is ſaid to *ſend Joſeph into Egypt to preſerve life*; whenas in truth his brethren out of envy and ill-will did ſell him thither; and, God is ſaid to *move David to number the people*; whenas indeed *Satan* (as it is otherwhere affirmed) *provoked him to number them*; and that horrid Tragedy acted by the *Jews* upon our *Bleſſed Saviour* is ſaid to be brought to paſs by the *hand and definite counſel of God*; becauſe God foreſeeing the temptations, which thoſe men ſhould incurr of committing ſuch acts, and their inclinations to perform them, did reſolve not to interpoſe his power in hindrance of them, but ſuffering them to proceed, would turn their miſchievous practices to an excellently good end, and uſe them as inſtruments of his juſt, holy and gracious purpoſes: Thus then whereas by *temptation* here is meant any occaſion alluring or provoking to ſin, or withdrawing from duty, with a violence, all things conſidered, exceeding our ſtrength to reſiſt or avoid; (or however ſuch an one, that is apt to overthrow us); God may be ſaid to bring them into it, whom in juſtice he permits to be expoſed thereto; although he do no otherwiſe intermeddle, or concur therein, than by not affording, or by withdrawing his ſpecial direction and aſſiſtance; leaving them without check blindly or wilfully to follow the ſway of their own tempers, the inſtinct of their vain minds, the bent of their corrupt wills; the violence of their unruly paſſions and appetites; letting them to fall into the manifold ſnares of falſe opinion, evil cuſtom, and contagious example, which the world ſets before them; (the *World*, which by its fair promiſes and pleaſing flatteries enticeth to ſin, or by its angry frowns and fierce threats diſcourageth from goodneſs) permitting the Devil, without controul or impediment, by his wiles to delude and ſeduce them; which kind of proceeding of God with men is clearly repreſented in the 81ſt *Pſalm*; where, of the *Iſraelites* God ſays, that having ſignally declared his pleaſure to them, and by promiſe of great benefits invited them to obſerve it; upon their wilful neglect, he dealt thus with them: *But* (ſays God there) *my people would not hearken to my voice, and Iſrael would none of me; So I gave them up unto their own hearts luſts; and they walked in their own counſels.* In ſuch manner, if God, provoked thereto by our heinous miſcarriages, doth juſtly bring us into, or doth let us *enter into temptation* (as our Lord otherwhere expreſſeth it, *Pray*, ſaith he, *that ye enter not into temptation*) we ſhall infallibly run into many grievous ſins and deſperate miſchiefs; no leſs ſurely, than we ſhall wander and ſtumble in the

Deut. 8. 2. ἵνα πειράσῃ σε
Deut. 13. 3.
Luk. 22. 28. Heb. 2. 18. 4. 15. 1 Pet. 4. 12. 1. 6, 7. Jam. 1. 2.
Deut. 8. 16.
1 Tim. 6. 9. Jam. 1. 13.
Job 2. 6. 1 King. 21. 22
Gen. 45. 5.
2 Sam. 24. 1. 1 Chr. 21. 1.
Act. 2. 23. 4. 28.
Pſal. 81. 11, 12.
Luk. 22. 40, 46.

dark, than we ſhall ſlide and fall in the moſt ſlippery places; and ſometimes be entangled, when we do walk in the midſt of ſnares, ſurrounded with numerable, moſt cunningly laid to catch us: *It is not* (ſaith the *Prophet*) *in man* Jer. 10. 23. *to direct his ſteps*; ſo as to go ſtrait and upright; 'tis not in him to ſee his duty, to bend his inclinations to compliance therewith; to reſtrain his appetites, when ſenſible objects forcibly preſs on them; to govern his paſſions, when they are vehemently ſtirr'd to diſorderly motion: we do continually need God's inſtruction to Pſ. 37. 23, 24. guide us, God's *hand to uphold us*, God's care and help to guard us; when therefore, I ſay, our condition and circumſtances do miniſter dangerous occaſions of ſin; when our vain and weak tempers do incline or betray us thereto; when the world would ſmile, or frown us into it; when the Devil violently ſollicits, or thruſts on toward it; thus to be deſtitute of God's grace, thus to be left to our ſelves, is the moſt horrible judgment that can be. In ſuch caſes and ſeaſons God's interpoſal is neceſſary either to remove thoſe temptations, or to ſupport and defend us from the prevalence of them, φυλάσσων ἀπταίστους, *keeping us from ſtumbling and falling* (as Jude 24. Saint *Jude* ſpeaks) *not ſuffering us* (as Saint *Paul* expreſſeth it) *to be tempted* 1 Cor. 10. 23. *above what we are able, but making with the temptation alſo a way to eſcape, ſo that we ſhall be able to ſuſtain it.*

That God would pleaſe to do this for us, we do here pray; and in purſuance of this Petition we ſubjoin that, which in part may paſs for an illuſtration thereof; (implying an *antitheſis* ſerving to that purpoſe: for delivering from evil importeth the ſame with ῥύεσθαι ἐκ πειρασμοῦ, being reſcued from temptation: in St. *Peter*; 2 Pet. 2. 9. *The Lord*, ſaith he, *knoweth how to reſcue the godly out of temptation, and* τηρεῖν Apoc. 3. 10. ἐκ τῆς ὥρας πειρασμοῦ, *to preſerve from the time of temptation*, in the *Revelation*; which are oppoſed to bringing into temptation) partly it may be ſuppoſed an improvement thereof; *delivering from evil* ſignifying perhaps ſomewhat more, than not permitting us to incurr occaſions ſtrongly inviting us to evil; even the effectual keeping us from being overborn or complying with it; but let us conſider that Petition it ſelf.

But deliver us from evil.

From evil, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. S. *Chryſoſtom* takes it for the *Devil*; who is the ὁ πονηρός, *the Evil one*, the tempter; who ſeduceth us to evil; but we ſhall take it, according to the more common acception: *from evil*, that is principally, from ſin or evil moral and ſpiritual; the only evil, ſimply and in its own nature ſuch; and the root of all other evil; from that, and conſequently from all miſchief (evil natural and temporal; or evil penal and afflictive) which may grow upon, or ſprout from thence. As for ſuch evils as theſe, the want of things neceſſary or convenient for us, bodily diſeaſe and pain, diſappointment in our deſigns and ill ſucceſs in our undertakings, diſgrace and reproach upon our good names, dangers, difficulties and diſtreſſes concerning our outward eſtate, diſtractions, vexations and troubles of mind about temporal matters, with the like evils, (in ſome ſenſe, in ſome degree evils, or appearing ſuch to our natural ſenſe and fancy) we may indeed deprecate them (as even our Lord himſelf did) with ſubmiſſion (as he did) to the wiſdom and will of God, in caſe it pleaſeth him, and he thinketh fit to remove them; but all theſe things, being but names and empty ſounds in compariſon to ſpiritual and eternal evils (ſuch as are vicious diſtempers of mind, indiſpoſitions to ſerve God, ill progreſs in our ſpiritual affairs, diſſatisfaction concerning our ſtate in reſpect to God; actual tranſgreſſion of God's holy will and law; incurring God's diſpleaſure and diſfavour; being deprived of his grace and aſſiſtance; wanting the communion and comfort of his Holy Spirit; remorſe of conſcience, and anguiſh of ſpirit for having violated or neglected our duty; blindneſs of mind, hardneſs of heart; want of love, reverence, devotion toward God, of charity and good-will toward our neighbour; of ſobriety, humility, regularity of paſſion, and calmneſs of temper in reſpect to our ſelves and inward frame of our ſouls; theſe, I ſay, and ſuch like evils) we ſhould abſolutely requeſt of God, that he in mercy would deliver and free us from them; they being irreconcileably repugnant to his will and glory; and inconſiſtent with our eternal welfare. Yet even theſe and all other things we do requeſt only in general terms, leaving the diſtinct matter, and manner, and meaſure, according to which they ſhould be

be diſpenſed, to the wiſdom and goodneſs of God; who *doth* (as our Lord telleth us) *know what things we have need of before we ask him*; and is not only *able* (as St. *Paul* ſays, but willing alſo) *to do* for us *ſuperabundantly above what we can ask or think*. We are hereby (in ſeems) taught this point of good manners in our devotion, not to be tediouſly punctual and particular in our prayers, as if God needed our information, or were apt to neglect the particulars concerning our good. Matth. 6. 8. Eph. 3. 20.

We ſhut up all with a *Doxology*, moſt ſutable to the nature of devotion, ſignifying our due faith, our affection, and our reverence toward God.

For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever, and ever. Amen.

That is, For thou haſt a perpetual and unmoveable authority, whereby juſtly to diſpoſe of all things; thou haſt an indefectible and irreſiſtable power, whereby thou canſt effect whatever ſeems juſt and good to thee; wherefore we profeſs only to rely upon, and ſeek help from thee; with hope and confidence we addreſs our ſelves to thee for the ſupply of our needs; *thine is the glory*; all honour and reverence, all love and thankfulneſs are due unto thee, therefore we render our adorations and acknowledgements to thee. Even ſo to thee, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt be for ever aſcribed all glory and praiſe. **Amen.**

AN EXPOSITION OF *The* DECALOGUE.

ALthough this *Syſtem* of Precepts may ſeem to have been in its deſign rather political, than moral, to regard publick, and external, rather than private, and interiour action; that great branch of morality, which reſpecteth our ſelves in our private retirements, or in our particular converſation, ſobriety of mind and manners, being ſcarce touched herein, at leaſt not openly and plainly expreſſed; as alſo devotion toward God (in any of its kinds, of praiſe, thankſgiving, confeſſion of ſin, prayer and interceſſion) that great part of natural Religion, being not explicitly, and poſſitively enjoined: Although alſo, (as by the introduction thereto, and ſome paſſages therein, eſpecially as it is delivered in *Deuteronomy*, may appear) it ſeemeth particularly to concern the *Jewiſh* Nation; a people called, and choſen by God out of all Nations, to be governed in a more ſpecial and immediate manner by God himſelf, obliged to him by peculiar benefits and favours, deſigned by him to a ſeparate manner of living; being alſo perhaps in temper and diſpoſition, as well as in condition and circumſtances of life, different from other people; whence Laws convenient (or in a manner neceſſary) for them, might not ſo well ſute to all others; upon which accounts as other of their Laws, ſo perchance ſome paſſages in this notable part of them, may not unreaſonably be deemed peculiarly to concern them; Although however this *Syſteme* doth more directly and immediately oblige that people, all being formally, and in ſtyle of Law directed only to them, promulged in their ears, expreſſed in their language, inſerted into the body of their Laws as a principal member of them; it being alſo expreſly called a *Covenant* with that people (*He declared unto you*, ſays the text, *his covenant, which he com-*

Ὁ γὰρ χωρὶς παλαιὸς ἦν νόμος καὶ γραπτὸς μόνον, &c. Juſt. M. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 228.

Deut. 4. 13. 10. 2. *commanded you to perform, even ten commandments*) and accordingly was repoſed in the Ark, hence it ſeems named *the Ark of the Covenant*, the which, when all Exod. 34. 1, 28. Nations ſhould be converted to God, and admitted into the Church, was (as the Jer. 3. 16, 17. Prophet *Jeremy* foretold) to be utterly diſcarded and laid aſide. (*In thoſe days*, ſaith God in him, *they ſhall ſay no more the Ark of the covenant of the Lord; neither ſhall it come to mind, neither ſhall they remember it, neither ſhall they viſit it, neither ſhall* that *be done any more.*) Hence although ſome paſſages herein, according to their primary, ſtrict and literal meaning might never have been intended univerſally and perpetually to oblige;

Yet notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, if we conſider,

1. The manner of its delivery; with what extraordinary ſolemnity it was proclaimed; how it was dictated immediately from God's own mouth; and written with his finger; or

2. The matter of it, containing the prime dictates of natural reaſon, the chief rules Neh. 9. 13. of piety toward God, and equity toward our neighbour (whence thoſe elogies conferr'd on it, in *Nehemiah*: *Thou cameſt alſo down upon mount Sinai, and gaveſt* Rom. 7. 12. *them right judgments, and true laws, good ſtatutes and commandments*; and by St. *Paul: The law is holy; the commandment holy, juſt and good*; for that commenda- Rom. 7. 7. tion doth, I ſuppoſe, eſpecially reſpect this part of the *Jewiſh* Law; out of which he takes his inſtance, *Thou ſhalt not covet.*) If we alſo conſider,

3. The end and deſign of theſe Precepts, which was to ground them in true noti- Deut. 10. 12. ons of Religion, and to diſpoſe them to the practice of righteouſneſs; to render them loyal and acceptable ſubjects to God; to promote God's glory, and their own good; which being expreſſed in general concerning the Law, doth more eſpecially agree to this *Syſteme*; being as the baſe and platform, the heart and quinteſſence of all their other Laws; the which ſeem added as ſuperſtructures on it, or *fences* thereof:

4. If we alſo conſider, that our Saviour did not derogate from this Law; but de- Rom. 7. 7. clared his intention only to expound it, or to ampliate, and extend it (they are Epheſ. 6. 2. the words of *Tertullian* and *Irenæus*) and how the Apoſtles do ſometimes alledge ſome paſſages in it, as retaining ſome authority, and force to oblige.

5. Conſidering alſo farther, that there is no commandment herein (howſoever, according to its immediate and direct ſenſe ſeeming peculiar to that people) which may not in a larger, or in a myſterious and ſpiritual meaning; which at leaſt may not according to good analogy, or parity of reaſon concern us; obliging us, if not by direct authority in punctual manner to the very ſame thing, yet as a ſignification of God's pleaſure and approbation, to ſomewhat anſwerable and like thereto;

6. *Laſtly*, If we conſider that all, or the greateſt part of, the main duties concerning us are either plainly expreſſed, or cloſely inſinuated in them; or may at leaſt be conveniently reduced to them; our Saviour himſelf having gone before, directing us in the matter and manner of doing it;

Conſidering, I ſay, theſe things, we have no ſmall reaſon to yield great veneration to this ancient *Syſteme* of Precepts; and to acknowledge the great uſe thereof in order to the guidance of our life and practice: we accordingly ſhall ſo deſcant thereon, as by conſidering the main drift, intrinſick reaſon, and ſpiritual intention of each particular, to reduce the chief Precepts of *Chriſtian* Doctrine, which oblige us, thereto.

Premiſing thus much, I addreſs my diſcourſe to the particulars; omitting all controverted niceties concerning the diviſion thereof; and all circumſtantial queſtions; touching all ſuch things, as ſhall appear ſubſtantial, and uſefull.

God ſpake all theſe words, ſaying:

This is a title, or ſuperſcription like the *Par de le Roy* (*by the King*) at the head of a Proclamation, declaring from whom, and in what manner, that which follows doth come; and therefore implying what it is, and how it ſhould be received.

God ſpake; It comes from God as Author; and that moſt immediately, as it were from his own mouth; and hath conſequently the nature and force of a Law, obliging to higheſt regard and obedience; as that which proceedeth from the moſt ſovereign, unqueſtionable, and uncontrollable authority; which is promulged in a Heb. 1. 1. way moſt evident, and moſt direct: every ſignification of God's purpoſe, or pleaſure, is uſually called God's word; for *God* (as the *Apoſtle* ſays) *in divers kinds, and manners did ſpeak unto the fathers*; and to every ſuch word our ear ſhould be atten-

rive, our heart ſhould be ſubmiſſive, our hand ſhould be obedient; but eſpecially they ſhould be ſo, when God himſelf immediately declares his mind and will; as he did notoriouſly in this caſe, by a great voice, diſtinctly audible and intelligible, miraculouſly formed by himſelf: *Behold*, ſay the People, *the Lord our God hath ſhewed us his glory, and his greatneſs, and we have heard his voice out of the midſt of the fire; we have ſeen this day, that God doth talk with man, and he liveth:* and if whatever is in God's name (by meſſage of Angels, by inſpiration of men, or by any other ways) revealed muſt be entertained with all ſubmiſs reſpect, what regard is due to that word, which God is pleaſed, not by his Miniſters and inſtruments, but himſelf in perſon, as it were, to pronounce? Deut. 5. 24.

Theſe words: that is, theſe ſpeeches, or ſentences; (for ſo a *Word* in Scripture-ſtyle ſignifieth) or theſe things, and matters (for the *Hebrew* word *debarim* as the *Greek* ῥήματα, ſignifieth both words and things:) they are ſeveral times in the *Pentateuch* called the *ten words*, or *ten things*; whence the *Syſtem* of them is named the *Decalogue*. Exod. 34. 28. Deut. 4. 13. 10. 2.

All theſe words: all, without diſtinction or exception, did proceed from the ſame authority, and the ſame manner; and all therefore do require the like regard and obſervance to be yielded to them. Jam. 2. 10, 11. Matth. 5. 19

I am the Lord; or, *I am Jehovah, thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*:

Theſe words are by ſome taken for a Precept, injoining the acknowledgment, and acceptance of God, anſwerable to what is here implied; and conſequently all the poſitive duties of Religion, deducible hence; but we ſee the ſtyle is declarative, and aſſertive, not directly imperative; and ſo it may paſs rather as a Preface farther enforcing obligation to obedience; wherein are expreſſed, or intimated the chief reaſons, upon which it is grounded; every word containing in it ſomewhat of remarkable *emphaſis*:

I am Jehovah; or that very ſame God, who under this appellation diſcovered my ſelf to thy forefathers; who enacted a ſpecial Covenant with them; who received homage, worſhip, and engagements to ſervice from them; who promiſed eſpecial protection and favour to them, and to their ſeed; that *Jehovah*, who indeed *am*, what this name importeth, the only true and real God; eternal, independent, and indefectible in eſſence; true and infallible in word; conſtant and immutable in purpoſe; firm and faithful in performance of whatever I promiſe, or threaten: that ſame *Jehovah* I am; to whoſe words therefore, upon all accounts of reaſon, of duty, of intereſt thou particularly doſt owe moſt ſubmiſſive attention and obedience.

Thy God: that ſupereminent being, and power, to whom thou peculiarly doſt own worſhip and honour, love and affection, duty and ſervice: who although he be indeed the Lord of all the world, yet beareth a ſpecial relation unto *thee*; as *having choſen*, and avouched *thee to be a ſpecial people to himſelf, above all the people, that are upon the face of the earth*; having promiſed thee to *make thee high above all nations, which he hath made, in praiſe, and in name, and in honour*; and having by many ſignal demonſtrations of favour and mercy confirmed to thee the performance of his covenant, and promiſe; thou alſo reciprocally having *avowed me to be thy God, to walk in my ways, to keep my ſtatutes, my commandments, my judgments, and to hearken to my voice.* Deut. 7. 6. 4. 2. Deut. 26. 16.

Who brought thee out of the land of Egypt; out of the houſe of bondage.

This is a particular, and moſt remarkable inſtance, by which it appeareth what God it is, that doth thus impoſe law upon them; and how they are obliged to entertain it: that God it is, who in purſuance of his ſingular favour toward thee, and of his Covenant made with thee, hath particularly obliged thee by ſo eminent a benefit, in a manner ſo full of wonder in it ſelf, ſo full of grace toward thee, delivering thee from ſaddeſt oppreſſion and ſlavery, bringing thee into a deſirable ſtate of preſent liberty, and of ſure tendency (not otherwiſe than by thy fault to be fruſtrated) toward enjoyment of reſt, of plenty, of all joy and comfort in the promiſed land; declaring hereby, as his glorious and divine perfections of wiſdom and power,

ſo

ſo his exceeding goodneſs toward thee, his faithful care over thee, his readineſs and ſufficiency in all thy needs and exigencies to protect, preſerve and deliver thee.

I then being ſuch, *Jehovah*, the only true God; *thy God*, by particular engagement, and endearment; thy gracious and bountiful benefactour not in will only, but in deed; do thus propound my will unto thee; and upon all accounts of general and ſpecial duty; of reaſon, of juſtice, of gratitude require thy regard, and obſervance of what follows.

Now what God in a direct, and literal ſenſe thus ſpeaketh to the Jewiſh people, may according to likeneſs of caſe, and parity of reaſon (eſpecially in a myſtical and ſpiritual way) upon more conſiderable, and effectual accounts be applied unto us:

Heb. 13. 8. The Lord *Jehovah* is ſuch no leſs to us than to them; He is *the ſame yeſterday, to day, and for ever*; to him, as to the only, true, eternal and Almighty God, the eſſential Author, Lord and Governour of all things, our higheſt reſpect, and obſervance are due; He alſo, in a ſtricter relation, founded on higher grounds, is *our God*, having choſen us, and conſecrated us more eſpecially to himſelf; having received us

Heb. 8. 6. 7. 22. into a cloſer confederacy (*a new and better covenant*, as the *Apoſtle* calls it, *eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes*) having obliged us by granting nobler privileges, and diſpenſing moſt excellent benefits to us: who likewiſe hath brought us up out of a ſpiritual *Egypt*, and ſtate of infinitely more wretched bondage; hath reſcued us from the tyrannical dominion of *Satan* (a far intolerably cruel and hard Maſter, than any *Pharaoh*) hath freed us from ſerving ſin in our ſouls and bodies, a far harder ſervice, than making bricks, or any bodily toil can be; who hath conducted us in the way, and conferr'd on us an aſſured hope (if we be not wanting to our ſelves, and our duty) of entring into the heavenly *Canaan*, a place of perfect reſt, and unconceivable bliſs:

Coloſſ. 1. 13. who (as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it) *hath delivered us from the power of darkneſs, and tranſlated us into the kingdom of his moſt beloved Son*: who therefore here, according to ſpiritual intent, may be underſtood to ſpeak in a higher ſtrain to us; juſtly exacting a more *punctual* and accurate obedience to his commandments. But ſo much for that part, which ſeems introductory.

I. Commandment. Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.

Matth. 4. 'Tis in the *Hebrew*; There ſhall be to thee no other Gods (or no ſtrange Gods; for *alii* ſome render it, ſome *alieni*) על פני (*al-panai*) to my face, or at my face; that is, in compariſon, or competition with me; ſo as to be confronted to me; or together

Deut. 32. 9. and in conſort with me: *I am He* (ſaith God otherwhere) *and there is no God* עמדי (*immadhi*) *with me*; or beſide me; πλὴν ἐμοῦ, the LXX render it; and ſo the phraſe commonly importeth; as in that ſaying of the Scribe, anſwering to this:

Mark 12. 32. *There is one God*, ἡ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ, and *there is no other* God *beſide him*: but we need not criticize on the words, the ſenſe being plain; as containing a prohibition of aſſuming any other into partnerſhip with the one true God; acknowledging in mind, or in outward expreſſion any other for God. The Precept, as moſt of the reſt, is in form negative, and prohibitive, but ſuppoſeth and implieth ſomewhat affirmative and poſitive; as the reſt alſo may be conceived to do. It implies this affirmative Precept, Thou ſhalt have me for thy God: Now to have for our God, ſignifies as to internal diſpoſition of mind a moſt high eſteem, honour, dread and love of that Being, as endued with attributes, and perfections ſuperlatively excellent; the admiring of all his works, approving all his actions, acquieſcing in all his proceedings and dealings with us; the repoſing our hope and truſt in him as moſt able and willing to help us, and do us good; in outward expreſſion to acknowledge, praiſe and bleſs him as ſuch; to yield all fitting demonſtrations of reſpect to his name, and to whatever is ſpecially related to him; patiently to ſubmit to his will, and readily to obey his commandments: theſe principally and the like acts of internal devotion and external piety are comprized in theſe words, having him for our God, and we are to underſtand them here injoined to us; the ſame which is in Scripture called

Matt. 22. 37. Luke 10. 27. Deut. 6. 5. the *fearing*, the *ſerving*, the *worſhipping*, the *loving God with all our heart, and all our ſoul, and all our mind, and all our might*.

This is implied; and it is expreſly prohibited us to yield to any other, beſide him, the like eſteem, acknowledgment, or ſervice: That there is in truth but one ſuch Being, to whom eminently thoſe acts are due, nature, ancient tradition, general conſent, and eſpecially divine revelation do aſſure us; whereupon is conſequent, that yielding

yielding them (yielding, I ſay, thoſe opinions, eſtimations and affections of our mind, or thoſe acknowledgments and expreſſions in word, or thoſe performances in deed or work, which we before ſpecified) to any other Being whatever, whether really exiſtent in the world, or merely formed by our imagination, is highly unreaſonable, unbeſeeming us, and unjuſt toward him.

1. It is highly unreaſonable, as falſe and groundleſs in it ſelf; as vain and unprofitable to us; as productive of many bad effects. It is from errour in a matter of the higheſt nature, and maineſt conſequence; and ſo beyond any other miſtake hurtful to us, as reaſonable and intelligent creatures; the μετάλλαξις τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, *the tranſmuting the truth of God into a lye*, Saint *Paul* calls it; reckoning it for a grievous folly, and crime. It is a vanity of all moſt lamentable; a purſuance of ſhadows, an embracing of clouds; a building in air, or mere vacuity; a leaning upon that, which hath no ſubſtance, or no ſtrength to ſupport us; a dreaming and doting upon mere nothing; whence thoſe falſe Deities well in Scripture are termed μάταια, *vanities*, for that as they have no truth, or ſubſtance, or efficacy conſiderable in them, ſo all our thoughts, affections, expectations and labours are idlely miſemployed, and unprofitably miſ-ſpent upon them. Rom. 1. 25. Jer. 2. 13. Jer. 8. 19, &c. Acts 14. 15, &c.

2. It is alſo a thing moſt unbeſeeming us men, (whom God hath placed in ſo high a rank of worth and dignity, among his creatures; who are in our original ſo near of kin, ſo like in nature, ſo dear in relation and regard unto God himſelf) to admire and worſhip, to place our choice affections upon, to afford lowly ſubmiſſions unto, to reſt our hope and confidence in any other but him, who alone truly ſo far excels us, and can worthily challenge ſuch reſpects from us; all flattery is baſe and unworthy, but this of all is the worſt and moſt unbecoming.

3. To do ſo, is alſo moſt unjuſt and injurious to God; to whom, as to the Author of our being, and of all our good received ſince, we do owe all that our mind can yield of reverence, all that our heart can hold of affection, all that our tongue can utter of praiſe, all that our utmoſt might can perform of ſervice; and ſince the exhibiting to any other thing part of theſe muſt needs not only by that communication debaſe, and derogate from their worth, but alſo withdraw them in great meaſure from him, ſo diminiſhing and embezzling his due (for we cannot, as our Saviour teaches us, together adhere unto, or ſerve divers Maſters) therefore having any other God, but the true *one*, is a high indignity, and a heinous injury to him. Οὐ περιπάτεσις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μεῖναι αὐτῷ, καὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυσὶ κυρίοις δικαιοσύνη. Orig. l. 8. p. 382.

This command therefore is moſt reaſonable upon many accounts; which as it hath been in groſſeſt manner violated by thoſe who have not acknowledged, or worſhipped any God at all, and by thoſe who have acknowledged and adored many Gods (by all *Atheiſts* and *Polytheiſts*) from which tranſgreſſions thereof we Chriſtians may ſeem totally exempt, who in formal profeſſion and practice have but one God (the Maker and Lord of all things, infinitely perfect, and glorious) yet there are many ſubtile, and perchance no leſs miſchievous tranſgreſſions thereof, of which even we may be very guilty, and to which we are very obnoxious, if we do not with all our hearts reverence, and love the moſt wiſe and powerful, the moſt juſt and holy, the moſt good and gracious God; if we do not truſt and hope in him as the fountain of all our good; if we do not diligently worſhip and praiſe him; if we do not humbly ſubmit to his will, and obey his Laws, we break the poſitive intent of this Law, not having him for our God; being indeed like thoſe, of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, *who profeſs to know God* (that is, who in words and outward pretence acknowledge him) *but in works deny him, being abominable, and diſobedient, and to every good work reprobate.* Likewiſe if we frame in our fancy an *Idea* untrue, diſagreeable unto, or unworthy of that one moſt excellent Being, and to ſuch a phantaſm of our own creation do yield our higheſt reſpects, and beſt affections, we break this Law, and have another God to our ſelves. If upon any creature (whether our ſelves, or any other thing) we impart our chief eſteem, or affection; or employ our moſt earneſt care and endeavour; or chiefly rely upon it, or moſt delight in it, that thing we make a God unto us, and are guilty of breaking this Law; hence Saint *Paul* more than once calls the *covetous* (or wrongfull) perſon *an Idolater*; and our Lord calls the immoderate purſuit of riches, the ſerving (or worſhipping) of *Mammon*; and Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of ſome perſons, who were φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον, ἢ φιλόθεοι, *lovers of pleaſures, rather than lovers of God*; of whom otherwiſe he ſays, *that their God was their belly*: we meet with thoſe in the Scripture, who *put their truſts in their horſes, and their chariots*; with thoſe, who *ſacrifice to their net, and burn incenſe to their drag*; with them who *truſt in man, and make* Δείγει ὁ Ξήνων ὁ τῆς Στοικῆς, κλίσεως ἀρχέτυπος —— μήτε ναὸς ποιεῖν μήτε ἄγαλμα. ἐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ ἔργον κατασκεύασμα. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V. p. 426. *Id. de* Numa. p. 223. *Strom.* I. *Vid.* Aug. *de.* C. D. 4. 31 Eph. 5. 5. Coloſſ. 3. 5. Matth. 6. 24. 2 Tim. 3. 4. Phil. 3. 19. Pſal. 20. 7. Hab. 1. 16. Jer. 17. 5.

Virgil Æn. 10. *fleſh their arm* (men of *Mezentius* his faith; ready to ſay with him, *Dextra mihi Deus eſt, & telum quod miſſile libro*) with thoſe, *whoſe heart is lifted up*, as the Ezek. 28. 2. Isa. 10. 13. Prince of *Tyre* in *Ezekiel*) and who *ſay they are Gods*; theſe, and whoever practiſe in like manner, are ſo many tranſgreſſours of this Covenant: In ſhort, whoever chiefly regards and affects, ſeeks and purſues, confides and delights in wealth, or honour, or pleaſure; wit, wiſdom, ſtrength, or beauty; himſelf, friends, or any other creature, he hath another God, againſt the deſign and meaning of this holy Law.

II. Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven image, &c.

The *firſt* Commandment determined the final object of our Religion; this doth limit the manner of exerciſing and expreſſing it; as to the chief intent of it, interdicting that mode, which in the practice of ancient times had ſo generally prevailed, of repreſenting the Deities (apprehended ſo) in ſome corporeal ſhape, and thereto yielding ſuch expreſſions of reſpect, as they conceived ſuitable and acceptable to ſuch Deities. I cannot ſtand to declare the riſe, and progreſs of ſuch a practice; how the Devil's malice, and ſome mens fraud conſpiring with other mens ſuperſtitious ignorance and fondneſs, prevailed ſo far to impoſe upon mankind; I ſhall only obſerve, that men naturally are very prone to comply with ſuggeſtions to ſuch guiſes of Religion: for as the ſenſe of want, and pain, and manifold inconvenience, not to be removed or remedied by any preſent ſenſible means, doth prompt men to wiſh, and ſeek for help ſome otherwhere; and this diſpoſes them to entertain any hopes propounded to them (with how little ſoever ground of probability) of receiving it from any abſent, or inviſible power; as it alſo conſequently engageth them to undertake any conditions required by thoſe, who propound ſuch hopes, as needful for obtaining thereof; whence the ordinary ſort of men are very apt to embrace any way of Religion ſuggeſted to them, eſpecially by perſons of credit, and authority for knowledge; ſo alſo, when the propoſition thereof doth come attended with circumſtantial appearances, and ſhews gratifying their ſenſes, or humouring their paſſions, or delightfully amuſing their fancies, it moſt eaſily allures, and takes them; as likewiſe on the other ſide, when abſtraction of mind, and reſtraint of paſſion are required, and ſenſe or fancy are little entertained thereby, men are ſomewhat averſe from ſuch propoſals of Religion, and are not ſo eaſily brought heartily to like, or earneſtly to embrace them; wherefore ſince the propounding of images and ſenſible repreſentations (relating to ſomewhat not immediately diſcerned, from whence men are promiſed the ſupply of their needs, or relief from the inconveniencies, which they endure) by their magnificency, beauty, curioſity, ſtrangeneſs, or even by their ſenſibility it ſelf, do make ſo facile, and pleaſant impreſſions upon the dull and low conceits of men, it is the leſs wonderful, that men commonly have been ſo eaſily inveagled into ſuch idolatrous ſuperſtitions; ſo unreaſonable in themſelves, and of ſo miſchievous conſequence. For what can be more ſenſeleſs, than to imagine, that that Being, which in wiſdom and power is ſufficient to over-rule nature, and thereby to afford us the aſſiſtance we need, may be reſembled by any of theſe corporeal things, the beſt of which we cannot, without debaſing our ſelves, eſteem ſuperiour to our ſelves? how unreaſonable is it to conceit thus, how unworthy is it, and unſuitable to the dignity of our nature, derived from heaven, to crouch unto ſuch mean repreſentations? it is Saint *Paul*'s diſcourſe: *Being* (ſaith he) *the off-ſpring of God, we ought not to think, that the Godhead is like unto gold, or ſilver, or ſtone graven by art, and man's device.* How injurious alſo to that moſt excellent nature muſt it be to frame, and expoſe to view ſuch not only homely and mean, but in reſpect of the divine nature, moſt foul and ugly portraictures of him, which cannot but tend to vilifie him in men's conceit? * He that ſhould form the image of a ſerpent, or a toad, and exhibit it as the ſimilitude of a King, would ſurely derogate much from his Majeſty, and beget very mean and unbecoming conceits of his perſon in their minds, whom he ſhould perſuade to take it for ſuch; and infinitely more muſt he detract from the dignity, and diminiſh the reverence due to that immenſe, almighty, alwiſe, moſt pure and perfect being, who ſhall preſume to preſent any ſenſible, any finite, any corruptible thing as a reſemblance of him; Rom. 1. 23. *changing* (as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it) *the glory of the incorruptible God into an image*

Κοινὰς ἁπάντων νόμος. Max. Tyr. *diſſ.* 38. Where he defendeth Idolatry.

Acts 17. 29.

Ἐξευτελίζει τὸν θεὸν σεμνότιμα ἢ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ ἢ ὄλεως σωτήρια, ᾧ τὸν νοητὸν ἐσίαν διὰ ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι ἀτιμάζειν ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διὰ αἰσθήσεως. Clem. *Strom. V. p.* 408.

The being ordinarily expoſed to view doth (ſaith Clem. Alex.*) extenuate the venerability of God; and to worſhip the intelligible nature by matter doth vilifie it through the ſenſe.*

mage made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beaſts, and creeping things; as the *Iſraelites* are ſaid to have *changed their glory* (that is, their glorious God) *into the ſimilitude of an ox, that eateth graſs*: No wonder it was, that they, who uſed ſuch expreſſions of their Religion, had ſo low opinions concerning thoſe ſuppoſed Deities whom they worſhipped; that they ſuppoſed them liable to ſuch paſſions, fathered ſuch actions upon them, deſcribed them as vile in their diſpoſitions and their doings, as they repreſented them in their ſhape: Moſt reaſonable therefore is this prohibition of making any reſemblance of what kind ſoever (by *picture, ſculpture* or *fuſion*) in order to religious adoration; and yielding to them any ſuch ſignification of reſpect, which the cuſtom or conſent of men hath appropriated to Religion; as bowing, falling down, lying proſtrate before them, or the like: moſt reaſonable I ſay, for ſince there is but one proper and allowable object of our worſhip, as the *firſt* Commandment declares and enacts, the making an image of any other exiſtent in nature, or deviſed by our own fancy, in order to the worſhip thereof, is but a purſuance of that unreaſonable, unhandſo[illegible] and unjuſt ſuperſtition there forbidden; adding ſome abſurdity in the manner to the pravity in the ſubſtance of ſuch worſhip. Pſal. 106. 20.

And as for that one true object of our devotion, the eternal, immenſe, and all perfect God; the glorious excellency of whoſe nature doth infinitely tranſcend our comprehenſion, and conſequently of whom we cannot deviſe any reſemblance not infinitely beneath him, unlike to him, unworthy of him (whereby we ſhall not diſparage him, and expoſe him to irreverent apprehenſions, eſpecially with the groſs vulgar; whereby indeed we ſhall not cloud his true inimitable perfections, and affix imperfections to him; blending inexpreſſible truth with apparent falſhood) it muſt be therefore a profane folly to pretend the repreſenting him by any image; and the doing of it is upon ſuch accounts in many places of Scripture forbidden; and that it is ſo here, according to the intent of this Precept, is plain by that place in *Deuteronomy*, where *Moſes* reports the ground of this prohibition: *Take ye therefore* (ſaith he) *good heed unto your ſelves; for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude on the day, that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb, out of the midſt of the fire, leſt you corrupt, and make you a graven image*: No ſhape repreſenting God did appear at his utterance of theſe Laws, to prevent their framing any reſemblance of God, and taking occaſion to practiſe this ſort of worſhip; thereby implied to be unreaſonable. And the Prophet *Eſay* having in ſublime language and diſcourſe ſet out the incomparable greatneſs, power, and majeſty of God (*who hath meaſured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with a ſpan, and comprehended the duſt of the earth in a meaſure, and weighed the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance; before whom the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the ſmall duſt of a balance; ——yea before whom all nations are as nothing, and are counted to him leſs than nothing and vanity; who ſitteth upon the circle of the earth; and the inhabitants thereof are as graſhoppers; who ſtretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and ſpreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in*) having I ſay, in this, and more ſuch language endeavoured to deſcribe the might and majeſty of God, he inferrs: *To whom then will ye liken God; or what likeneſs will ye compare unto him?* and thereupon he proceeds to diſcourſe againſt making images for religious uſe. Like whereto is the diſcourſe of Saint *Paul* to the *Athenians*: *God* (ſaith he) *who made the world, and all things that are therein, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; nor is worſhipped by the hands of men, —— we therefore being the off-ſpring of God, ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or ſilver, or ſtone, the engravement of art, and man's device*; in which place, as the forming any image to repreſent divine things is manifeſtly prohibited, ſo the reaſons which we touched againſt ſuch practice, are diſcernibly enough inſinuated. Deut. 4. 15. Iſa. 40. 18. —25. Acts 17. 24. —29.

Neither ſhould we omit, that this Law is confirmed in the New Teſtament, and there made a part of God's new Law: for we are therein often commanded *to flee idols*, not to *be idolaters*, to *ſhun idolatry* as a moſt heinous crime, of the higheſt rank, proceeding from fleſhly pravity, inconſiſtent with good conſcience, and expoſing to damnation: for the meaning and notion of Idolatry in which places, why ſhould we underſtand it otherwiſe, than according to the plain ſenſe of the word, which is the worſhip of images, or reſemblances? why ſhould we take it otherwiſe, than as oppoſite to God's Law, then in force? why ſhould we otherwiſe expound it, than accord- 1 Joh. 5. 21. 1 Cor. 10. 7, 14. 1 Cor. 5. 10. 11. 6. 9. Gal. 5. 20. Apoc. 9. 20. 21. 8. 22. 15.

according to the common notion and acceptance of God's people at that time? The word Idolatry was unknown to other people than the *Jews*; among the *Jews* it ſignified the violation of the *ſecond* Commandment; wherefore the obſervance of that Commandment is eſtabliſhed and enforced by the Apoſtles. The *Jews* deteſted the worſhipping any images; their deteſtation was grounded on this Law; they therefore, who earneſtly exhort them to continue in deteſtation thereof, do confirm, and enforce the obligation of this Law; nor can we reaſonably ſuppoſe any diſtinction or reſervation for any Idolatry (or any worſhipping of images) as lawful, or allowable to Chriſtians; ſince the Apoſtles as they found it univerſally prohibited to the *Jews*, ſo they continued to charge Chriſtians againſt it. This diſcourſe hath more force, conſidering that the ſame reaſon, upon which this Law was enacted, doth ſtill apparently continue; men ſtill unmeaſurably affecting this fanciful way of Religion, being apt in the exerciſe thereof (if not curb'd by a Law) to doat upon ſenſible repreſentations; being averſe from raiſing up their minds to the only true object of worſhip, as endued with intelligible, and ſpiritual perfections: this the experience of mens wild eagerneſs for images, reliques, and other ſuch fooliſh trinkets, which had almoſt quite oppreſſed our Religion (as in many ages the beſt and wiſeſt men did obſerve and complain) doth plainly evince.

We may add, that if the common tradition and conſent of the ancient Church is in any caſe a ground of perſuaſion, or rule of practice to us, we are thence obliged to diſapprove, and decline the worſhipping images; for nothing can be no more evident than that all ſuch worſhip was not only carefully eſchewed, but zealouſly deteſted by the primitive Chriſtians: This is manifeſt from moſt expreſs words of the *Fathers* generally impugning and condemning all worſhip of images; which are as applicable to that worſhip, which hath been practiſed among *Chriſtians*, as to that of the *Heathens*; their expreſſions do not ſignifie, nor their arguments prove any thing, if any worſhipping of images be allowable, if they do not as well condemn and confute the *modern*, as the *ancient Romans*; They could not with any reaſon, or modeſty have uſed ſuch words, or urged ſuch reaſons, if their practice had been like that, which afterward crept into the Church; their darts then againſt *Pagan* Idolatry eaſily might, ſurely would have been, retorted on themſelves; which is ſo far from having been done, that the *Pagans* accuſed them for having no * Images (*Celſus objecteth* † ſaith *Origen*, *that we ſhun making altars, ſtatues and ſhrines, thinking this to be a faithful pledge (or mark) of our ſecret communion together*: this *Origen* anſwers by confeſſing the matter of fact; but defending the right; not for your reaſon, ſaith he, we ſhun theſe things, but * *becauſe we by the doctrine of Jeſus, having found the true manner of piety toward God, do eſchew thoſe things, which in conceit or appearance of piety do make men impious*——and *the images of Chriſtians are* (ſaith he) *their virtues, whereby they reſemble God; and truly worſhip him; and every good Chriſtian, carefully imitating God, is his beſt ſtatue.*

* *Car nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota ſimulacra?* Minut.

Conſueſtis crimen notis maximum impietatis affingere, quòd neque ades ſacras venerationis ad officia conſtituamus, non Deorum alicujus ſimulacrum conſtituamus, aut formam, &c. Arnob. 6.

† —— Κέλσος φησιν ἡμᾶς βωμὺς, καὶ ἀγάλματα, καὶ νεὼς ἀφεύδης φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν ἀφανῶς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας σύμβολον. 8. p. 389.

Ὁ Μωσῆς τὰς δοκίμους καὶ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας ζωγραφίαν καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιίαν ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας ἐξέλασε. Philo *de* Gig.

* —— ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐσεβεῖς, διὰ τοῦτο Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν, ἣ τέρπον τὸ εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, φεύγομεν τὰ φαντασίᾳ εὐσεβείας ἀσεβῆ ποιοῦντα, &c. *Vid.* Tert. *de Idol.* 3. 4. p. 389, 390.

Yea the *Fathers* were ſo far from practiſing worſhip of Images, that ſome of them condemn the ſimple making of them; calling the art of doing it a fallacious art, introduced by the Devil and forbidden by God; expounding this Commandment ſo, as that in it not only the worſhipping, but the forming any ſimilitude is forbidden: * *Moſes*, (ſaith *Clem. Alex.*) *did of old expreſly give law, that no carved, or fuſile, or plaiſtered, or painted portraiture, or imagery ſhould be made; that we ſhould not attend to ſenſible things, but paſs to things intelligible*: and † *Tertullian* in ſeveral places ſaith the ſame. Whether their expoſition (concurring it ſeems with the common opinion of the *Jews* in their time) were true, I ſhall not now diſcuſs; that making any ſimilitudes in order to worſhip is prohibited, is moſt evident.

* Μωσῆς περίπαλαι διαῤῥήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν, ἢ χωνευτὸν, ἢ πλαστὸν, ἢ γεγραμμένον ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι· ἵνα μὴ αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχωμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετιῶμεν, &c.

Clem. *Strom.* V. p. 408.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὁ μηδὲ γλυπτὸν εἴδωλον δημιουργεῖν παρῃνέσας, αὐτὸς ἀπεικόνιζεν ἢ ἅγιον ἄγαλμα. p. 411.

† Tertul. *de Spectac. cap.* 23. *de Idol.* 3, 4, 5, &c. *Contra* Marc. 2. 22. *Vid.* Iren. 4. 31, 32. Tertul. *de Idol. per tot.* Aug. *contra* Fauſt. 15. 4. 7. & 19. 18. *Contra* 2 *Epiſt.* Pet. 3. 4.

In fine, divers of the Fathers ſay, that all the commands in the Decalogue, excepting the Sabbath, do continue in force, as naturally obligatory, and as confirmed by the Chriſtian Law: for inſtance, St. *Auguſtine* in his 119th *Epiſtle* ſpeaketh thus:

thus: *The other precepts* (excepting the Sabbath) *there* (in the Decalogue) *we do obſerve properly as they are commanded without any figurate obſervation; for we have manifeſtly learnt, not to worſhip idols, and not to take the name of the Lord our God in vain, to honour father and mother,* &c. *do not figurately pretend one thing and myſtically ſignifie another thing, but are ſo obſerved as they ſound.*

But ſo much for the prohibition: I ſhall add, that we may conceive this poſitive Precept implied, and intended here, that in our devotions and religious ſervices of God we ſhould raiſe our mind above groſs ſenſe and fancy; that we ſhould entertain high and worthy conceptions of God; that we ſhould apprehend him incomparably ſuperiour to all things, which we do ſee or know; that we direct our minds unto him as to a being tranſcendently perfect in goodneſs, juſtice, wiſdom and power, above what we can comprehend and think; that which our Saviour calls *worſhiping God in ſpirit and truth*; which is (as I take it) the ſpecial poſitive duty of this Commandment. Joh. 4. 23, 24.

I need not farther to urge, how preſumptuous and dangerous the practices of thoſe men are, who (to the great danger, and ſcandal of Chriſtianity among Jews, and Mahometans, and men of other Religions) notwithſtanding theſe commandments of God, backed with others, of the ſame import, frequently occurring in the holy Scripture, (never, that we find any intimation of, repealed or relaxed) particularly againſt that ſignal one made uſe of by our Saviour, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord, thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; without any ancient good authority, or example, without any neceſſity or good reaſon inducing, do not only yield themſelves, but violently force others to yield unto angels, and unto the ſouls of dead men (men of dubious ſtate in reference to God, not having paſt the laſt trial and judgment, the reſult whereof 'tis a profane temerity in us peremptorily to anticipate) all kinds of worſhip, both internal (repoſing truſt and hope in them of obtaining benefits from them; attributing unto them in their eſteem the knowledge and power, which for all that we can know are incommunicably proper unto God himſelf) and external, of prayer and invocation, of praiſe and thankſgiving; and not only thus as to the ſubſtance imparting a kind of divine worſhip to them, but as to the manner, erecting images of them, even in the places devoted to God's own ſervice, and affording to them the ſame expreſſions of reverence and reſpect, that we do or can preſent unto God himſelf (with great ſolemnity dedicating ſuch Images to them, with huge care and coſt decking them, with great ſemblance of devotion ſaluting them, and caſting themſelves down before them; carrying them in proceſſion, expoſing them to the people, and making long pilgrimages to them;) ſo that inſtead of the ſpiritual worſhip of God himſelf, peculiarly required of Chriſtians, and to which our Religion is perfectly ſuted, a Religion chiefly employing ſenſe, and fancy, and for the greateſt part directed unto the repreſentations of creatures is ſubſtituted, in deſpight, as it were, and in defiance of theſe Commandments; the plain force of which they endeavour to elude and evade, by ſlender pretences and ſubtile diſtinctions, by the like to which there is no Law, which may not as eaſily be rendred inſignificant, and invalid; never in the mean time conſidering, that theſe Laws were not given to employ the wits of Sophiſters and Schoolmen; but to direct the practice of rude and plain people; to which purpoſe no Law, after ſuch Artiſts have had the handling of it, can ſignifie any thing: nothing being ſo clear which by their cavillations and quirks they cannot confound; nothing ſo ſmooth wherein they cannot find or make knots.

There is ſubjoined to theſe two Commandments (as we reckon them; others* have accounted them but one; and their opinion is ſomewhat countenanced, by what is added here ſeeming to bear a common reſpect to both, there is I ſay ſubjoined) a reaſon, or rather a contexture of reaſons ſtrongly preſſing and encouraging to obedience, deterring and diſcouraging from diſobedience to them; or indeed generally to all God's Commandments, but eſpecially unto theſe, moſt immediately relating to Him: * *S. Auſtin, Bede, &c.*

For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God. (am *El kanah, fortis zelotes*, as the *Vulgar Latine* reads it: it may ſeem to have been a name of God, implying, as all the other names of God do, ſome attribute of God; for it is in the 34th of *Exodus*, ſaid, *Thou ſhalt worſhip no other God for the Lord, whoſe name is Jealous*, or *Kana, is a jealous God*;) Exod. 34. 14.

I am a jealous God, that is, a God very tender of my honour, and of my right; who am impatient of any mate, or competitour, in reſpect to thoſe duties, which
Iſa. 42. 8. properly and incommunicably belong unto me; *I am* (ſaith God in the Prophet *Eſay*) *the Lord, that is my name, and my glory I will not give to another, nor my praiſe to graven images*: this *Jealouſie* doth contain in it not only a ſtrong diſlike, but a fierce
Deut. 4. 24. diſpleaſure, againſt the infringers of theſe Laws: *For the Lord thy God* (ſaith *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, preſſing the obſervance of this ſame Precept, concerning the worſhip of Images) *is a conſuming fire, he is a jealous God:* And if God be thus jealous, ſo eaſily provoked to indignation by our detracting his due honour, and imparting it to any other, we have great reaſon to be afraid of incurring the guilt of
Pſal. 76. 7. either; for *who can ſtand in his ſight, when he is angry*? who can ſupport the effects of his diſpleaſure?

Viſiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.

Viſiting the iniquities of fathers upon the children; God doth not only puniſh thoſe perſons themſelves, who commit notorious and heinous ſins (ſuch as theſe of idolatry and profaneneſs, whereby he is publickly wrong'd and diſhonoured) but the more to deter men (who naturally bear much regard to their poſterity, and are afraid to be, aſhamed to appear, the cauſes of ruin and calamity to their family) he declareth that in reſpect to their doings it ſhall go ill with their poſterity; they ſhall therefore be more ſtrictly and ſeverely dealt with; they ſhall upon this ſcore be capable of leſs favour and mercy from God, than otherwiſe they might have been: for we muſt not hereby underſtand, that God will arbitrarily inflict undeſerved pains upon the children of bad men for the faults of their anceſtours (God doth expreſly diſ-
Ezek. 18. 20. claim ſuch kind of proceeding; *The ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of the father; the ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall die*; ſaith he in the Prophet: and, *Every one ſhall die*
Deut. 24. 16. *for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the ſowre grape, his teeth ſhall be ſet*
Jer. 31. 30. *on edge*) but that he will upon that account withdraw his free favours from them; that meaſure of grace and indulgence, which otherwiſe the Son of ſuch a perſon (had he not been a great Traitour againſt God) might according to the general courſe of God's goodneſs have received, the which might have more effectually reſtrained him from ſin, and conſequently have prevented his guilt and his puniſhment, God may well (in conſiſtence with his juſtice and goodneſs, to manifeſt his deteſtation of heinous wickedneſs) withhold from him. Such a ſon, if he do fall into perſonal offences (for that alſo is to be underſtood; otherwiſe ſuch is the goodneſs of God that
Ezek. 18. 14. 17 he hath declared, *if a ſon ſeeing his fathers ſins, and conſidering doeth not the like,*
* 1 King. 11. 35. *he ſhall not die for the iniquity of his father, but ſhall ſurely live*; if, I ſay, he fall-
1 Kings 14. 13. 13. 34. eth into perſonal ſins) God will viſit; that is, will uſe a cloſe inſpection and ani-
14. 10. 16. 3. madverſion upon him, will ſeverely puniſh and avenge his ſin; not only upon his
21. 29. own, but on his father's account; examples of which proceeding do in the divine
2 Kings 9. 8. hiſtories frequently occur; * in *Solomon*, in *Jeroboam*, in *Baaſha*, in *Ahab*, in
10. 30. 15. 12. *Jehu*, and in others.
Job. 27. 14.

Of them that hate me. We may obſerve that in the Scripture ſtyle the tranſgreſſiours of God's Laws are termed haters, and enemies of God; becauſe their actions ſignifie a diſpoſition of mind in them repugnant to the mind of God, and becauſe by them they reſiſt, and oppoſe God's will; no wonder then if God deal thus ſeverely with them.

But God not only deterrs from diſobedience by threatning a train of puniſhments, but he encourageth to obedience by a declaration of his intention (or promiſe) graciouſly to reward not only upon the obedient perſons themſelves, but upon their poſterity for ever (in a manner) unto thouſands, that is unto a thouſand deſcents.

Shewing mercy unto thouſands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

Vid. Deut. 7. 9. *Shewing mercy*; God doth not abſolutely promiſe, that he will forbear to puniſh the poſterity of good men, in caſe they offend, but that he will ſhew mercy, and deal the more favourably with them in that reſpect: his meaning and method in
Pſal. 89. 30. theſe caſes are plainly repreſented in thoſe words concerning *David*, *If his children*

forſake

forſake my law, and walk not in my judgments, if they break my ſtatutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I viſit their tranſgreſſion with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes; nevertheleſs my loving-kindneſs will I not utterly take from him: —— God declares he will puniſh the offending children of very good men, yet ſo as their miſdeeds ſhall not interrupt his kindneſs toward the reſt of their poſterity, or aboliſh his remembrance of their goodneſs: ſo we may ſee God dealt with *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs*, paſſing by (in memory of their love and reverence to him; and their faithful obedience to his will) the manifold provocations of their poſterity; ſo that he did not for a long tract of time, and after many generations paſt ſuffer them (according as their perſonal demeanour highly deſerved) to incurr ruin; upon this conſideration he brought them out of *Egypt*; he ſettled them in *Canaan*, he frequently delivered them from their enemies, he reſtored them from oppreſſions, and captivities; as is often expreſſed, and inſinuated in *Scripture*. So alſo it is frequently mentioned, that for *David's* ſake, his poſterity, although highly provoking God by their miſcarriages, was protected and preſerved; I cannot ſtand to mention places. I ſhall only farther note that which is very obvious, and moſt remarkable here; the difference between God's proceeding in way of ſeverity, and in way of favour; by a vaſt proportion the expreſſions of God's mercy do exceed thoſe of juſtice, although both inſiſting upon like, or correſpondent grounds: *he viſiteth the iniquities* of diſobedient fathers *unto the third or fourth generation*, but *he ſheweth mercy to a thouſand generations of thoſe* that love and obey him; he ſoon forgetteth the wrongs done, but he long retaineth in memory the ſervices performed to him; which conſideration ſhould work upon our ingenuity, and engage us willingly to obey ſo gracious a Lord.

2 Chron. 21. 7: Iſa. 45. 4. Pſal. 105. 42. Deut. 4. 37. Levit. 26. 42. Exod. 2. 34. 1 King. 11. 12. 34. 15. 4. Pſal. 18. 50. Iſa. 37. 35.

It is alſo obſervable, that as diſobedience is ſtyled hatred of God, *ſo loving God* and *keeping his commandments* are conjoined as terms equivalent: they are indeed inſeparably connected, love being a certain cauſe of obedience, obedience an infallible ſign of love: *He that hath my commandments, and obſerveth them, he it is* (ſaith our *Saviour*) *that loveth me*: and, *If any man loveth me, he will keep my word.* But I paſs forward to the next.

Joh. 14. 21. 15. Joh. 23. 24.

Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain. III. COMMANDMENT.

It conſiſteth we ſee of a Precept, and of a reaſon deterring from diſobediene thereto, by declaring or threatning the miſchief enſuing thereon.

The Precept is: *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain*: it might be rendered, Thou ſhalt not bring the name of the Lord thy God to a vanity (or to a lye, for ſo the word שוא *ſhaveh*, frequently importeth) that is (as it ſeems interpreted in a parallel place, where moſt of theſe Laws are repeated, inculcated and fenced by additional injunctions) *Thou ſhalt not ſwear in my name to a falſhood*; and in the 24th *Pſalm, to lift up one's ſoul to vanity*, is explained by *ſwearing* לשרמה (*lemirmah*) *to deceit, or falſhood*; *Joſephus* expreſſeth it by ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ψεύδει τὸν θεὸν ὁρκοῦσι, To *adjure God to no bad matter* or to no falſe matter, as the word ψεῦδος commonly in good Writers is taken.) And our Lord himſelf in his *Sermon* on the Mount ſeemeth to reſpect this Law, when he ſays; *Ye have heard that it was ſaid to the ancients*, οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, *ye ſhall not forſwear, but ſhall render to the Lord your oaths*; For he doth immediately before cite other paſſages out of the *Decalogue* (*thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not commit adultery*) with intention to explain or extend them; and therefore probably he proceeds reſpecting this Law, the moſt conſpicuous of all thoſe, which relate to this matter; and if this Law be (as ſome conceive) ſuppoſed to ſignifie more ſtrictly, it had been more ſuitable to his purpoſe to cite it, than any other of more lax importance; his drift being plainly to extend in matter, and to ſtraiten in obligation even the fulleſt and ſtricteſt of ancient Laws, at leaſt as they were then commonly expounded, and underſtood; yea even in this caſe our Lord ſeemeth to affirm that the ancients had no Law ſtrict and perfect enough for Evangelical practice; conſidering which things, it is probable, that the prime intent of this Law is to prohibit that great ſin of *Perjury*, that is of invoking God's atteſtation to a lye; thereupon appealing to him as witneſs, and judge, that what we aſſert is true; as a ſurety, that what we promiſe we do ſtedfaſtly reſolve and ſhall faithfully endeavour to perform; implying alſo, that we do expect

Levit. 19. 12. Pſal. 24. 4. Joſ. *Arch.* 3. 4. Matth. 5. 33. πᾶσι ὅρκοις εἰς κατάδεσιν τελοῦσι τῆς ἐπιορκίας.

pect a curſe, and vengeance from him upon us, if we be found knowingly to falſifie in our affirmation, or wilfully to violate our promiſe.

Swearing is in its own nature immediately an act of Religion, and as ſuch was injoined by God, (*Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and ſerve him, and ſhalt ſwear by his name*;) It expreſſeth the pious perſuaſion we have concerning God's chief attributes and prerogatives; of his omnipreſence and omniſcience (extending to the knowledge of our moſt inward thoughts, and ſecret purpoſes;) of his watchfull providence over what we do; of his juſtice and fidelity, in maintaining truth and right, in avenging iniquity and falſhood: the reaſon of uſing it, was derived from, or grounded upon a perſuaſion, about God, which hath ever been common among men, that God the governour and judge of the world, the protectour and patron of right, is always ready upon our invocation and reference unto him to undertake the cognizance of matters in debate and controverſie between men, for the protection of truth, the maintenance of right, and preſervation of peace among them; (*An oath*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *for confirmation is to men an end of all ſtrife*) ſo that the uſe thereof becometh a main inſtrument of promoting thoſe purpoſes, the ſtrongeſt tye of fidelity, the ſureſt ground to proceed upon in adminiſtration of juſtice, the moſt ſacred band of all ſociety; which therefore he that ſhall preſume to violate, doth not only moſt unworthily wrong this or that perſon, this or that ſociety of men, but doth what in him lies to ſubvert the foundations of all publick juſtice and peace; withal moſt impiouſly abuſing, and affronting God Almighty himſelf; profaning his moſt ſacred ordinance, making his name inſtrumental to the compaſſing his deceitful and baſe purpoſes, deſpiſing his judgment, and defying his vengeance.

Deut. 6. 13. 10. 20.

Heb. 6. 16.

This ſeems to be the firſt, and direct meaning of this Law; but it may by parity of reaſon well be extended farther, ſo as we may hereby underſtand all light and vain ſwearing, all wanton and irreverent uſe of God's holy name: and hitherto our Lord hath plainly extended it, forbidding us to ſwear at all, and charging us in our converſation to uſe only the ſimple and plain manner of aſſertion, or promiſe, ſaying only *yea, yea*, or *nay, nay*; without preſuming upon any ſlight occaſion to introduce the holy name of God; which indeed we ſhould not without extreme awe of ſpirit ever think upon, nor without high veneration dare to mention: 'tis an inſtance of the moſt ſottiſh folly, 'tis an argument of the moſt horrible impiety that can be, thus (without any cauſe, or temptation thereto, without any profit or pleaſure thence) to trifle with the divine Majeſty; to abuſe his glorious Name, and provoke his dreadful vengeance; *who will no wiſe hold him guiltleſs, that taketh his name in vain.*

Matt. 5. 37.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, &c.

IV. COMMANDMENT.

The *Decalogue* is in ſeveral places of Scripture (as we before noted) called a Covenant with the *Jewiſh* People, and the obſervation of this Law is likewiſe ſo called in a particular and ſpecial manner: It is expreſſed to have been appointed as a ſign, or characteriſtical note, whereby their peculiar relation to God might be diſcerned, and they diſtinguiſhed from all other People. As *Circumciſion* was a ſeal of the Covenant made with *Abraham* and his poſterity; ſo keeping the *Sabbath* did obſignate the Covenant made with the Children of *Iſrael* after their delivery out of *Egypt*: *The children of Iſrael* (ſaith the text) *ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve the Sabbath, throughout their generations for a perpetual Covenant, it is a ſign between me and the Children of Iſrael for ever*: and *I gave them* (ſaith God in *Ezekiel*) *my ſtatutes, and ſhewed them my judgments, which if a man do, he ſhall live in them*: moreover *I gave them my Sabbaths to be a ſign between me, and them, that they might know, that I am the Lord, who ſanctifies them*: and, *Thou cameſt down from mount Sinai* (ſay the Levites in *Nehemiah*) *and ſpakeſt with them from heaven, and gaveſt them right judgments, and true laws, good ſtatutes, and commandments; and madeſt known unto them thy holy Sabbaths*: where *making known to them the Sabbaths*, as alſo otherwhere *giving them the Sabbath*, are expreſſions, together with the ſpecial ends of the *Sabbath*'s appointment; which are mentioned in thoſe places, confirming the judgment of the ancient *Chriſtians*, *Juſtin*, *M. Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, &c. who

Exod. 31. 16.

Ezek. 20. 11, 12. 20.

Neh. 9. 13. 14.

Exod. 16. 29.

Καὶ γὰρ μὴ Σαββατίσαντες οἱ πεγυμνασμένοι πάντες δίκαιοι τῷ θεῷ ἐυηρέστησαν, &c. Juſt. p. 236.

who referr the firſt inſtitution of the *Sabbath* to *Moſes*, affirming (that which indeed the hiſtory by its total ſilence concerning the Sabbath before him ſufficiently doth ſeem to confirm) that the *Patriarchs* were not obliged thereto, nor did practiſe it.

Ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἤρξατο περιτομὴ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Μωσέως Σάββατον, καὶ θυσία, καὶ προσφοραί, &c. 261.
Abraham ſine circumciſione, & ſine obſervatione Sabbatorum credidit Deo, &c. Iren. IV. 30. Tertul. *adv.* Jud. 2. 4.

And we may obſerve, that the Law concerning the *Sabbath*, is mentioned and inſiſted upon ſeparately from the body of their Laws, as being in nature different from the reſt, and enacted upon a ſpecial deſign; as from the forecited paſſages appeareth; and farther may appear from conſidering how the condition of *Proſelytes* (thoſe of the ſtricter ſort, called *Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs*) is deſcribed in *Eſay*; *The ſons of the ſtrangers*, (ſaith God in that Prophet) *that join themſelves to the Lord, to ſerve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his ſervants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my Covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my houſe of prayer*: where to undertake the obſervance of the Sabbath, and to lay hold of the *Jewiſh* Covenant, are ſignified to be coincident, or eſpecially coherent. Iſa. 56. 6. (4.)

All the other Precepts indeed (one paſſage in the *Second* Commandment as it may be underſtood to prohibit abſolutely the making of any ſimilitude, being liable to exception) are immediately grounded in the reaſon of the thing, and have a neceſſary obligation even viſible to natural light; they conſequently have been acknowledged as reaſonable, and obliging, by the general conſent of men; or might be ſo propounded and aſſerted by argument, as eaſily to extort ſuch conſent: but this *Command*, (although as to its general and remote matter it is moſt evidently reaſonable, and requireth that, which no man can deny to be matter of neceſſary duty, yet) as to the more immediate matter, as to the determinate meaſure, and manner of performing thoſe general duties, no reaſon can diſcern an obligation diſtinct from, or antecedent to the Law-giver's will, to practice according thereto: that we ſhould frequently with grateful and joyful ſenſe reflect upon the glorious works of God (eſpecially that grand and fundamental one, wherein God's wonderful excellencies of goodneſs, wiſdom and power were ſo illuſtriouſly diſplayed; the creation of the world, wherein ſo great accommodations and benefits were generally diſpenſed to all the creatures, and to us eminently among them; remembring with deepeſt reſpect, and moſt hearty thankfulneſs our bountiful Maker;) that we ſhould not be unmindful of the ſpecial favours by God's gracious providence vouchſafed to our country, our relations, our ſelves (eſpecially ſuch very ſignal ones, as was that of the delivery from *Egyptian* ſlavery in a manner ſo remarkable and miraculous;) that we ſhould not ſpend our ſelves, and our time, in perpetually carking and labouring about affairs touching our body, and this preſent life, but ſhould aſſign ſome competent time both for the relaxation of our mind, and for attendance to the concernments of our ſoul: that alſo we ſhould allow fitting time of reſpite, and refreſhment to thoſe of our brethren, whom divine Providence hath diſpoſed into a meaner condition, and relation of ſervants to us; that their lives may not by inceſſant care and toil be rendred over-burthenſome, and grievous to them; but ſo that they may with ſome comfort ſerve us; that alſo they be not deſtituted of leaſure and opportunity to ſerve God, our common Maſter; and to regard the welfare of their ſouls, no leſs precious than our own: that alſo we ſhould ſhew ſome kindneſs and mercy even toward our beaſts, allowing them ſome eaſe from their painful drudgeries in our behalf; theſe are all them things, which reaſon evidently dictates; which common ſenſe muſt needs admit as duties of piety, juſtice and humanity: and to ſecure the performance of them both as to the ſubſtance, due meaſure, and fit manner of them, common prudence would ſuggeſt, that ſet times ſhould be appointed; in which they ſhould be ſolemnly and notoriouſly diſcharged, under the publick teſtimony and cognizance: and accordingly we find, that in all wiſe and civil Societies ſome proviſion even hath been made, by appointing Feſtival times, for the practice of ſuch duties, in ſome kind or degree: *The founders of Laws* (ſaith *Seneca*) *did inſtitute feſtival days, that men ſhould publickly be conſtrained to cheerfulneſs; interpoſing as neceſſary a temperament of their pains*: *Plato* with a more admirable ſagacity referrs the invention, or firſt inſtitution of ſuch times unto God himſelf; *The Gods* (ſaith he; that is, the divine Providence adminiſtring affairs here by the miniſtery of inferiour inviſible powers, according to his notion and manner of ſpeaking) *pitying mankind, born to painful*

Pſal. 143. 5. 92. 4. 107. 22. 26. 7. 145. 10.

Legum conditores Feſtos inſtituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publicè cogerentur, tanquam neceſſarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum. Sen. de tranq. An.

labour,

Θεοὶ ὃ οἰκλείσαντες τὸ μὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος ἀναπαύλας τὸ αὐτοῖς μὴ πόνων ἐτάξατο μὴ ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς. Plat. *de Leg.* II. p. 787.

labour, appointed for an eaſe and ceſſation from their toils the recourſes of feſtival ſeaſons obſerved to the Gods. (Thus I ſay) reaſon acknowledges the ſubſtance of theſe duties, and approves the ſecuring their performance, as a good end, or fit matter of Law both divine and humane. But as to the circumſtantial determination of meaſure and manner; that a *Seventh day* preciſely ſhould be aſſigned, that a total ceſſation from labour for man and beaſt ſhould be preſcribed; this is above reaſon to diſcern a neceſſity of; or a conveniency in compariſon with other limitations in thoſe reſpects deviſeable and practicable: nor can we aſſuredly reſolve the obligation thereto into any other ground, than the pleaſure of the moſt wiſe Authour of this Law; who did ſee what was moſt fit to be preſcribed to thoſe, whom this Law concerned. Here is indeed mentioned a reaſon, why God ſpecially did chuſe this day to bleſs and ſanctify it in this manner to ſuch purpoſes; namely, his reſting upon the Seventh day from his works of Creation; the which yet doth not certainly import a natural conveniency, toward accompliſhing thoſe purpoſes, of this preciſe quantity of time, or in this way of obſerving it, in preference to any other, that might have been appointed; it only ſeemeth to imply a fitneſs of theſe determinations, as containing ſomewhat of profitable ſignificancy; that ſuch a correſpondency in circumſtance of time, and manner of practice, might admoniſh us concerning the ſubſtance of our duty, or a principal part thereof peculiarly deſigned in the Sanction of this Law, the grateful Commemoration of God's moſt glorious work (the foundation as it were of all other his acts of beneficence) the creation of the world: for thus in all ceremonial Inſtitutions we may obſerve, that ſome ſignificant circumſtance is ſelected, on purpoſe to inſtruct or excite us to practice, by repreſenting to our fancy the nature and intention of the main duty required, as in *Circumciſion*, in the *Paſſover*, in *Baptiſm*, and other ritual Conſtitutions, it is not hard to perceive: ſo it being God's deſign to enforce the performance of that excellent duty: by appropriating a time thereto, we may conceive that he therefore eſpecially ſelected that day, as moſt apt to mind them, to whom this Law was given, of the hiſtory of the *Creation*; the reflecting upon and celebrating which was the main duty intended.

Seeing therefore the obſervation of the *Sabbath* is expreſſed to have a peculiar reſpect to the children of *Iſrael*, as a *ſign* of the Covenant made with them, when he led them out of *Egypt*; ſeeing in its own nature it differeth from the reſt of the *ten Laws*, the obligation thereto being not, diſcernibly to natural light, grounded in the reaſon of the thing, we can no-wiſe be aſſured, that an univerſal and perpetual obligation thereto was intended, or that its obligation did extend farther than to the *Jews*, to whom it was as a formal Law delivered, and upon ſpecial conſiderations ſeverely inculcated; to whoſe humour, condition and circumſtances it might alſo perhaps be particularly ſuited: *Juſtin M.* was of opinion that this Law, as many others, was given to the *Jews*, διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν, *for their iniquity, and hardneſs of heart*, by way of conceſſion and indulgence; for, becauſe they by their natural diſpoſition were apt to forget their Maker; to neglect the ſtate of their ſoul, being wholly intent on worldly affairs; to exact intolerable pains from their brethren, who ſerved them; to uſe cruelly the poor beaſts, employed in tilling their ground or bearing their burthens; therefore God (conſidering this incorrigible temper of theirs) did indulge ſix days to them for the proſecution of thoſe affairs, to which they were ſo devoted, contenting himſelf to exact from them no more, than this part of time for his own ſervice, for the benefit of ſervants, and eaſe of beaſts; if he had required more of them they could it ſeems or would hardly have endured it; the command would perhaps not only have been diſobeyed it ſelf, but the diſlike thereof might have rendered them averſe from all Religion, and ſervice of God; as it happeneth, when commands very rigorous, and exceeding men's ſtrength are enjoined; for we ſee the Prophets complain of them, that they could hardly be induced to go thus far, or to afford God this ſo moderate ſhare of time; but were impatient even for this one day in ſeven to abſtain from their ſecular buſineſs, to relax themſelves, or their ſervants, or their cattle from their daily labours: they impeach them for *polluting*, *profaning*, *hiding their eyes from* (that is, wholly overlooking, neglecting and diſregarding) *the Sabbath*; for *doing their own pleaſure*, and *exacting their own labours upon* it, for *not delighting* therein, or not willingly obſerving it; *Hear this* (ſaith the Prophet *Amos*) *O ye that ſwallow up the needy, even*

Juſt. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 235, &c.

Iſa. 58. 3, 13. Ezek. 20. 13. 21. 23, 38. 22. 26. Amos 8. 4.

even to make the poor of the land to fail, ſaying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may ſell corn, and the ſabbath, that we may ſet forth wheat? this being the diſpoſition of that People, not bearing a greater ſtrictneſs, they not being able to preſerve within their hearts a perpetual remembrance of God's works and favours; not to moderate their purſuits of temporal good things; not to bear a due regard and tenderneſs toward their brethren, and their fellow-creatures (the performing which things in a conſtant uninterrupted tenour the ſaid *holy Father*, and *bleſſed Martyr* ſuppoſeth to be the *Sabbatiſm*, which Chriſtians are bound to obſerve) therefore God conſidering their infirmity and incapacity to comply with higher injunctions, did uſe (as in the caſes of *Divorce*, *Revenge*, and the like) an indulgence toward them, permitting them on the other days to *do their pleaſure* (as the Prophet ſpeaks,) reſerving only this day for a punctual and ſolemn performance of the duties ſpecified: thus diſcourſes that good *Ancient* in his *Dialogue* with the *Jew*. However, that this Law (as to its circumſtantial parts) was not intended to oblige generally and perpetually, we have a moſt forcible ground to ſuppoſe; St. *Paul* himſelf his expreſs diſcharging Chriſtians from the obſervation thereof; yea his earneſt reprehenſion of ſome perſons for rigorouſly inſiſting thereon, deeming themſelves and urging it upon others as a neceſſary duty to obſerve it; his conjoining it with other ceremonial obſervances, whoſe nature was merely ſymbolical, and whoſe deſign was to continue no longer, than 'till the real ſubſtance of that, which they repreſented, came into full force and practice: *Let no man* (ſaith he to the *Coloſſians*) *judge you for meat, or drink, or upon account of a feſtival day, or new moon, * or ſabbath, which things are the ſhadow of future things, but the body is of Chriſt* (that is, they did only prefigure, and prefignify; the real ſubſtance intended, and repreſented by them is ſomewhat in the Law, and Doctrine of *Chriſt*; which coming immediately to appear, and to oblige, that ſhadow vaniſheth, and ceaſeth to have any regard due thereto;) Again more ſharply to the *Galatians*, whom ſome *Judaizing* Dogmatiſts had reduced, or were reducing to the practice of legal Rites, under conceit of needful obligation to them; *How*, ſaith he, *do ye return again to thoſe weak and beggarly elements, to which back again you are pleaſed to be enſlaved: ye obſerve days, and months, and years*; which words, that they relate generally to the *Jewiſh* Feſtivals, the context doth plainly enough ſhew, and there is good reaſon to think, that they chiefly reſpect the *Sabbath* we treat on, for which probably theſe men had the greateſt reſpect, and zeal; Again in the 14th to the *Romans* the ſame great Patron and Champion of Chriſtian Liberty, not obſcurely declareth his mind, that Chriſtians of ſtrength in judgment did regard no day above another, but eſteemed all days (he excepteth none) alike, as to any ſpecial obligation, grounded upon divine Law and right; in ſubordination to which Doctrine we may add, that this appears with great evidence to have been the common opinion of the wiſeſt and moſt orthodox *Chriſtians* in the primitive Church, the moſt conſtant and ſtrict adherents to Catholick Tradition (who from the Apoſtles inſtruction beſt underſtood the purport and limits of the liberty purchaſed by *Chriſt*) that this Law, as it was not known or practiſed before *Moſes*, ſo it ceaſed to oblige after *Chriſt*; being one of the ſhadows which the Evangelical light diſpelled, one of the burthens, which this Law *of liberty* did take off us.

Σαββατίζειν ἡμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς ἐδέλει. p. 229.

Iſa. 58. 13.

Coloſſ. 2. 16, 17.

* σαββάτων, & σαββάτου, are both read; both equivalent.

Gal. 4. 10.

Rom. 14. 5, &c.

Inter omnia decem præcepta ſolum ibi quod de Sabbato poſitum eſt figurate obſervandum præcipitur. Aug. *Ep.* 119. *Vid. Cit. Patres.*

Now although upon theſe accounts we cannot preſs the ſtrict obſervation of this Law in all its parts, according to its literal and direct intention, yet we may learn much of our duty, much of God's will from it: all God's Laws, ſpiritually and wiſely underſtood, did tend to the promoting of piety and virtue; and abſtracting from the ſpecial circumſtances of that People, to whom they were conſigned, may (ſo far as our caſe is like theirs, and wherein a common reaſon doth appear) paſs for fit patterns for us to imitate, ſuggeſting proper means of exerciſing, nouriſhing, encreaſing thoſe qualities in us; and ſo from this Law we may learn theſe duties:

1. That we ſhould frequently call to mind, and conſider the great and glorious works of God, performed for the general good of his creatures, and ſpecially for mankind: The *Creation* of the World, the *Redemption* of mankind; the *Nativity*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection* and *Exaltation* of our *Lord* and *Saviour*, and the like, no leſs now conſiderable to *us*, both in reſpect of glory due to God, and of benefit accruing to us, than was the *Creation* formerly to the *Jews*.

2. That we are bound to reſtrain our ſelves in the proſecution of worldly buſineſs; not diſtracting our minds with care, not exhauſting our bodies with toil about them, but

but allowing our mind convenient and ſeaſonable freedom; affording our ſoul ſufficient leiſure with vigour and alacrity to enjoy its nobler entertainments, and to purſue its higher intereſts.

3. That we are obliged to uſe the ſame indulgence toward thoſe, whom divine providence hath diſpoſed to be under our power, care or governance: to allow our children, our ſubjects, our ſervants a competent meaſure of reſt, and refreſhment from their ordinary labours, ſufficient time and leiſure undiſtractedly to ſerve God, and quietly to mind their ſpiritual welfare: we muſt ſo charitably tender their good, as to permit and procure, that their life may be eaſie and comfortable here; and that alſo they may have means to obtain for themſelves a happy immortality hereafter; not being in theſe reſpects either harſh to their outward man, or uncharitable to their ſouls.

4. That we muſt not be unmerciful to any creature, not only abſtaining from inflicting, in wantonneſs of humour, needleſs vexation upon them, but alſo from wearying and grieving them too much for our emolument or convenience: the advantage and preeminency beſtowed upon us by God over them ſhould be managed with moderation, and clemency; we ſhould be gentle maſters to them, not cruel tyrants over them: we ſhould conſider, that God did make them, as to help and ſerve us, ſo to enjoy ſomewhat themſelves of delight and ſatisfaction in their being; which if we go to deprive them of, rendring their condition intolerable and worſe than if they had no being, as we do abuſe and injure them, tranſgreſſing the bounds of our right over them, ſo we encroach upon, diſappoint, and wrong their maker, and cannot therein but diſpleaſe him; doing thus is a point of injuſtice not enough conſidered by them who commit it: they conſider not how beaſtly they are themſelves, when they miſuſe poor beaſts.

5. We may hence farther learn, that it is fit certain times ſhould be allotted for the publick, and ſolemn performance of the forenamed duties: common reaſon prompteth, that God (upon whoſe protection, and diſpoſal the publick good depends) ſhould be publickly honoured, and his benefits frequently acknowledged; alſo that care ſhould be taken in every ſociety, that all ſtates of men ſhould lead their lives in ſome competent degree of content; that all objects of grievous pity ſhould be removed from publick view; alſo common ſenſe will inform us, that theſe things cannot effectually be executed, without conſtituting definit periods of time, and limiting circumſtances, according to which they ſhall be practiſed under publick inſpection and cenſure: And theſe dictates of ordinary prudence the divine wiſdom hath ratified by his exemplary order; the which in caſes, wherein he hath not interpoſed his direct authority by way of precept, may ſerve for a good direction to Governours, what they may with ſafety, what they ſhould in wiſdom eſtabliſh; what proviſion they ſhould make for the promotion of piety and virtue: ſuch a precedent requires greateſt veneration and reſpect, cannot but appear of high moment in conſultation about matters of this nature.

It is indeed particularly obſervable, that in this command there is not an expreſs order concerning the natural or moral ſervice of God (by prayer, or hearing God's Law) to be publickly performed on this day; but the *Jews* were themſelves ſo wiſe as to underſtand theſe duties couched in the *ſanctification* of the day preſcribed to them; and accordingly they practiſed; they in all places of their habitation did ſettle Synagogues, and Oratories; to them upon this day they reſorted; in them then they did offer devotions to God (as the names προσευχαὶ, and προσευκτήρια do import;) the *Scribes* did read the Law, and expound it to the People: *Moſes* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *did command the people to aſſemble for hearing of the law, not once, or twice, or many times, but every ſeventh day, laying aſide their works; and exactly to learn it*; whence, addeth he, the people became ſo skilfull in the laws, that *if one asked any of them concerning them, he would more eaſily tell them all than his own name*; whence alſo an admirable concord in mind, and uniformity in practice did (as he farther obſerves) ariſe: and *The cuſtom* (ſaith *Philo*) *was always as occaſion gave leave, eſpecially upon the ſeventh days, to philoſophate*, &c. in conſideration of which practice it was, that the *Jews* ſo highly valued this Precept, that it was a ſaying among them, *The Sabbath weigheth againſt all the Commandments*: as procuring them all to be known, and

Οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκηκοαμένους, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ, ἢ πολλάκις ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἧκ' ἔργων ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν νόμων ἐκαθέζετο συλλόγους, καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐμανθάνειν. Joſeph. adv. App. 2. p. 946.

Ἡμῶν δ' ὄντινα ἔτι τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους, ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντα, ἢ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. Ib. 947.

Ἔθος δὲ λοιπὸν, ἀεὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ παρεῖκον, περιγινόμενον δὲ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις, φιλοσοφεῖν, &c. Philo de Vit. Moſ.

Midraſh. Exod. 26.

and obſerved: And if that blind people could pick theſe duties out of this Law, much more ſhould we ſee our ſelves obliged, according to analogy thereof, to appoint ſet times for enſuring the practice of them.

6. Again, We may hence alſo learn our obligation to ſubmit obediently to the conſtitution of Governours relating to this matter; that we readily ſhould obſerve all ſolemn times of feſtivity and reſt, which the Rulers of Church or State do appoint for the ſecuring or the promoting thoſe purpoſes of piety or charity, according to the meaſure and manner preſcribed by them: for Reaſon approving the thing as good and uſefull, and divine order more clearly and fully confirming it to be ſo, and it not appearing that God hath made expreſs determinations about it, it remains, that it is left wholly to them, to whoſe care God hath entruſted the publick welfare, and hath committed to their judgments the providing means conducible thereto; having alſo conſequently injoined us in all lawful things to follow their guidance and appointment in order thereto. God decreed death to be inflicted on thoſe who violated his command concerning the *Sabbath*, which ſheweth how great a fault it is to offend in this particular; and we may reaſonably eſteem that command to be his, which proceedeth from his Miniſters by authority from himſelf, and in conformity to his own pattern.

7. We add, that whereas God required of the *Jews* ſuch a portion of time to be ſolemnly dedicated to Religion and mercy, we to whom he hath vouchſafed higher benefits, and propoſed greater encouragements, cannot reaſonably but deem our ſelves obliged to ſequeſter and conſecrate as much or more time to the ſame intents: we ſhould indeed be content to withdraw our ſelves more frequently from purſuance of our own profits and pleaſures to the ſervice of God, to the remembrance and celebration of his favours: we ſhould willingly allow greater relaxation to our dependants; and ſhould the publick be deficient in exacting a performance of ſuch duties from us, it would become us to ſupply ſuch defects by our private devoting fit and frequent ſeaſons thereto; that in ſome proportion we may exceed the *Jews* in grateful piety, as we ſurpaſs them in the matter and cauſes thereof; that we may appear in ſome degree more charitable than they, as we have much greater reaſon and obligation to be ſo than they. So much for this;

I proceed briefly to conſider the remaining Commandments, the which immediately concern another Object: thoſe foregoing did chiefly ſerve to regulate our religious practice in yielding due reverence toward God; theſe following (which are ſuppoſed to have made up the ſecond of thoſe Tables, which written by God's hand were delivered to *Moſes*, and preſerved in the Ark of the Teſtimony) do guide our converſation and carriage toward our Neighbour; in the front of which worthily is placed that which obligeth to dutifulneſs toward our Parents; unto whom, after God, and his ſupreme Vice-gerents, we owe the higheſt reſpect, gratitude and duty.

Honour thy Father, and thy Mother.

V. COMMANDMENT.

Honour; the word ſignifies to have in weighty regard, and aptly ſerves to denote thoſe particular acts of duty, which are otherwhere expreſſed in Scripture; *fear* and *reverence* (*ye ſhall fear every man his father and his mother*) *obſervance* and *obedience* (*children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well-pleaſing to God*) *gratitude* and *retribution* (*Let children learn* ἰδιον οἰκον εὐσεβεῖν, *to be pious toward their own family*; and ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι, to render ſuitable returns, or *to requite their parents, for this is good, and acceptable before God,*) regarding their inſtruction and advice (*My ſon, hear the inſtruction of thy father, and forſake not the law of thy mother*;) it alſo comprehendeth a prohibition of the contrary acts, *contemning*, *curſing*, offering *violence*, or *contumely* unto, *diſobedience* and *contumacy* toward parents, the which are forbidden under capital penalties, and dreadful comminations: *Curſed be he that ſetteth light by his father or mother*: and, *The eye that mocketh at his father, and deſpiſeth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley ſhall pick it out, and the young eagles ſhall eat it*; (that is, God in a fearful and ſtrange manner will avenge that wickedneſs upon him) and in the Law it is ordained that the rebellious and ſtubborn ſon, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother; and that when they have chaſtned him, will not hearken unto them, ſhall be ſtoned by all the men of his City, and put to death in that manner.

Levit. 9. 3. Coloſſ. 3. 20. 1 Tim. 5. 4. Prov. 1. 8. 23. 22. Deut. 27. 26. Exod. 21. 15. 17.

Whence

Whence we may learn the nature of the duty here enjoined, and what rank it beareth among other duties; what high obligation belongs thereto, of what conſideration it is with God, and how grievous a crime the violation thereof is; that, briefly, we are obliged to yield our parents high affection of heart, great expreſſions of reſpect and obſervance in word and deed; that the neglect of theſe duties is, next to that of profaneneſs and undutifulneſs toward God himſelf, the greateſt diſorder we can be guilty of: this all civil Nations have conſented to be our duty; and if we conſider the grounds, upon which it is built, we ſhall find that reaſon, juſtice and neceſſity do require it: Saint *Paul* preſſeth his precept of obſervance to
Eph. 6. 1. parents with, a τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, *for this is juſt and equal*: for if we look upon the diſpoſition of parents in their mind toward children, we may preſume them always full of tender affection, and good-will toward them, full of deſire and care for their good, full of pity and compaſſion toward them; in the higheſt and moſt ſpecial degree beyond what they bear to others; which diſpoſitions in reaſon and equity do require anſwerable diſpoſitions in thoſe, upon whom they are placed, and who from them do receive ineſtimable benefits; for if we do regard the effects proceeding from them we ſhall diſcern, that

1. From parents children do receive being and life; that good which nature inclineth ſo highly to value and tender, as the foundation of all the good, happineſs, and comfort we are capable of.

2. They are obliged to their parents for the preſervation, maintenance and protection of their life: it is a long time before we come to be able (ſuch is the particular condition of man among all living creatures, ſo ordered on purpoſe, as it were, to beget this obligation and endearment) anywiſe to provide for, or to defend our ſelves; and the doing thereof, in that ſenſeleſs and helpleſs ſtate, relies upon the care, pain, and ſolicitous vigilance of our parents; the which they are not only always obliged, but are commonly diſpoſed with admirable willingneſs to ſpend on their children.

3. Parents not only thus at firſt undergo ſuch care and trouble to maintain their children, but by expenſive education (often with much inconvenince and incommodity to themſelves) they provide means for their future ſupport, and ſubſiſtence, during life.

4. Children are ſo ſtrictly tied to their parents, as by their willing conceſſion to partake in all the comforts of their ſtate, and ornaments of their fortune.

5. The goods acquired by the parents induſtry do uſually devolve upon their children by inheritance and ſucceſſion; whence that children live handſomly and comfortably, is the reward of their parents merit, comes from the ſtore, that they have carefully provided, and laid up for them.

6. To which we may add, that not only the proviſion for our temporal neceſſities and conveniences dependeth upon our parents, but the care of our ſouls, and our
Deut. 6. 7, 20. Epheſ. 6. 4. ſpiritual welfare is incumbent on them: they are obliged to inſtruct us in the fear of God, and to ſet us in the way toward eternal happineſs.

7. We may conſider alſo, that all this they do moſt frankly and out of pure kindneſs; without regard to any merit antecedent, or benefit conſequent to themſelves: as they received nothing to oblige and move them to ſuch performances, ſo they can ſeldom hope for anſwerable returns: it is abundant ſatisfaction to them if they ſee their children do well; their chief delight and contentment is in their children's good abſolutely and abſtractedly, without indirect regards to their own advantage.

Upon theſe, and the like accounts it appeareth, that as parents have the affections moſt reſembling thoſe of God toward us, as they perform toward us the actions moſt like to his, as they are the principal inſtruments of divine providence and bounty (by which God's bleſſings are conveyed and conferred upon us) ſo they may be deemed in a ſort to repreſent God, and as his moſt lively images have an eſpecial veneration due to them. God himſelf, to endear and render himſelf amiable, or in the moſt kindly way venerable to us, to engage us to a more ready obe-
Deut. 32. 6. dience of him, to declare the nature of our duty toward him, aſſumes the title of Father; and all Nations have agreed to ſtyle him ſo; Reciprocally alſo, whereas the duties toward other men are termed juſtice, or charity, or courteſie, or liberality, or gratitude, thoſe toward parents in every Language (I ſuppoſe) are ſtyled *piety*, im-
Εὐσεβεῖν. 1 Tim. 5. 4. *Colere parentes.* plying ſomewhat divine in the objects of thoſe duties; 'tis more than injuſtice to wrong a parent; 'tis more than uncharitableneſs to refuſe them ſuccour, or relief;

'tis

'tis more than diſcourteſie to be unkind to them; 'tis more than ſordid avarice to be in their need illiberal to them; 'tis rather high impiety to offend in any of theſe kinds.

He that returns not love in anſwer to their tender affection; that doth not (as occaſion requires, and his ability permits) require the benefits received from them, doth not deferr to them an eſpecial reverence, in regard to that ſacred name and Character they bear, thereby intimates, that he would in like manner be unjuſt, ungrateful and diſingenuous toward God, from whom he hath received the like benefits; the beginning and continuance of his being; the preſervation, maintenance and protection of his life: if he will not honour his earthly Parents, whom he hath ſeen, how will he reverence his heavenly Father, whom he hath not ſeen? ſo we may according to Saint *John* argue.

I might ſubjoin, that as juſtice and ingenuity do enforce this duty, ſo for the good of the world there is a neceſſity that it ſhould be obſerved: If parents are not only by natural inſtinct diſpoſed, but by divine command obliged, and by humane Law (the preſervation of the world ſo requiring) conſtrained to undergo ſuch hardſhips for the maintenance and education of their children, it is fit and neceſſary they ſhould be ſupported and encouraged in the bearing them by reciprocal obligations in children to return them dutiful reſpect, obſervance and requital; the world could not well ſubſiſt without children being engaged to theſe duties: there were no reaſon to exact, there were no ground to expect, that parents ſhould cheerfully and faithfully diſcharge their part, upon other terms.

To this Precept there is added a Promiſe (and it is, as Saint *Paul* obſerveth, the *firſt precept, that hath a promiſe* formally annexed; whereby he enforceth his exhortation to the obſervance thereof.) Eph. 6. 2.

That thy days may be long upon the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

So God expreſly promiſeth to bleſs dutiful children with a long life in the comfortable poſſeſſion of thoſe good things, which he ſhould beſtow upon them; this was the moſt of reward, explicitly covenanted to the *Jews*, in regard to their obedience: there is alſo implied a commination of a contrary curſe from God upon the infringers of this Law, that they ſhould either be immaturely cut off from life (as *Abimelech* and *Abſalom* were upon this ſcore) or ſhould draw on a wretched life in baniſhment from the contents thereof; by which things reſpectively are intimated to us the rewards of piety in this kind, or the puniſhments of impiety in the future ſtate, whereof the land here mentioned was a ſhadow or figure: what length of days in *Canaan* was to them, that to us is immortal life in Heaven; what being excluded thence was then, that now is everlaſting death, or baniſhment into the regions of miſery. Ἱκανὰς διώσεις γηροβοσκῶν τὰς γονέας.

I might alſo note the congruity of the reward propounded, that they who are grateful to thoſe from whom, in ſubordination to God, they received life, ſhall by God's diſpenſation enjoy that life long and well; and that they who neglect the authors of their life, ſhall ſoon be deprived of it, or of its comforts. But I find the ſame reward aſſigned to the diligent obſervers of other duties; particularly to them, who are juſt in their dealings; to them who are charitable to the poor; to them who are meek and patient; to them who confide in God; and to all good men that obey God's Commandments. Deut. 16. 20. Pſal. 37. 29. Pſal. 37. 9. 11. Pſal. 34. 12, 13, 16. Prov. 8. 16. Deut. 26. 15.

I ſhall only add farther, that we may, according to analogy and like ground of reaſon, reduce unto this Commandment the obligation we have to honour all thoſe, who perform toward us beneficial offices like unto thoſe, which we receive from our parents; thoſe who preſerve our life by relief, protection or defence; thoſe who afford us maintenance, or education; thoſe who watch over us for the good of our body, or of our ſoul; thoſe who inſtruct us, or adviſe us; ſuch are our Governours and Magiſtrates either political or eccleſiaſtical; our Benefactours and Patrons; our Schoolmaſters and Tutours; our eſpecial faithful Friends; and the like; But I paſs forward.

In the ſubſequent Precepts are contained the prime rules of juſtice toward our neighbour; the obſervation of which is not only moſt equal and reaſonable in it ſelf, but neceſſary for the preſervation of civil ſociety, and publick peace among men;

men; for the procurement of our ſafe and pleaſant living and converſing in the world; men thereby being ſecured in the quiet enjoyment of God's gifts, and the fruits of their induſtry, and of whatever is dear and precious to them; of their lives firſt; then of the comforts of their conjugal ſtate; of their poſſeſſions; of their reputations; the laws reſpecting theſe being here diſpoſed in order, according to the value of their reſpective objects, in the nature of things, or in the opinion of men, or in regard to the conſequences ariſing from them.

VI. COMMANDMENT.

Thou ſhalt not kill.

Of all good gifts confer'd upon us, none (according to the natural and common eſteem of men) is more precious than life it ſelf, the foundation of enjoying the reſt. God hath therefore reſerved the diſpoſal of it entirely to himſelf, as his ſpecial prerogative: neither he that hath it, nor any other perſon, having abſolutely any juſt power or right over it; No man can take away any man's life, but by commiſſion or licence from God, reaſonably preſumed to be granted by him: So may God (the abſolute King of the world) be ſuppoſed to have committed to lawful Magiſtrates, as his Vice-gerents and officers, in his name and behalf, upon reaſonable cauſe, for preſervation of publick juſtice, peace and order, in a lawful courſe of juſtice, to diſpoſe of mens lives, who have forfeited them to the Law: (The Magiſtrate, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *beareth not the ſword in vain; for he is the miniſter of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.*) He hath not forbidden Sovereigns (in caſe of neceſſity, and when amicable means will not prevail) to maintain the ſafety or welfare of the Societies entruſted to their care, even by armed violence, againſt ſuch as wrongfully invade them, or anywiſe harm them, and will not otherwiſe be induced to forbear doing ſo; in which caſe the reſolution of ſuch differences (inſomuch as they cannot be tried at any other bar, or compoſed by other means,) is referred to God's arbitrement; who is *the Lord of Hoſts*, the Sovereign Protectour of right, and diſpenſer of ſucceſs; the Souldier in a juſt cauſe being then his Miniſter, and carrying a tacit commiſſion from him. God alſo may be ſuppoſed together with life, with a natural love to it, with means to preſerve it, to have imparted to every man a right to defend his life, with its neceſſary ſupports, againſt unjuſt, extreme and inevitable violence upon it, or them: the ſlaughter therefore which may happen in theſe caſes (or in the like, wherein God hath plainly by a general order, or by ſpecial command, or by permiſſion reaſonably ſuppoſed, conferred on any perſon a power over his neigbour's life, in the maintenance of God's own honour, or in ſubſerviency to publick good) is not concerned in the deſign, or meaning of this Precept: for he that kills another, in a way not irregular, as a Miniſter of juſtice, or in a lawful war as a Souldier authorized by a Sovereign power here under God, or for his own juſt and neceſſary defence, doth not, according to the intent of this Law, *kill*; but rather God himſelf, the Lord of life and death, doth then kill; the authority of killing ſo being derived from him, and his work being done thereby: *Vengeance is his*, and *he* ſo (by his inſtruments) *repays it*. But here is forbidden all other voluntary taking away our neighbour's life, when a man acts as a private perſon; without juſt and neceſſary cauſe, in any illegal or irregular way; upon what motive, principle, or end ſoever (whether it be out of hatred, ſpight, envy, revenge; for our preſumed ſafety, or pretended reparation of honour; for promoting what intereſt, or procuring what ſatisfaction ſoever to our ſelves) by what means ſoever, either by direct violence, or by fraudulent contrivance; in an open or clandeſtine manner; immediately by our ſelves, or by means of others; by adviſing, encouraging, any-wiſe becoming inſtrumental, or acceſſory thereto.

Rom. 13. 4. 1 Pet. 2. 14.

This is the crime expreſly prohibited; but a poſitive duty ſhould alſo be underſtood; that we are obliged, ſo far as we are able, to preſerve our neighbour's life; by relieving him in extreme need, by ſuccouring him in extreme danger; by admoniſhing him of any deſtructive miſchief, when he appears tending unawares thereinto; the neglect of which things argueth a murtherous diſpoſition toward our neighbour, is in reaſonable eſteem, and in God's ſight a killing of him; for we miſtake, if we think with *Cain*, that we are not our *brother's keepers*, or are not bound when we are able to preſerve his life.

The violation of which Commandment is certainly the moſt heinous ſin, that can be committed of all thoſe, which are not immediately directed againſt God himſelf,

ſelf, or the perſons which peculiarly repreſent him; and a ſin which never can eſcape vengeance and due puniſhment from him. It is the greateſt wrong to God; it is the extremeſt injury to our neighbour; it is the higheſt ſort of uncharitableneſs; it is a principal offence againſt publick ſociety.

1. It is an exceeding wrong and affront done unto God; in aſſuming the diſpoſal of his gifts; in diſpoſſeſſing him of his rights, by robbing him of a creature, of his child, his ſervant, his ſubject (one whoſe life is precious to him, and toward whom he beareth a tender regard) an uſurping in a high way his Sovereign Authority, his Throne of Majeſty, his Tribunal of Juſtice, his Sword of Vengeance; to omit the ſacrilege (as *Philo* ſpeaks) committed herein by violating God's own Image, which every man doth bear.

2. It is alſo an extreme injury to the perſon, who is thereby deprived of an unvaluable good, which can no wiſe be repaired, or compenſated: he that loſes his life, doth therewith loſe all the good he poſſeſſeth, or is capable of here, without any poſſibility of recovering it again: the taking therefore of life can be no ſuitable revenge, no reaſonable ſatisfaction for any injury or damage received; it infinitely, in a manner, ſurpaſſeth all the evil, which any man can ſuſtain from another in his eſtate, or fame, or welfare of any kind; for thoſe things have their meaſure, and may be capable of ſome reparation, but this is altogether extreme and irreparable; and therefore doth include greateſt iniquity: add hereto, that not only all temporal good is hereby at once raviſhed from a man, but the ſoul alſo of the perſon may incurr the greateſt damage or hazard in reſpect to its future eſtate, by being thus ſnatched away: the ſlayer not only robbeth his brother of his temporal life, but of his time of repentance, and opportunity of making peace with God.

3. It is alſo the higheſt uncharitableneſs to deal thus with our neighbour; arguing that nothing of good-will, of pity, of humanity toward him is left in us: to hate his brother to the death is the utmoſt pitch of hatred. If in imitation of our Saviour, and out of reſpect to him we ought (as Saint *John* inſtructeth us) to be willing to lay down our lives for our brethren; how enormous a crime, how oppoſite to Chriſtian charity is it to take away our brother's life?

4. It is likewiſe a main offence againſt the publick; not only by unlawful bereaving it of a member and ſubject, but to its prejudice and diſhonour (yea ſo far as lies in us to its ſubverſion and diſſolution) aſſuming to our ſelves, pulling away from it its rights and prerogatives of judgment.

Such briefly is the direct intent and importance of this Law; but our Saviour in his Comment hereon hath explained and extended it farther, ſo as to interdict all, that any-wiſe approaches in nature, or in effect tends unto this heinous evil: he means to obſtruct all the ſprings, and extirpate all the roots thereof; ſuch as are raſh, cauſeleſs, outragious, inveterate anger, contumelious and deſpightful language, reſerving grudges or ſpight in our heart, not endeavouring ſpeedily to reconcile our ſelves to them, who have done us injury or diſpleaſure; for theſe things as they commonly do produce the act of murther, ſo they argue inclinations thereto (which if fear and ſelf-reſpect did not reſtrain, would produce it,) and conſequently in moral account, which regardeth not ſo much the act as the will, are of the ſame quality therewith; however they ariſe from the ſame bitter root of great uncharitableneſs; upon which ſcore Saint *John* telleth us, that *He that hateth his brother is a murtherer*; and conſequently in effect all malice, and ſpight, envy, hatred, malignity, rancour, immoderate and pertinacious anger, and animoſity, are here prohibited. Matth. 5. 21. 1 Joh. 3. 15. 17

Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. VII. Commandment.

After life (if after that, for this command in the *Greek* Tranſlation of *Exodus* (though not in *Deuteronomy*) in ſome places of the *New Teſtament*, and in ſundry ancient Writers, is placed before that againſt murther) nothing commonly is more dear to men, than the comforts of their conjugal eſtate; the enjoyment of that ſpecial affection, and friendſhip, together with thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which by divine inſtitution and mutual contract, ratified by moſt ſacred and ſolemn promiſes of fidelity, are reſerved peculiar to that ſtate; which encloſures therefore of his neighbour whoever ſhall invade, or treſpaſs upon, who ſhall any-wiſe looſe or ſlacken thoſe

holy bands, who ſhall attempt the affection, or chaſtity of his neighbour's wife, doth moſt grievouſly offend God, and committeth (as *Joſeph*, when he was tempted thereto, did call it) *a great evil againſt God*, againſt his neighbour, againſt himſelf, againſt the common ſociety of men. He violateth an inſtitution, to which God hath affixed eſpecial marks of reſpect, and ſanctity; he wounds his neighbour's honour and intereſt in the moſt tender part, wherein the content of his mind and comfort of his life are moſt deeply concerned: he as much (or rather more) diſhonoureth and abuſeth himſelf, not only by committing a fact of ſo high injuſtice, but by making himſelf acceſſory to the baſeſt perfidiouſneſs that can be. [*Whoſo committeth adultery, lacketh underſtanding; he that doth it, deſtroyeth his own ſoul; a wound and diſhonour ſhall he get, and his reproach ſhall not be wiped away; for jealouſie is the rage of a man, therefore he will not ſpare in the day of vengeance; he will not regard any ranſome, neither will he reſt content though thou giveſt many gifts.*] Heal-ſo offendeth againſt the publick quiet and welfare, breeding inextricable confuſions and implacable diſſentions in families, ſo that hardly from any other cauſe ſuch tragical events have iſſued as from this: in fine, this crime is, as *Philo* calls it, συγηθὲς, καὶ θεομίσητον ἀδίκημα, *a loathſome unrighteouſneſs, moſt odious to God*; and *a fire* (as *Job* repreſenteth it) that conſumeth to deſtruction.

Prov. 6. 34.

Job 31. 12.

But we muſt farther alſo conſider, that acts of this kind contain alſo in them another evil; that perſons committing them do not only ſo highly wrong their neighbour, but defile themſelves alſo by the fouleſt turpitude; in which reſpect the prohibition of all unlawful and irregular ſatisfactions to luſtful appetite; all compliance with that great enemy of our ſouls, the fleſh; all kinds of impurity and laſciviouſneſs not in act only, but in thought, in ſpeech, in geſture may be reduced to this Law: Our *Lord* himſelf doth ſo interpret it, as to make it include a forbidding of all unchaſt deſires; and Chriſtianity doth in a moſt ſtrict and ſpecial manner oblige us to all kinds of ſobriety and modeſty, of chaſtity and purity in body and ſpirit; injoining us to *abſtain from all fleſhly luſts, as enemies to our ſouls*, to *mortify our fleſhly members*; to *poſſeſs our veſſels* (or bodies) *in ſanctity and honour*; not to have *any impurity, or filthineſs ſo much as named among us*; nor to ſuffer *a foul word to proceed out of our mouth*; not to *defile our bodies*, conſecrated unto God, and made *temples of the holy Spirit*; excluding perſons guilty of ſuch things from any title, or capacity of entring into God's Kingdom; in fine, repreſenting all ſuch practices as moſt diſhonourable to us, moſt diſpleaſing to God, moſt grievous to God's holy Spirit (the fountain of all virtue and goodneſs) moſt contrary to the nature and deſign of our Religion, and moſt deſtructive of our ſouls.

Matt. 5. 14.

1 Pet. 2. 11. Coloſſ. 3. 5. 1 Theſſ. 4. 4. Eph. 5. 3. Eph. 4. 29. 1 Cor. 3. 17. 6. 18, 19. Eph. 5. 4, &c.

Thou ſhalt not ſteal.

VIII. Commandment.

That every man ſhould quietly enjoy thoſe ſupports and thoſe conveniences of life, which in any honeſt manner (by God's bounty immediately diſpenſing it, or by God's bleſſing upon his induſtry) he hath acquired the poſſeſſion of, or right unto, as all reaſon and equity do require, ſo it muſt be acknowledged abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of common peace, and the maintenance of civil ſociety among men: to ſecure which purpoſes, and to incourage honeſt induſtry, this Law prohibiteth all invaſion, or uſurpation by any means whatever, either by open violence and extortion, or by clandeſtine fraud and ſurreption of our neighbour's proper goods and rights: He that in any way, againſt his neighbour's knowledge or will getteth into his power, or detaineth therein what doth in equity belong to his neighbour, and which he can reſtore to him, doth tranſgreſs againſt the intent of this Law; as we ſee it interpreted in *Leviticus*; where it is thus expreſſed: *Thou ſhalt not defraud thy neighbour, nor rob him*: defrauding by cunning practice, is no leſs forbidden, than robbing by violent force. Any-wiſe ἀποστερεῖν (that is, to deprive our neighbour of his due) νοσφίζειν, to purloin, or (by ſubtile and ſly conveyance) to ſeparate any part of our neighbour's ſubſtance from him; πλεονεκτεῖν, to exact, or extort any thing more than ones due; ὑπερβαίνειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι, *to go beyond*, or over-reach our neighbour *in dealing*; to delude and cozen him by falſe ſpeeches, or fallacious pretences, are acts in Saint *Paul*'s expreſſion, to be referred hither; as ſo many ſpecial acts of theft. I cannot ſtand to reckon up all the ſorts of unrighteouſneſs intluded here, or reducible to this matter (ſuch as, beſide downright rapine and cheating, are, foul dealing in bargains and contracts; uſing falſe weights and meaſures,

Lev. 19. 13. 2 Cor. 6. 8. Tit. 2. 10. 1 Theſſ. 4. 6.

Prov. 22. 18. 20. 14. 9. 24. Ezek. 22. 12. 28. 7, 16.

meaſures, withholding the pledge, detaining the labourer's wages from him; the exerciſing vexatious, biting and devouring uſuries; removing bounds of poſſeſſion, oppreſſing by undue or rigorous exaction, corrupting juſtice for reward or favour, raiſing gain by unlawful and ſhameful arts, or practices; conſenting, or ſharing with, adviſing or inſtigating to theſe, and the like acts; theſe I ſhall not particularly inſiſt upon) but ſhall only ſay, that God expreſſeth great indignation againſt, and threatneth more ſeverely to puniſh all acts of this kind: *For all* (ſaith he) *that do ſuch things* (ſuch as uſe deceitful meaſures in trade,) *and all that do unrighteouſneſs are an abomination unto the Lord thy God*: ἔκδικος ὁ Θεὸς, περὶ πάντων τούτων, *God* (ſaith Saint *Paul*, ſpeaking againſt the circumventing and defrauding our neighbour) *is an avenger for all theſe kinds of things*: Nor indeed is the *Goſpel* more ſevere in denunciation of puniſhment againſt any crime than this: *Know ye not, that unjuſt perſons* (ſaith Saint *Paul*, meaning this ſort of unjuſt perſons, ſo moſt properly and ſtrictly called) *ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God*; and κλέπται, πλεονέκται, ἅρπαγες, thieves, exactours (or cheaters) and rapacious perſons make a good party in the catalogue of thoſe, who ſhall be excluded from eternal bliſs.

Hoſ. 5. 10. Amos 8. 5. Deut. 25. 13. Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14. Pſal. 15. 4. Iſa. 1. 23. Jam. 5. 4. Deut. 15. 16. 1 Theſſ. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 6. 9.

I ſhould add the poſitive duties, here to be underſtood, and referr'd to this matter, the which are commended to us in Scripture; ſuch are, diligence and induſtry in our calling, whereby with God's bleſſing we may ſupport our ſelves, preventing the need, and eſcaping the temptation of encroachment upon our neighbour's property; (whereby we may, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, *have need of nothing*, may *eat our own bread*, may even have *wherewith to impart to the needs of others*) contentment in that eſtate, wherein God hath placed us, how mean ſoever; truſting in God, and relying upon his providence; *caſting our burthen and care upon him*; who hath promiſed *to ſuſtain us*; who *hath ſaid*, that *he will never leave, or forſake us*; laſtly, charitable relief of our neighbour in his need; for in ſuch a caſe our neighbour hath a title to the goods we poſſeſs; derived from the appointment and donation of God, who is the abſolute proprietor of all we have, we being only his ſtewards, and diſpenſers thereof according to the Rules he hath declared; ſo that if we do not, according to his order, ſupply our poor neighbour, we are in juſt eſtimation, we ſhall in God's judgment appear to be thieves, both in reſpect to God himſelf, and to our neighbour; for that we thereby detain from God what by original right is his, and bereave our neighbour of what God hath beſtowed on him.

Eph. 4. 28. 1 Theſſ. 4. 12. 2 Theſſ. 8. 12. Phil. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Prov. 30. 8. Pſal. 55. 23. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Heb. 13. 5.

Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour.

IX. COMMANDMENT.

'Tis in the *Hebrew*, *Thou ſhalt not anſwer* (to wit being examined, or adjured in judgment) *againſt thy neighbour as a falſe witneſs*; ſo that primarily, it ſeems, bearing falſe teſtimony againſt our neighbour (eſpecially in matters of capital, or of high concernment to him) is prohibited: yet that not only this great crime, but that all injurious (even extrajudicial) prejudicing our neighbour's reputation, and conſequently his ſafety, or his welfare in any ſort, is forbidden, we may collect from that explication of this Law, or that parallel Law, which we have in *Leviticus*: *Thou ſhalt not* ('tis there ſaid) *go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people*; *neither ſhalt thou ſtand againſt the blood of thy neighbour*: as a tale-bearer, רָכִיל, that is, a merchant, or trader in ill reports and ſtories concerning our neighbour, to his prejudice; defaming him, or detracting from him, or breeding in the minds of men an ill opinion of him; which vile and miſchievous practice is otherwhere under ſeveral names condemned and reproved; ſuch are *muttering*: (*The words of a mutterer*, ſaith the Wiſe-man, *are as wounds, going into the innermoſt parts of the belly*:) *whiſpering*, ψιθυρισμὸς, we have often in the *Son* of *Sirach*, and in Saint *Paul* mentioned with a bad character, or with prohibition and reproof: *ſupplanting*, (ſo in the good man's deſcription, *Pſal.* 15. 'tis ſaid, *He ſupplants not with his tongue*, ſo the word ſignifies) *detraction* or *backbiting*, καταλαλία, which is ſo often in the *Apoſtolical* Writings forbidden and reprehended; *ſlander*, or *calumny*, and *ſycophantry*; that is oppreſſing, abuſing, or any way harming men by falſe tales, ſuggeſtions, or pretences; which ſort of practices how baſe they are in themſelves (nothing being more unworthy of an honeſt and ingenuous mind, nothing more ugly to the judgment of them, who have any ſenſe of goodneſs) how contrary they are to juſtice, which doth not permit us to wrong our neighbour, as well in his credit and good name, as in his

Levit. 19. 16. LXX ἐ πορεύσῃ δόλῳ λαῷ. Prov. 18. 8. רָכִיל Sirac. 5. 14. 21. 30. 28. 13. 2 Cor. 12. 20. Rom. 1. 30. Pſal. 15. 3. רָכִיל 2 Cor. 12. 20. Jam. 4. 11. Rom. 1. 30. 1 Per. 2. 1. Luke 3. 14. 19. 8. Levit. 19. 11. Pſal. 72. 4. 119. 134.

other goods (for they perhaps may be as much valued by him, may really be of as much conſequence to him, as any thing that he hath) which bindeth us to abſtain from
Prov. 10. 12. hurting him, as well in word, as in deed; how oppoſite they are to charity, which
1 Cor. 13. 5, 7. obligeth us to think the beſt of our neighbour, and to endeavour that others alſo may do ſo; to conceal his real faults and blemiſhes; much more, not to deviſe and affix falſe ones to him; not to gather and diſperſe ill reports to his prejudice; of how miſchievous conſequence alſo they are, breeding ill-will, and ſowing ſtrife in all So-
Prov. 16. 28. cieties both publick and private (even *ſeparating chief friends*, as the *Wiſeman* telleth us) common ſenſe and experience do ſhew: they conſequently muſt be very odious in the ſight of God, who loveth the peace and welfare of men; and very offenſive to men, who do the miſchiefs ſpringing from them.

To this Law may be reduced our obligations to be candid in our opinions and diſ-
1 Cor. 13. courſes concerning others (according to Saint *Paul*'s excellent deſcription of charity:) to forbear all raſh and harſh cenſure, as you know our *Saviour* in his moſt divine *Sermon* on the *Mount* chargeth us; to be veracious, ſincere and faithful in all our converſation; which duties are ſo often taught and preſſed in both Teſtaments:
Levit. 19. 11. Pſal. 15. 2. *Ye ſhall not* (ſaith the *Law*) *ſteal, nor deal falſly, nor lye one to another*; and, *To walk uprightly, and work righteouſneſs, and ſpeak the truth from his heart*, are the firſt lineaments in the good man's character drawn by the *Pſalmiſt*: and, *Theſe are*
Zech. 8. 16. *the things ye ſhall do* (ſaith God in the *Prophet*) *ſpeak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates*: And in the
Eph. 4. 25. Col. 3. 9. 1 Pet. 2. 1. New Teſtament, *To lay aſide lying, to ſpeak the truth every man with his neighbour*; to *lay aſide all malice, all guile, all hypocriſies, envyings and backbitings*, are *Apoſtolical* commands.

X. COMMANDMENT. **Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe; thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife; nor his man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor his ox, nor his aſs, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's**

This Law is comprehenſive and recapitulatory (as it were) of the reſt concerning
Mark 10. 19. our neighbour, preſcribing univerſal juſtice toward him (whence Saint *Mark* it ſeems meaneth to render it in one word, by μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, *deprive not*, or bereave not your neighbour of any thing) and this not only in outward deed and dealing, but in inward thought and deſire, the ſpring, whence they do iſſue forth (for, *from the heart*,
Matt. 15. 19. as our Saviour teacheth, *do proceed evil thoughts, murthers, adulteries, fornications, thefts, falſe witneſs, blaſphemies*) we are obliged to be ſo far from depriving our neighbour of any good thing belonging to him, that we are not ſo much as to wiſh or deſire it; not only to abſtain from injurious action, but to repreſs covetous inclinations: wherein is alſo implied, that we ſhould have a delight and complacence in our neighbour's good; not envying him any enjoyment; being in our minds content with the portion God pleaſeth to vouchſafe us; and entirely truſting in him, that he will ſupply us with what is needful or befitting to us, without the damage of our
Rom. 7. 7, 14. neighbour. Thus *God's Law is* (as Saint *Paul* obſerved) *ſpiritual*; not only reſtraining exteriour acts, but regulating our inmoſt thoughts, quelling all inordinate appetites and affections of heart within us; the which may be extended ſo as to reſpect not only matters of juſtice toward our neighbour, but all objects whatever of our practice; ſo as to import that, which in the *Chriſtian* Law is ſo frequently in-
*Rom. 2. 29. Phil. 3. 3. Coloſſ. 2. 11. Gal. 5. 24. Rom. 6. 6. Coloſſ. 3. 5. Eph. 4. 22. Rom. 8. 13. 1 Tim. 1. 5. joined us, as the life of our Religion, * *circumciſing our hearts, crucifying the fleſh with its paſſions and deſires, mortifying our earthly members, putting to death by the ſpirit the deeds of the body, putting off the old man, which is corrupted according to the deceitful luſts*: οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, thou ſhalt not unlawfully or irregularly deſire, doth, according to the ſpiritual intent, import all this.

I have done; and ſhall only add, that the ſum and end of theſe, and all other good Laws, of all Religion, and all our duty is (as we often are taught in the New *Teſtament*) compriſed in thoſe two *Rules*, of *Loving God with all our heart*, and, *Loving our neighbour as our ſelves*; ſeriouſly and honeſtly attending unto which we can hardly fail of knowing what in any caſe our duty is: It remains that we employ our beſt care and endeavour on the conſcientious practice thereof; imploring therewith the aſſiſtance of God's grace, and that good Spirit, which God hath moſt graciouſly promiſed to thoſe, who duly ask it, by which alone we can be enabled to keep God's Commandments: To him be all glory and praiſe. *Amen.*

THE

THE DOCTRINE OF The SACRAMENTS.

IT is a peculiar excellency of our Religion, that it doth not much employ men's care, pains and time, about matters of ceremonial obſervance; but doth chiefly (and in a manner wholly) exerciſe them in works of ſubſtantial duty, agreeable to reaſon, perfective of man's nature, productive of true glory to God, and ſolid benefit to men. Its deſign is not to amuſe our fancies with empty ſhews, nor to take up our endeavours in fruitleſs performances, but to render us truly good, and like unto God; firſt in interiour diſpoſition of mind, then in exteriour practice; full of hearty love and reverence to God, of tender charity and good-will toward men, of moderation and purity in the enjoyment of theſe things; of all true piety and virtue; whereby we may become qualified for that life of bliſs which it tendereth and promiſeth; for converſation in that holy Society above, to which it deſigneth and calleth us. Yet becauſe Fancy is naturally a *medium*, and an effectual inſtrument of action; and becauſe ſenſible objects are apt ſtrongly to affect our minds; it hath pleaſed the divine Wiſdom to apply them, in fit meaſure, and to ſanctifie them to thoſe good purpoſes, by appointing ſome few ſolemn and ſignificant Rites to be obſerved by us, being in their own nature proper and uſeful, and by God deſigned to declare his mind and gracious intents to us; to conſign and convey his Grace into our Souls, to confirm our Faith in him, to raiſe our devotion toward him, to quicken our reſolutions of obeying his Will; to enable and excite us to the practice of thoſe great Duties which he requireth of us: * *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *hath ſubjected us to his gentle yoke, and light burthen; whence with Sacraments moſt few in number, moſt eaſie for obſervance, moſt excellent in ſignification, he bound together the ſociety of new people.* And *The mercy of God* (ſaith he again) *would have Religion free, by the celebration of a moſt few, and moſt clear Sacraments.*

Cypr. Ep. 76.

It hath eſpecially upon vulgar and weaker minds a ſtrong efficacy.

* *Dominus noſter leni jugo ſuo nos ſubdidit, & ſarcina levi; Unde Sacramentis numero pauciſſimis, obſervatione facillimis, ſignificatione præſtantiſſimis ſocietatem novi populi colligavit: ſicut eſt Baptiſmus Trinitatis nomine conſecratus, communicatio Corporis & Sanguinis ipſius; & ſi quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur, &c.* Ep. 118. *Religionem pauciſſimis & manifeſtiſſimis celebrationum Sacramentis miſericordia Dei liberam eſſe voluit.* Id. Ep. 119.

Of theſe there appear two (and St. *Auſtin* in the place cited could inſtance in no more) of general and principal uſe, inſtituted by our Lord himſelf; which becauſe they repreſent to us ſomewhat not ſubject to ſenſe, and have a ſecret influence upon us; becauſe what is intended by them, is not immediately diſcernible by what is done, without ſome explication, (their ſignificancy being not wholly grounded in the nature but depending upon arbitrary inſtitution, as that of words, which is of kin to them; whence St. *Auſtin* calls a Sacrament, *Verbum viſibile*) have uſually been called *Myſteries*, (that is, actions of a cloſe and occult importance, of deeper meaning and deſign, than is obvious to ordinary perception) and thence are alſo called Sacraments, for no other reaſon, I conceive, than becauſe the ancienteſt Tranſlatours of the Bible into *Latin*, did uſually render the word μυστήριον by the word *Sacramentum*; whence every thing containing under it ſomewhat of abſtruſe meaning, is by ancient Writers termed a *Sacramant*. (So *Tertullian* calls all Chriſtianity the Sacrament of Chriſtian Religion; and *Eliſha*'s Ax he calls the Sacrament of Wood; and St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of the Sacrament of Bread, of Fiſh, of Numbers, of the Rock, *&c.* In ſhort, he ſays of all Signs, That *when they belong to divine things, they are called* † *Sacraments*; which ſhews to how ſmall purpoſe the Diſputes are, yea, on what ſmall grounds the decrees are, concerning the number, general nature

Exod. 12. v. 26. *Sacramenti natura diſertè & planè exprimitur.*

† *Nimis autem longum eſt convenienter diſpu-*

and

tare de varietate ſignorum, quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur. Aug. Ep. 3. *In cunctis Chriſti actionibus Sacramentorum myſteria corruſcarunt.* Leo. I. Ep. 4.

and efficacy of Sacraments; for where a name or form of a Sacrament is of ſo large, ambiguous and indeterminate ſignification, there can be nothing but confuſion in the diſputes about it.) But thoſe which chiefly at leaſt, and in way of eminency have obtained this name, are thoſe *two* inſtituted by our Lord, *Baptiſm*, and the *Lord's Supper*; of which I ſhall in order diſcourſe; and ſo of each, as very briefly to conſider the occaſion of their inſtitution, the actions injoined in them; the nature of them, or wherein their myſtery doth conſiſt, the ends for which they were intended, and the effects they produce; together with the diſpoſitions and duties (antecedent, concomitant and conſequent) required of us in the uſe and practice of them. And firſt,

OF BAPTISM.

Βαπτισμῶν διδαχὴ, Heb. 6. 1, 2.

THERE were, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* telleth us) in ſacred uſe among the Jews διάφοροι βαπτισμοὶ, *ſeveral kinds of Baptiſms*. The Learned in their Laws and Cuſtoms teach, that they never did receive any Perſon into their Covenant, whether that which was more ſtrict (to which natural *Jews*, and *Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs* were tyed) or that which was more lax, with which Strangers and Proſelytes of the gate did comply, without a *Baptiſm*. And that Prieſts and Levites entring into their Office, were to be ſanctified by waſhing with water, we ſee plainly preſcribed in their Law; likewiſe that all perſons, who had contracted any kind of defilement, were purified by the like Ceremony, particularly Children new-born, is expreſſed there. Moreover, that is was in uſe for Perſons, who were conſcious to themſelves of having tranſgreſſed God's Law, being in God's Name invited by ſome perſon of eminent authority (a *Prophet*, or like a Prophet, one commiſſionated by God) unto repentance and amendment of life, to be waſhed by him, in teſtimony of their ſtedfaſt purpoſe to amend; and in hope to obtain pardon from God of their paſt offences, and to be re-inſtated in his favour, appears probable by Saint *John* the *Baptiſt* his undertaking, and the ſucceſs thereof. For if the manner of his proceeding had been altogether unuſual and unknown, ſo many it ſeems would not ſo readily (without any ſtir or obſtacle) have complied therewith; eſpecially among the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, thoſe zealous adherents to traditionary practice, who, to maintain their credit and intereſt with the people, were ſo averſe from all appearance of novelty. This practice then of waſhing in ſo many caſes, and to ſo many purpoſes cuſtomary among God's people, to ſignifie mens entring into a new ſtate or courſe of life, being withal moſt apt and proper for his deſign, our *Bleſſed Saviour*, who never favoured needleſs innovations, was pleaſed to aſſume and impoſe upon the Diſciples and followers of his Religion, accommodating it to thoſe holy purpoſes, which we ſhall now endeavour to declare.

Heb. 9. 10: Seld. *de Synedriis.*

Exod. 29. 4. Numb. 8. 6.

Levit. 15. 8. 16, 18. 27. & 22. 6. Numb. 19. 7. &c. Ezek. 16. 4.

Joh. 1. 25, 33.

What the action it ſelf enjoined is, what the manner and form thereof, is apparent by the words of our Lord's inſtitution; *Going forth therefore* (ſaith he) *teach* (or *diſciple*) *all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things, which I have commanded you.*

Matt. 28. 19. Mark 16. 15.

The Action is baptizing or immerſing in water; the Object thereof, thoſe Perſons of any Nation, whom his Miniſters can by their inſtruction and perſuaſion render Diſciples, that is, ſuch as do ſincerely believe the truth of his Doctrine, and ſeriouſly reſolve to obey his Commandments. It is performed *in the Name*, that is, it is miniſtred by the authority, and bears ſpecial relation unto the Perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity, as the chief Objects of the Faith profeſſed, and the ſole Objects of the obedience undertaken therein; as exhibiting gracious favours unto the perſon baptized, and as receiving ſpecial obligations from him.

Such

Such is the Action it ſelf declared to be; the myſtery thereof conſiſts in its being a notable ſign to repreſent, and an authentick Seal to ratifie the collation then made of certain great benefits to us; and our undertaking correſpondent duties toward God.

The Benefits which God then ſignifies, and (upon due terms) engageth to confer on us, are theſe:

1. The purgation or abſolution of us from the guilt of paſt offences, by a free and full remiſſion of them, (the which waſhing by Water, cleanſing from all ſtains, doth moſt appoſitely repreſent) and conſequently God's being reconciled unto us, his receiving us into a ſtate of grace and favour, his freely juſtifying us, (that is, looking upon us, or treating us as juſt and innocent Perſons, although before we ſtood guilty of heinous ſins, and thereupon liable to grievous puniſhments) that theſe benefits are conferred in Baptiſm, many places of Scripture plainly ſhew; [and the primitive Church, with moſt firm and unanimous conſent, did believe *.] And now (ſaid *Ananias* to Saint *Paul*) *Why doſt thou tarry? Ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins.* And, *Repent* (ſaith St. *Peter*, preaching to the *Jews*) *and let every one of you be baptized for the remiſſion of ſins.* And, *Chriſt* (ſaith St. *Paul* again to the *Epheſians*) *loved his Church, and delivered himſelf for it, that he might ſanctifie it, purging it by the waſhing of water*, ἐν ῥήματι, (that is, he effectually in Baptiſm conſigned to the members of his Church, that mercy and remiſſion of ſins, which he purchaſed and merited by his paſſion.) And again, *Such* (ſaith he to the *Corinthians*) *were ſome of you*, (that is, ye were perſons guilty of heinous ſins) *but ye have been waſhed, ye have been ſanctified, ye have been juſtified in the name of our Lord, and by the ſpirit of our God*; where, having been waſhed in Chriſt's name, doth (in congruity with what is ſaid in other places) denote Baptiſm in his name; being ſanctified and juſtified, do expreſs the firſt benefits accompanying that Baptiſm. And indeed, where-ever a general remiſſion of ſins, or a full ſanctification, or conſecration, and juſtification of mens perſons in God's ſight, are mentioned; that remiſſion of ſins, that ſeparation, or dedication unto God's Service, that reception into Grace, which are conſigned in Baptiſm, are (I conceive) underſtood; there being no other ſeaſon or occaſion, wherein ordinarily and viſibly God doth exhibit thoſe Benefits.

It may be demanded, How Children, by reaſon *of their innocent age*, are capable of theſe Benefits; how they can be pardoned, who never had offended, how they can be juſtified, who never were capable of being unjuſt? I briefly anſwer, That becauſe they come from that race, which by ſin had forfeited God's favour, and had alienated it ſelf from him; becauſe alſo they have in them thoſe ſeeds of pravity from which afterward certainly, life continuing, (without God's reſtraining Grace) will ſprout forth innumerable evil actions; therefore that God overlooking all the defects of their nature, both relative, and abſolute, or perſonal, doth aſſume them into his ſpecial favour, is no ſmall benefit to them, anſwerable to the remiſſion of actual ſin, and reſtitution from the ſtate conſequent thereon in others.

2. In Baptiſm, the Gift of God's Holy Spirit is conferred, qualifying us for the ſtate into which we then come, and enabling us to perform the duties we then undertake, which otherwiſe we ſhould be unable to perform; for purification of our hearts from vicious inclinations and deſires; for begetting holy diſpoſitions and affections in our Souls; for to guide and inſtruct us, to ſuſtain and ſtrengthen us, to encourage and comfort us in all the courſe of Chriſtian piety: the which effects are well alſo figured by water, which purifieth things both from inherent and adherent filth. That this benefit is annexed to Baptiſm, the Scripture alſo teacheth us: *Be baptized* (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *in the Name of Chriſt to the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gift of the Holy Ghoſt*: εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν, We *being baptized in one body, are made to drink of one ſpirit*, ſaith Saint *Paul*: And with the * *Laver of Regeneration*, Saint *Paul* alſo joineth the *renovation of the Holy Ghoſt*: And it is repreſented as an advantage of our *Saviour's* Baptiſm above that of *John*, that our Lord not only baptized *with water to repentance, but with the Holy Ghoſt, and Fire.*

Some preventing operations of the Holy Ghoſt (whereby God freely draweth Men to Chriſtianity, perſuading their minds to aſſent thereto, inſpiring their hearts with reſolutions to comply with it) do precede Baptiſm; but a more full communication thereof (due by compact, aſſured by promiſe) for the confirming and maintaining us in the firm belief and conſtant practice of Chriſtianity is conſequent thereon; *After ye had believed, ye were ſealed by the Holy Spirit of promiſe*, ſaith Saint *Paul*. To ſignifie which benefit then conferr'd, the ancient Chriſtians did to Baptiſm annex the Chriſm, or holy Unction, ſignifying the collation of that healing and chearing Spirit to the baptized perſon;

Vid Juſt. *Apol.* 2. Tertul. *de Bapt.* &c. Acts 22. 16. Acts 2. 38. Eph. 5. 26.

1 Cor. 6. 11.

Quid feſtinat innocens ætas ad remiſſionem peccatorum? Tertul.

— impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto puerorum innocens ætas, &c. Cypr. *Epiſt.* 10.

Acts 2. 38.

1 Cor. 12. 13.

* Λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. Tit. 3. 5. Matt. 3. 11.

Ephes. 1. 14.

2 Cor. 1. 21. son; that which Saint *Paul* may seem to respect, when he saith, *He that establisheth* (or confirmeth) *us with you into Christ, and who hath anointed us, is God; who also hath sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.*

3. With those gifts is connected the benefit of Regeneration, implying our entrance into a new state and course of life; being endowed with new faculties, dispositions and capacities of Souls, becoming new Creatures and new Men, as it were, *renewed after the likeness of God in righteousness and true holiness*, our being sanctified in our hearts and lives, being mortified to fleshly lusts and worldly affections, being quickned to a spiritual life and heavenly conversation: in short, becoming in relation, and in disposition of mind, the children of God. This the matter and the action of Baptism doth set out; for as children new born, (for cleansing them from impurities adherent from the Womb) both among the *Jews* and other people, were wont to be washed; so are we in Baptism, signifying our purification from natural and worldly defilements: The mersion also in Water, and the emersion thence, doth figure our death to the former, and receiving to a new life. Whence Baptism is by Saint *Paul* called *the laver of Regeneration*; and our Lord saith, that, *If a man be not born again of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*; that is, every one becoming a Christian, is by Baptism regenerated or put into a new state of Life, getteth new dispositions of Soul, and new relations to God. *Ye are all* (saith Saint *Paul*) *the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus*; that is, by embracing his Doctrine, and submitting to his Law professedly in Baptism. And, *We* (saith Saint *Paul* again) *are buried with Christ through Baptism unto death; that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so also we should walk in newness of life.*

Ephes. 2. 22, 23. 24. Colos. 3. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Ezek. 16. 4. ——λέσασα ὑδατι καθαρῳ. Theocr. Tit. 3. 5. Joh. 3. 5. Gal. 3. 26. Rom. 6. 4. Col. 2. 12.

4. With these Benefits is conjoined that of being inserted into God's Church, his family, the number of his chosen people, the mystical body of *Christ*, whereby we become entituled to the privileges and immunities of that heavenly Corporation. *We* (saith Saint *Paul*) *have been all baptized in one spirit into one body*, the mystical body of *Christ*: And, *so many of you* (saith he again) *as have been baptized into Christ*, (into *Christ* mystical, or the Church) *have put on Christ, and ye are* (adds he) *all one in Christ Jesus*. As Proselytes among the *Jews* by Baptism were admitted unto the Communion and privileges of the *Jewish*; so thereby are we received into the like Communion and privileges of the *Christian*, far more excellent, Society.

1 Cor. 12. 13. Gal. 3. 27.

5. In consequence of these things, there is with Baptism conferred a capacity of, a title unto, an assurance (under condition of persevering in faith and obedience to our Lord) of eternal life and salvation. We are therein, in Saint *Peter*'s words, *regenerated unto a lively hope of an incorruptible inheritance, by* that *resurrection of Christ*, which is represented to us in this action; and so therein applied, as to beget in us a title and a hope to rise again in like manner to a blissful life; whence we are said therein to rise with him: *Being*, saith Saint *Paul*, *Buried with him in Baptism, wherein also we were raised again*: whence by the two great Apostles, Baptism is said to save us: *Baptism* (saith Saint *Peter*) the antitype of the delivery in the flood, *doth save us*, that is, admitteth us into the Ark, putteth us into the sure way of Salvation; and, *God* (saith Saint *Paul*) *according to his mercy saved us, by the laver of regeneration*; and, *He that shall believe, and shall be baptized, shall be saved*, is our Saviour's own word and promise; *shall be saved*, that is, shall be put into a state and way of salvation, continuing in which state, proceeding in which way he assuredly *shall be saved*: for Faith there denoteth perseverance in Faith, and Baptism implieth performance of the conditions therein undertaken; which next is to be considered

1 Pet. 1. 2. Colos. 2. 12. 1 Pet. 3. 21. Tit. 3. 5. Matt. 16. 16.

For as this Holy Rite signifyeth and sealeth God's collation of so many great Benefits on us; so it also implieth and on our part ratifieth our Obligation, then in an especial manner commencing, to several most important duties toward him. It implieth, that we are in mind fully persuaded concerning the truth of that Doctrine, which God the Father revealed by his blessed Son, and confirmed by the miraculous operation of the Holy Ghost; we therein profess our humble and thankful embracing the overtures of Mercy and Grace, purchased for us by our Saviour's meritorious undertaking and performances, the which are then exhibited and tendered to us; we therein declare our hearty resolution to forsake all wicked courses of life, repugnant to the Doctrine and Law of *Christ*; fully to conform our lives to his Will, living hereafter in all piety, righteousness and sobriety, as loyal Subjects, faithful Servants, and dutiful Children to God; in brief, we therein are bound, renouncing all erroneous principles, all vicious inclinations, and all other engagements whatever, entirely to devout our selves to the Faith and Obedience of God the Father, our glorious and good Maker; of God the Son, our gracious Redeemer; of God the Holy Ghost, our blessed Guide, Assistant, Advocate and Comforter; These are the duties antecedent

tecedent unto and concomitant of our Baptiſm (immediately and formally required of thoſe, who are capable of performing them, mediately and virtually of them who are not) the which are ſignified by our being baptized in the Name of the Holy Trinity.

Theſe Duties the Scripture commonly expreſſeth by the word, Faith and Repentance; ſometimes ſingly, ſometimes conjunctly: *If* (ſaid *Philip* to the *Eunuch*) *thou believeſt with thy heart it is lawful* (for thee to be baptized;) Faith was an indiſpenſible condition prerequiſite thereto; and, *Repent* (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *and let every one of you be baptized*; Repentance alſo was neceſſary to precede it; indeed both theſe (as they are meant in this caſe) do in effect ſignifie the ſame; each importeth a being renewed in mind, in judgment, in will, in affection; a ſerious embracing of Chriſt's Doctrine, and a ſtedfaſt reſolution to adhere thereto in practice. Hence are thoſe effects or conſequences attributed to Faith, juſtifying us, reconciling and bringing us near to God, ſaving us; becauſe it is the neceſſary condition required by God, and by him accepted, that we may be capable of theſe benefits conferred in Baptiſm; the ſame being alſo referr'd to that repentance or change of mind, which muſt accompany our entrance in Chriſtianity; that good Conſcience with which we ſtipulate a perpetual devotion and obedience to God, the which therefore doth (as Saint *Peter* telleth us) *ſave us*; it contributing to our Salvation, as a duty neceſſarily required in order thereto. This is that death to ſin, and reſurrection to righteouſneſs, that being buried with *Chriſt*, and riſing again with him, ſo as to walk in newneſs of life, which the baptiſmal action ſignifies, and which we then really undertake to perform.

Acts. 8. 37. Acts 2. 38. Acts 26. 14. 5. 31. & 20. 21. & 26. 20. & 3. 19. & 17. 30. Rom. 5. 1, 2. & 3. 25. & 2. 4. Gal. 2. 16. & 3. 8. Heb. 10. 39. Epheſ. 2. 8. & 3. 12. 2 Theſſ. 2. 13. 2 Tim. 2. 25. 2 Pet. 3. 9. Matt. 9. 13. Luk. 24. 47. Mark 1. 17. 1 Pet. 3. 21. Rom. 6. 3, 4, &c.

And as ſuch are the duties preceding or accompanying Baptiſm; ſo making good the engagements they contain, conſtantly perſiſting in them, maintaining and improving them, are duties neceſſarily conſequent thereupon. *Having* (ſaith the *Apoſtle*) *had our bodies waſhed with pure water, let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering*. We ſhould indeed continually remember, frequently and ſeriouſly conſider, what in ſo ſolemn a manner we (upon ſo valuable conſiderations) did then undertake, promiſe and vow to God, diligently ſtriving to perform it; for violating our part of the Covenant and ſtipulation then made, by apoſtacy in profeſſion or practice from God and goodneſs, we certainly muſt forfeit thoſe ineſtimable benefits, which God otherwiſe hath tied himſelf to beſtow; the pardon of our ſins, the favour of God, the being members of *Chriſt*, the grace, guidance, aſſiſtance and comfort of the Holy Spirit; the right unto and hope of Salvation. We ſo doing, ſhall not only ſimply diſobey and offend God; but add the higheſt breach of fidelity to our diſobedience, together with the moſt heinous ingratitude, abuſing the greateſt grace that could be vouchſafed us: *If we willfully ſin, after we have taken the acknowledgment of the truth*, (ſaith the *Apoſtle*, meaning that ſolemn profeſſion of our Faith in Baptiſm) *we trample under foot the Son of God; we profane the blood of the Covenant; we do deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace*; and incurring ſo deep guilt, we muſt expect ſuitable puniſhment. But I proceed to the other Sacrament,

Heb. 10. 26. 2 Pet. 3. 17.

THE EUCHARIST.

AMong the wonderful works of Power and Grace performed by God Almighty, in favour of the Children of *Iſrael*, and in order to their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, a moſt ſignal one, was the ſmiting the firſt-born in every houſe of the *Egyptians*, and paſſing over the houſes of the Children of *Iſrael*; wherein God declared his juſt wrath againſt their cruel Oppreſſours, depriving them in a ſudden and dreadful manner of what was neareſt and deareſt to them; and his gracious mercy toward them, in preſerving what was alike dear to them from ſo woful a calamity; *thus* (as the Text expreſſeth it) putting a difference between the *Egyptians* and the Children of *Iſrael*. Now that the memory of ſo remarkable a Mercy might be preſerved, that their affections might be raiſed to a ſtrong ſenſe of

Cypr. *Ep.* 63.

God's goodneſs, and their Faith in them confirmed, ſo as in the like need to hope for the ſame favourable help and protection, by the conſideration of ſo notable an experiment, it pleaſed God to appoint a *Sacrament*, or myſterious Rite to be annually celebrated, repreſenting and recalling to mind, that Act of God wherein his ſpecial kindneſs was ſo eminently demonſtrated toward his People: The ſame alſo (as did other Rites and Sacrifices, inſtituted by God among that people) looking directly forward upon that other great delivery from Sin and Hell, which God in mercy deſigned toward mankind, to be atchieved by our Saviour; prefiguring, that the Souls of them who ſhould be willing to forſake the ſpiritual bondage of ſin, ſhould be ſaved from the ruin coming upon them who would abide therein; God regarding the
Exod. 12. 23. Heb. 10. 22. 1 Pet. 1. 2. blood of our Saviour (that immaculate Lamb, ſacrificed for them) ſprinkling upon the doors of their houſes, that is, by hearty Faith and Repentance, applied to their Conſciences. The occaſion of celebrating which Holy Rite, our Saviour we ſee did improve to the inſtitution of this Sacrament, moſt agreeing therewith in deſign, as repreſentative and commemorative of the greateſt bleſſing and mercy that we are capable of having vouchſafed to us; ſome part of that ancient Rite or Sacrifice (which was moſt ſuitable to the ſpecial purpoſes of this Inſtitution, and moſt conformable to the general conſtitution of the Chriſtian Religion, whereby all bloody Sacrifices are aboliſhed) being retained in this.

The Action it ſelf (or rather the whole Rite, conſiſting of divers actions) we ſee plainly deſcribed in the Goſpels, and in the firſt Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthians*;
1 Tim. 4. 5. diſtinguiſhable into theſe chief parts. 1. The Benediction and Conſecration (by Prayer and Thankſgiving) of Bread and Wine. 2. The breaking of Bread, and handling the Cup. 3. The delivery and diſtribution of them to the perſons preſent. 4. The declaration accompanying that delivery, that thoſe ſymbolical things
Luke 22. 19, 20. εὐχαριστήσας· 1 Cor. 11. 24, 25. ἔκλασε. and actions did repreſent our Saviour's Body given and broken, our Saviour's Blood ſhed and poured out for us, in ſanction of the new Covenant. 5. The actual partak-
Luk. 22. 17. διαμερίσατε. ing of thoſe Symbols, by eating the Bread, and drinking the Wine, done by all preſent. Theſe things we find done at the firſt inſtitution and exemplary practice of this holy Ceremony; the which our Saviour obliged us to imitate, ſaying, *Do this in remembrance of me.* There followeth in Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark*, preſently
Mark 14. 23. ἔπιον ἅπαντες. Matt. 26. 30. Mark 14. 26. after the narration concerning theſe particulars,—— ὑμνήσαντες, *And having ſung a hymn, they went to the Mount of Olives*: Which action was indeed in it ſelf proper to conclude the practice of this holy Rite, yet what reference it hath thereto, cannot thence be determined; However with theſe the Church hath always joined ſeveral acts of Devotion (Confeſſions, Prayers, Praiſes, Thankſgivings, Interceſſions, Vows) ſuitable to the nature and deſign of the Sacrament, apt to glorify God, and edifie the faithful in the celebration thereof.

Such is the practice it ſelf inſtituted and injoined by our Saviour; the myſterious importance thereof, as we find it explained in holy Scripture, (the only ſolid and ſure ground, upon which we can build the explication of ſupernatural Myſteries) conſiſteth chiefly in theſe particulars:

1. It was intended for a commemorative repreſentation of our Saviour's Paſſion for us; fit to mind us of it, to move us to conſider it, to beget affections in us, ſuitable to
Luke 22. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 25. the memory and conſideration thereof: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν *Do this* (ſaith our Lord) *for my remembrance*, or in commemoration of me; that is, ſo as thereby to have raiſed in you a reflection of mind and heart upon thoſe grievous pains, which I ſhall have endured for your ſake, to procure for you a remiſſion
1 Cor. 11. 26. of ſins, and reconciliation to God: And, *So often* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *as ye eat this bread and drink this cup*, καταγγέλλετε, *Ye tell forth* (or ſignificantly expreſs) *the death of our Lord till he come*, (or during his abſence from us.) The ſuffering of our Saviour (the moſt wonderful act of goodneſs and charity, that ever was performed in the world, which produced effects of higheſt conſequence to our benefit, the conſideration whereof is apt to work the beſt diſpoſitions of piety in us) ſhould very frequently be preſent to our thoughts and affections; and that it may be ſo with advantage, ſuch a ſolemn and ſenſible repreſentation thereof is very conducible; wherein we behold him crucified, as it were *in effigie*, his body broken, his blood poured out for us; it being in a ſort a putting us into the circumſtances of thoſe, who did behold our Saviour for us hanging upon the Croſs. Our Lord being abſent in body from us, (ſitting in Heaven at God's right hand) to ſupply that abſence, that we ſhould not be apt to forget him, and thereby become wholly eſtranged from him,

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is pleaſed to order this occaſion of being preſent, and converſing with us, in ſuch a manner, as may retain in our memories his gracious performances for us; may impreſs in our hearts a kindly ſenſe of them; may raiſe us up in mind and affection to him.

2. The benefits conſequent upon our Saviour's Paſſion, rightly apprehended, heartily believed, ſeriouſly conſidered by us, are hereby lively repreſented, and effectually conveyed; to the ſuſtenance and nouriſhment of our ſpiritual life, to the refreſhment and comfort of our ſouls. It is a holy Feaſt, a ſpiritual Repaſt, a divine Entertainment, to which God in kindneſs invites us; to which if we come with well-diſpoſed minds, he there feeds us with moſt holy and delicious Viands, with heavenly Manna, with moſt reviving and cheriſhing Liquor. Bread is the ſtaff of life, the moſt common, moſt neceſſary, and moſt wholſome, and moſt ſavoury Meat; Wine is the moſt pleaſant and wholſome alſo, the moſt ſprightly and cordial Drink; by them therefore our Lord choſe to repreſent that body and blood, by the oblation of which a capacity of life and health was procured to mankind; the taking in which by right apprehenſion, taſting it by hearty faith, digeſting it by careful attention and meditation, converting it into our ſubſtance by devout, grateful and holy affections, joined with ſerious and ſteady reſolutions of living anſwerable thereto, will certainly ſupport and maintain our ſpiritual life in a vigorous health and happy growth of grace; refreſhing our hearts with comfort and ſatisfaction unſpeakable; *He that doth thus, eats our Saviour's fleſh, and drinks his blood*, (that is, who, as our Saviour interpreteth it, doth *believe in him*; that belief importing all other acts of mind and will, connected with right perſuaſions concerning him) *hath eternal life*, and *ſhall live for ever*, as himſelf declares and promiſes: which benefits therefore in the due performance of this holy duty, are conveyed unto us. Joh. 6. 51. 47. & 5. 36.

3. This Sacrament declares that union, which good Chriſtians partaking thereof have with *Chriſt*; their myſtical inſertion into him, by a cloſe dependance upon him for ſpiritual life, mercy, grace and ſalvation; a conſtant adherence to him by faith and obedience, a near conformity to him in mind and affection; an inſeparable conjunction with him, by the ſtricteſt bands of fidelity, and by the moſt endearing relations: Which things could not more fitly be ſet out, than by the partaking our beſt and moſt neceſſary food; which being taken in, ſoon becomes united to us, aſſimilated and converted into our ſubſtance; thereby renewing our ſtrength, and repairing the decays of our nature: Wherefore, *He* (ſaith our *Saviour*) *that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him*; and, *The cup of bleſſing* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which we bleſs, is it not the communion of the blood of Chriſt? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt?* We in the outward action, partake of the Symbols repreſenting our Saviour's Body and Blood; We in the ſpiritual intention, communicate of his very Perſon, being (according to the manner inſinuated) intimately united to him. Joh. 15. 4. John 6. 56. 1 Cor. 10. 16.

4. By this Sacrament conſequently is ſignified and ſealed that union, which is among our Saviour's true Diſciples communicating therein; their being together united in conſent of mind, and unity of faith; in mutual good-will and affection, in hope and tendency to the ſame bleſſed end, in ſpiritual brotherhood and ſociety; eſpecially upon account of their communion with *Chriſt*, which moſt cloſely ties them one to another; they, partaking of this one individual food, become tranſlated, as it were, into one body and ſubſtance: *Seeing* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *we being many, are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.* *Vid.* Cyp. Ep. 63. p. 146. Ep. 67. p. 208. 1 Cor. 10. 17.

In the repreſenting, producing and promoting theſe things, we are taught the myſtery of this Sacrament doth conſiſt; It was deſigned as a proper and efficacious inſtrument, to raiſe in us pious affections toward our good God and gracious Redeemer; to diſpoſe us to all holy practice; to confirm our faith, to nouriſh our hope, to quicken our reſolutions of walking carefully in the ways of duty; to unite us more faſtly to our Saviour, and to combine us in charity one toward another; the accompliſhing of which intents thereof, doth ſuppoſe our faithful and diligent concurrence in the uſe thereof; whence ariſe many duties incumbent upon us in reſpect thereto, ſome antecedent, ſome concomitant, ſome conſequent to the uſe thereof.

1. Before we addreſs our ſelves to the partaking of this venerable myſtery, we ſhould conſider whither we are going, what is the nature and importance of the action we ſet our ſelves about; that we are approaching *to our Lord's Table*, (ſo St. *Paul* calleth it) to come into his more eſpecial preſence, to be entertained by him with the 1 Cor. 10. 21.

deareſt welcome, and the beſt chear that can be; to receive the fulleſt teſtimonies of his mercy, and the ſureſt pledges of his favour toward us; that we are going to behold our Lord in tendereſt love, offering up himſelf a Sacrifice to God, therein undergoing the ſoreſt pains, and fouleſt diſgraces for our good and ſalvation; that we ought therefore to bring with us diſpoſitions of ſoul, ſuitable to ſuch an acceſs unto, ſuch an entercourſe with our gracious Lord. Had we the honour and favour to be invited to the Table of a great Prince, what eſpecial care ſhould we have to dreſs our bodies in a clean and decent garb, to compoſe our minds in order to expreſſion of all due reſpect to him; to bring nothing about us noiſome or ugly, that might offend his ſight, or diſpleaſe his mind: The like ſurely, and greater care we ſhould apply, when we thus being called, do go into God's preſence and communion. We ſhould, in preparation thereto, with all our power, endeavour to cleanſe our ſouls from all impurity of thought and deſire; from all iniquity and perverſeneſs; from all malice, envy, hatred, anger, and all ſuch evil diſpoſitions, which are moſt offenſive to God's all-piercing ſight, and unbeſeeming his glorious preſence; we ſhould dreſs our ſouls with all thoſe comely ornaments of grace (with purity, humility, meekneſs and charity) which will render us acceptable and well-pleaſing to him: We ſhould compoſe our minds into a frame of reverence and awful regard to the majeſty of God, into a lowly, calm, and tender diſpoſition of heart, apt to expreſs all reſpect due to his preſence, fit to admit the gracious illapſes, of his holy Spirit; very ſuſceptive of all holy and heavenly affections, which are ſuitable to ſuch a communion, or may ſpring from it. We ſhould therefore remove and abandon from us, not only all vicious inclinations, and evil purpoſes; but even all worldly cares, deſires and paſſions which may diſtract or diſcompoſe us, that may dull or deject us, that may cauſe us to behave our ſelves indecently or unworthily before God, that may bereave us of the excellent fruits from ſo bleſſed an entertainment.

1 Cor. 11. 28. To theſe purpoſes we ſhould, according to Saint *Paul*'s advice, δοκιμάζειν ἑαυτὸς, examine and approve our ſelves; conſidering our paſt actions, and our preſent inclinations, and accordingly, by ſerious meditation, and fervent prayer to God for his gracious aſſiſtance therein, working our ſouls into a hearty remorſe for our paſt miſcarriages, and a ſincere reſolution to amend for the future; forſaking all ſin, endeavouring in all our actions to ſerve and pleaſe God; *purging out* (as Saint *Paul* again injoineth us) *the old leaven of vice and wickedneſs*; ſo that we may feaſt, and celebrate this Paſſover, in which *Chriſt* is myſtically ſacrificed for us, in the *unleavened* diſpoſitions *of ſincerity and truth*. Such are the duties previous to our partaking this Sacrament.

1 Cor. 5. 7.

2. Thoſe duties which accompany it, are a reverent and devout affection of heart, with a ſuitable behaviour therein; an awful ſenſe of mind befitting the Majeſty of that Preſence wherein we do appear, anſwerable to the greatneſs, and goodneſs, and holineſs of him, with whom we converſe; becoming the ſacredneſs of thoſe Myſteries which are exhibited to us, (that which Saint *Paul* ſeemeth to call διακρίνειν τὸ σῶμα Κυρίου, to *diſcern* or diſtinguiſh *our Lord's body*; that is, yielding a peculiar reverence of mind and behaviour in regard thereto) a devotion of heart, conſiſting in hearty contrition for our ſins, which did expoſe our Saviour to the enduring ſuch pains, then remembred; in firm reſolution to forſake the like thereafter, as injurious, diſhonourable and diſpleaſing to him; in fervent love of him, as full of ſo wonderful goodneſs and charity toward us; in moſt hearty thankfulneſs for thoſe unconceivably great expreſſions of kindneſs toward us; in deepeſt humility, upon ſenſe of our unworthineſs, to receive ſuch teſtimonies of grace and favour from him, (our unworthineſs *to eat the crumbs that fall from his table*, how much more to be admitted into ſuch degrees of honourable communion and familiarity, of cloſe conjunction and union with him?) of pious joy in conſideration of the excellent privileges herein imparted, and of the bleſſed fruits accruing to us from his gracious performances; in a comfortable hope of obtaining and enjoying the benefits of his obedience and paſſion, by the aſſiſtance of his Grace; in ſteady faith, and full perſuaſion of mind, that he is (ſuppoſing our dutiful compliance) ready to beſtow upon us all the bleſſings then exhibited; in attentively fixing the eyes of our mind, and all the powers of our ſoul (our underſtanding, will, memory, fancy, affection) upon him, as willingly pouring forth his life for our ſalvation; laſtly, in motions of enlarged good-will and charity toward all our brethren for his ſake, in obedience to

1 Cor. 11. 29.

his

his will, and in imitation of him; ſuch-like duties ſhould attend our participation of this holy Sacrament.

3. The effects of having duly performed which, ſhould appear in the practice of thoſe duties, which are conſequent thereon; being ſuch as theſe; An increaſe of all pious inclinations and affections, expreſſing themſelves in a real amendment of our lives, and producing more goodly fruits of obedience; the thorough digeſtion of that ſpiritual nouriſhment by our becoming more faſtly knit to our Saviour by higher degrees of faith and love; the maintaining a more lively ſenſe of his ſuperabundant goodneſs; the cheriſhing thoſe influences of grace, which deſcend upon our hearts in this communion, and improving them to nearer degrees of perfection in all piety and virtue; a watchful care and endeavour in our lives to approve our ſelves in ſome meaſure worthy of that great honour and favour, which God hath vouchſafed us in admitting us to ſo near approaches to himſelf; an earneſt purſuance of the reſolutions, performance of the vows, making good the engagements, which in ſo ſolemn a manner, upon ſo great an occaſion we made, and offered up unto our God and Saviour; finally, the conſidering, that by the breach of ſuch reſolutions, by the violation of ſuch engagements, our ſins receiving ſo mighty aggravation of vain inconſtancy and wicked perfidiouſneſs, our guilt will hugely be increaſed; our ſouls relapſing into ſo grievous diſtemper, our ſpiritual ſtrength will be exceedingly impaired; conſequently hence our true comforts will be abated, our beſt hopes will be ſhaken, our eternal ſtate will be deſperately endangered.

There is one duty which I ſhould not forbear to touch, concerning this *Sacrament*; that is, Our gladly embracing any opportunity preſented of communicating therein; the doing ſo, being not only our duty, but a great aid and inſtrument of piety; the neglecting it a grievous ſin, and productive of great miſchiefs to us.

The Primitive Chriſtians did very frequently uſe it, partaking therein, as it ſeems, at every time of their meeting for God's ſervice; it is ſaid of them by Saint *Luke*, that *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles doctrine and communion, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers*; and, *when you meet together, it is not* (as according to the intent and duty of meeting it ſhould be) *to eat the Lord's Supper* (ſaith Saint *Paul*;) And *Juſtin Martyr* in his ſecond *Apology*, deſcribing the religious Service of God in their Aſſemblies, mentioneth it as a conſtant part thereof; and *Epiphanius* reporteth it a cuſtom in the Church, derived from Apoſtolical Inſtitution, to celebrate the *Euchariſt* thrice every week, that is, ſo often as they did meet to pray and praiſe God; which practice may well be conceived a great means of kindling and preſerving in them that holy fervour of piety, which they ſo illuſtriouſly expreſſed in their converſation; and in their gladſome ſuffering for *Chriſt*'s ſake: and the remitting of that frequency, as it is certainly a ſign and an effect, ſo in part it may poſſibly be reckoned a cauſe of the degeneracy of *Chriſtian* practice, into that great coldneſs and ſlackneſs which afterward did ſeize upon it, and now doth apparently keep it in a languiſhing and half-dying ſtate.

Act. 2. 42.

1 Cor. 10. 20.

The rarer occaſions therefore we now have of performing this duty, (the which indeed was always eſteemed the principal office of God's Service) of enjoying this benefit, (the being deprived whereof, was alſo deemed the greateſt puniſhment and infelicity that could arrive to a Chriſtian) the more ready we ſhould be to embrace them. If we dread God's diſpleaſure, if we value our Lord and his benefits, if we tender the life, health and welfare of our ſouls, we ſhall not neglect it; for how can we but extremely offend God by ſo extreme rudeneſs, that when he kindly invites us to his Table, we are averſe from coming thither, or utterly refuſe it? That when he calleth us into his preſence, we run from him; that when he, with his own hand, offereth us ineſtimable mercies and bleſſings, we reject them? It is not only the breach of God's command, who enjoined us *to do this*, but a direct contempt of his favour and goodneſs, moſt clearly and largely exhibited in this office. And how can we bear any regard to our Lord, or be any-wiſe ſenſible of his gracious performances in our behalf, if we are unwilling to join in thankful and joyful commemoration of them? How little do we love our own Souls, if we ſuffer them to pine and ſtarve for want of that Food, which God here diſpenſeth for their ſuſtenance and comfort? if we bereave them of enjoying ſo high a privilege, ſo ineſtimable a benefit, ſo incomparable pleaſures as are to be found and felt in this ſervice, or do ſpring and flow from it? what reaſonable excuſe can we frame for ſuch neglect? are we otherwiſe employed? What buſineſs can there be more important, than ſerving God, and ſaving our own

own ſouls? Is it wiſdom, in purſuance of any the greateſt affair here, to diſregard the principal concern of our ſouls? Do we think our ſelves unfit and unworthy to appear in God's preſence? But is any man unworthy to obey God's commands? Is any man unfit to implore and partake of God's mercy, if he be not unwilling to do it? What unworthineſs ſhould hinder us from remembring our Lord's exceſſive charity towards us, and thanking him for it? from praying for his grace; from reſolving to amend our lives? Muſt we, becauſe we are unworthy, continue ſo ſtill, by ſhunning the means of correcting and curing us? Muſt we encreaſe our unworthineſs, by tranſgreſſing our duty? If we eſteem things well, the conſcience of our ſinfulneſs ſhould rather drive us to it, as to our medicine, than detain us from it. There is no man indeed, who muſt not conceive and confeſs himſelf unworthy; therefore muſt no man come thither at God's call? If we have a ſenſe of our ſins, and a mind to leave them; if we have a ſenſe of God's goodneſs, and a heart to thank him for it; we are ſo worthy, that we ſhall be kindly received there, and graciouſly rewarded. If we will not take a little care to work theſe diſpoſitions in us, we are indeed unworthy; but the being ſo, from our own perverſe negligence, is a bad excuſe for the neglect of our duty. In fine, I dare ſay, that he, who with an honeſt meaning (although with an imperfect devotion) doth addreſs himſelf to the performance of this duty, is far more excuſable, than he that upon whatever ſcore declineth it; no ſcrupulous ſhineſs can ward us from blame; what then ſhall we ſay, if ſupine ſloth, or profane contempt, are the cauſes of ſuch neglect?

Mens deficit, quam non recepta Euchariſtia erigit & accendit. Cyp. Ep. 54.

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὡς ἔτυχε πεῳσιὲν κίνδυνῳ ἔτω τὸ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυϛικῶν δείπνων ἐκείνων λιμὸς ἢ θάνατῳ. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τράπεζα τ̃ ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τὰ νεύρα τ̃ διανοίας ὁ σύνδεσμῳ, τ̃ παῤῥησίας ἡ ἀϖόθεσις, ἡ ἐλπὶς, ἡ σωτηρία, τὸ φῶς, ἡ ζωή. Chryſ. *in* 1. Cor. *Or.* 24.

Thus having briefly diſpatched the conſiderations that offered themſelves upon theſe Subjects, I ſhall conclude all with prayer to Almighty God, that we by his grace and help, believing rightly, ſtrongly, conſtantly and finally; being frequent and fervent in prayer, and all pious devotion, ſincerely obeying all God's Commandments; continuing orderly, dutiful and worthy members of *Chriſt*'s Church, growing continually in grace, by the worthy participation of the holy Sacraments, may obtain the end of our faith, the ſucceſs of our prayers, the reward of our obedience, the continuance in that holy ſociety, the perfect conſummation of grace in the poſſeſſion of eternal joy, glory and bliſs; which God in his infinite mercy grant to us, for our bleſſed Saviour's ſake; to whom be all glory and praiſe for ever and ever. *Amen.*

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A TREATISE

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S

SUPREMACY;

To which is added, A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

The Unity of the Church.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D.D.
Late MASTER of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*,
And one of His MAJESTY's Chaplains in Ordinary.

PUBLISHED
By his Grace Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*,
Late Arch-Biſhop of *CANTERBURY*.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected: With a TABLE to the Whole.

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROUND in *Exchange-Alley*, J. TONSON in the *Strand*, and W. TAYLOR in *Pater-noſter-Row*. MDCCXVI.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENEAGE,

Earl of *NOTTINGHAM*,

Lord HIGH-CHANCELLOR

OF

ENGLAND,

AND

One of His MAJESTY's moſt Honourable
PRIVY-COUNCIL;

THOMAS BARROW,

The Author's Father,

Humbly Dedicateth this

TREATISE.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS excellent and elaborate Treatise *of the* Pope's Supremacy, *which I here present thee withall, the learned* Author *of it upon his Death-bed gave me a particular Permission to publish; with this modest Character of it, That* he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life. *He designed indeed to have transcribed it again, and to have fill'd up those many* Spaces *which were purposely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illustration of several things by more Testimonies and Instances, which probably he had in his Thoughts: And it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this Work, had it pleased God that he had lived to finish it to his mind, and to have given it his last hand.*

However, as it is, it is not only a just but an admirable Discourse upon this Subject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhausted it: insomuch that

no

no Argument of moment, nay hardly any Conſideration properly belonging to it, hath eſcaped his large and comprehenſive Mind. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence the Controverſy for ever, and to deter all wiſe Men, of both Sides, from meddling any farther with it.

And I dare ſay, that whoever ſhall carefully peruſe this Treatiſe, *will find, that this Point of the* Pope's Supremacy, (*upon which* Bellarmine *hath the confidence to ſay,* the whole of Chriſtianity depends). *is not only an indefenſible, but an impudent Cauſe, as ever was undertaken by learned Pens. And nothing could have kept it ſo long from becoming ridiculous in the Judgment of Mankind, but its being ſo ſtrongly ſupported by a worldly Intereſt. For there is not one tolerable Argument for it, and there are a thouſand invincible Reaſons againſt it. There is neither from Scripture, nor Reaſon, nor Antiquity, any evidence of it; The paſt and the preſent ſtate of* Chriſtendom, *the Hiſtories and Records of all Ages, are a perpetual Demonſtration againſt it: And there is no other ground in the whole World for it, but that now of a long time it hath been by the Pope's* Janizaries *boldly aſſerted, and ſtiffly contended for without reaſon. So that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that the* Grand Seignior *is of right, and for many Ages hath been acknowledg'd* Sovereign *of the whole World, as that the Biſhop of* Rome *is of right, and in all Ages from the beginning of Chriſtianity hath been own'd to be the* Univerſal Monarch *and* Head *of the Chriſtian Church.*

To this Treatiſe *of* The Pope's Supremacy *I have, for the affinity of the Argument, added by way of* Appendix

another

another Diſcourſe *of the ſame* Author's *concerning* The Unity of the Church; *which he ſo explains as quite to take away the neceſſity of a* Viſible Head *over the whole Church for the preſervation of its* Unity, *which is the only ſpecious, but yet a very remote pretence for the* Pope's Supremacy: *For if a* Viſible Monarch *of the* Church *were granted neceſſary, many things more muſt be ſuppoſed, (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved) to make the* Biſhop *of* Rome *the Man.*

The Teſtimonies *relating to both* Parts, *were very few of them tranſlated by the* Author; *which he certainly intended, having left Spaces for it, and is ſince done with great Care by two of his Worthy and Learned Friends of his own College.*

This is all the Advertiſement I thought neceſſary.

J. Tillotſon.

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IMPRIMATUR,

Ex Ædibus *Lamb.*
Feb. 27. $167\frac{8}{9}$.

Geo. Thop, R^mo. in Chriſto Patri & D^uo D^no *Gulielmo*, Archiep. *Cant.* à Sacris Domeſticis.

A TREATISE OF THE Pope's Supremacy.

INTRODUCTION.

§. I. THE *Roman* Party doth much glory in Unity and Certainty of Doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other Men have any means to attain: Yet about divers matters of notable conſideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to deſcry.

They pretend it very needful that Controverſies ſhould be decided, and that they have a ſpecial knack of doing it: Yet do many Controverſies of great weight and conſequence ſtick on their hands unreſolved, many Points reſt in great doubt and debate among them.

The κύριαι δόξαι of the *Roman* Sect (concerning Doctrine, Practice, Laws and Cuſtoms of Diſcipline, Rites and Ceremonies) are of divers ſorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some eſtabliſhed by (pretended) general Synods. 2. Some founded on Decrees of Popes. 3. Some entertained as upon Tradition, Cuſtom, common Agreement. 4. Some which their eminent Divines or Schoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the *Roman* Court, and its zealous Dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their Religion conſiſteth: for thoſe Grounds divers times ſeem to claſh, and accordingly their Divines (ſome building on theſe, ſome on others) diſagree.

This being ſo in many Points of importance, is ſo particularly in this.

For inſtance, The Head of their Church (as they call it) is, one would think, a Subject about which they ſhould thoroughly conſent, and which they by this time ſhould have cleared from all diſputes; ſo that (ſo far as their deciſive faculty goeth) we might be aſſured wherein his Authority conſiſteth, and how far it doth extend; ſeeing the reſolution of that Point ſo nearly toucheth the heart of Religion, the Faith and Practice of all Chriſtians, the good of the Church, and peace of the World; ſeeing that no one Queſtion (perhaps not all Queſtions together) hath created ſo many tragical Diſturbances in Chriſtendom, as that concerning the bounds of Papal Authority.

Agitur de ſummâ rei Chriſtianæ. Bell. Præf. de Rom. Pont. Upon this one Point the very ſum and ſubſtance of Chriſtianity depends.

This diſagreement of the *Roman* Doctors about the nature and extent of Papal Authority, is a ſhrewd prejudice againſt it. If a Man ſhould ſue for a piece of Land, and his Advocates (the notableſt could be had, and well paid) could not find where it lieth, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him —— one would be very apt to ſuſpect his Title. If God had inſtituted ſuch an Office, it is highly probable, we might ſatisfactorily know what the Nature and Uſe of it were: the Patents and Charters for it would declare it.

Yet for reſolution in this great Caſe we are left to ſeek; they not having either the will, or the courage, or the power to determine it. This inſuperable Problem hath baffled all their infallible methods of deciding Controverſies; their Traditions blundering, their Synods claſhing, their Divines wrangling endleſly about what kind of thing the Pope is, and what Power he rightly may claim.

Tanta eſt inter Doctores controverſia de plenitudine Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis, & ad quæ ſe extendat, ut pauca ſint in ea materia ſecura —— Almain. *de Auct. Eccl. cap.* 3.

There is (ſaith a great Divine among them) *ſo much controverſy about the plenitude of Eccleſiaſtical Power, and to what things it may extend it ſelf, that few things in that matter are ſecure* ——

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the Pope's power in judging and deciding Controverſies, or of his Cauſe in this matter; that he cannot define a Point ſo nearly concerning him, and which he ſo much deſireth an Agreement in; that he cannot ſettle his own Claim out of doubt; that all his Authority cannot ſecure itſelf from conteſt.

So indeed it is, that no Spells can allay ſome Spirits; and where Intereſts are irreconcilable, Opinions will be ſo.

Some Points are ſo tough and ſo touchy, that no-body dare meddle with them, fearing that their reſolution will fail of ſucceſs, and ſubmiſſion. Hence even the anathematizing Definers of *Trent* (the boldeſt Undertakers to decide Controverſies that ever were) did wave this Point; the Legates of the Pope being injoined, *to advertiſe, That they ſhould not for any cauſe whatever come to diſpute about the Pope's Authority.*

—— *di avertire, Che non ſi venga mai per qual cauſa ſi ſia alla diſputa dell Autorita di Papa. Concil.* Trid. *lib.* 2. *p.* 159.

It was indeed wiſely done of them to decline this Queſtion, their Authority not being ſtrong enough to bear the weight of a Deciſion in favour of the *Roman* See, (againſt which they could do nothing) according to its Pretences; as appeareth by one clear inſtance. For whereas that Council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any Prince ſhould be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any City or Place, where he ſhould permit a Duel to be fought; the Prelates of *France* in the Convention of Orders, *Anno* 1595, did declare againſt that Decree, as infringing their King's Authority.

Hic articulus eſt contra authoritatem Regis, qui non poteſt privari ſuo dominio temporali, reſpectu cujus nullum ſuperiorem recognoſcit. Bochel. *l.* 5. *tit.* 20. *c.* 45.

This Article is againſt the Authority of the King; who cannot be deprived of his Temporal Dominion, wherein he acknowledges no Superior.

It was therefore adviſedly done not to meddle with ſo tickliſh a point. But in the mean time their Policy ſeemeth greater than their Charity; which might have inclined them not to leave the World in darkneſs and doubt, and unreſolved in a Point of ſo main importance; (as indeed they did in others of no ſmall conſequence, diſputed among their Divines with obſtinate Heat, *viz.* The Divine Right of Biſhops, the Neceſſity of Reſidence, the immaculate Conception, *&c.*)

The Opinions therefore among them concerning the Pope's Authority, as they have been, ſo they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

§. II. There are among them thoſe who aſcribe to the Pope an univerſal, abſolute and boundleſs Empire over all Perſons indifferently, and in all Matters; conferred and ſettled on him by divine immutable ſanction: ſo that all Men of whatever degree, are obliged in conſcience to believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatever he doth preſcribe. So that if Princes themſelves do refuſe obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, caſhier them, depoſe them, extirpate them. If he chargeth us to hold no Communion with our Prince, to renounce our Allegiance to him, to abandon, oppoſe and perſecute him even to death, we may without ſcruple, we muſt in duty obey. If he doth interdict whole Nations from the exerciſe of God's Worſhip and Service, they muſt comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect Sovereign Lord of all the World; and ſuperiour, even in Temporal or Civil matters, unto all Kings and Princes.

Prima ſententia eſt, ſummum Pontificem jure

It is notorious, that many Canoniſts (if not moſt) and many Divines of that Party do maintain this Doctrine; affirming, that all the Power of *Chriſt* (*the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*, to whom all Power in Heaven and Earth doth

doth appertain) is imparted to the Pope, as to his Vicegerent.

divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus Ecclesiasticis quam Civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, *& alii non pauci.* Bell. 5. 1.

The first Opinion is, that the Pope hath a most full Power over the whole World, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil affairs. This is the Doctrine of *Aug. Triumphus, &c.* and of many others.

This is the Doctrine which almost 400 years ago *Augustinus Triumphus*, in his *egregious Work* concerning Ecclesiastical Power, did teach; attributing to the Pope *an incomprehensible and infinite Power; because great is the Lord, and great is his Power, and of his Greatness there is no end.*

Scripsit egregiam summam de potestate Ecclesia Bell. *de Script. An.* 1301. *Error est non credere Pontificem Rom. Universalis Ecclesiæ Pastorem, Petri Successorem, & Christi Vicarium, supra temporalia & spiritualia Universalem non habere Primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dicta potestatis ignorantia; quæ cum sit infinita eò quòd* magnus est Dominus, & magna virtus ejus, & magnitudinis ejus non est finis, *omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere.* Aug. Triumph. *de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P.* Joh. *XXII.*

This is the Doctrine which the leading Theologue of their Sect, their Angelical Doctor, doth affirm, both directly, saying, that *in the Pope is the top of both Powers*; and by plain consequence, asserting, that *when any one is denounced excommunicate for Apostasie, his Subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their Oath of Allegiance to him.*

Thomas *in fine Secun. Sentens. dicit. in Papa esse apicem utriusque Potestatis.* Bell. 5. 1. *Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter Apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi à dominio, & juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.* Th. 2. *Secund. qu.* 12. *art.* 2.

This the same *Thomas* (or an Author passing under his name, in his Book touching *the Rule of Princes*) doth teach, affirming, that the Pope, *as Supreme King of all the World, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy Towns and Castles for the preservation of Christianity.*

S. Thomas (*in lib.* 3. *de Regim Princ. cap.* 10 & 19) *affirmat summum Pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem & temporalem Potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi Regem, adeò ut etiam taleas omnibus Christianis possit imponere, & civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis.* Bell. 5. 5.

This (as Card. *Zabarell* near 300 years ago telleth us) is the Doctrine *which, for a long time, those who would please Popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea and things unlawful; and so could do more than God.*

Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia malè considerata sicut per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere Pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, & usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis, quòd omnia possent; & sic quòd facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, & sic plus quàm Deus. Zab. *de Schism.*

According to this Doctrine then current at *Rome*, in the last *Lateran* Great Synod, under the Pope's nose and in his ear, one Bishop styled him *Prince of the World*; another Orator called him *King of Kings, and Monarch of the Earth*; another great Prelate said of him, that *he had all Power above all Powers both of Heaven and Earth.* And the same roused up Pope *Leo* X. in these brave terms; *Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of Divine Power, committed to thee; and injoin, command and charge, that an universal Peace and Alliance be made among Christians for at least* 10 *years*; *and to that bind Kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain Nobles by the iron manacles of Censures: for to thee is given all Power in Heaven and in Earth.*

Orbis Princeps, Episc. Spal. *Sess.* 1. *p.* 24. *Regum Rex. & Orbis terrarum Monarcha,* Del Rio, *Sess.* 8. *p.* 87. *---Virum in quo erat Potestas supra omnes Potestates tam cœli, quàm terræ. Episc.* Patrac. *Sess.* 10. 132. *Arripe ergò gladium Divinæ Potestatis tibi creditum, bis acutum; & jube, impera, manda, ut Pax universalis & Colligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; & Reges ad id in compedibus magni Regis liga, & Nobiles in manicis ferreis Censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis Potestas in cœlo & in terra.* Ibid. *p.* 133.

This is the Doctrine which *Baronius* with a *Roman* confidence doth so often allege, and drive forward, saying, * that *there can be no doubt of it, but that the Civil Principality is subject to the Sacerdotal:* And, † that *God hath made the Political Government subject to the Dominion of the Spiritual Church.*

Politicum Principatum Sacerdotali esse subjectum, nulla potest esse dubitatio. Ann. 57. §. 23. † *Politicum Imperium subjecit spiritualis Ecclesiæ dominio.* Ib. §. 33.

§. III. From that Doctrine the Opinion in effect doth not differ, which *Bellarmine* voucheth for the common Opinion of Catholicks, that *by reason of the Spiritual Power, the Pope at least indirectly hath a Supreme Power even in Temporal matters.*

Tertia sententia media & Catholicorum communis, Pontificem ut Pontificem non habere directè & immediatè ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirectè potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus. Bell. 5. 1.

This Opinion, so common, doth not, I say, in effect, and practical consideration, any-wise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun

envy, and veil the impudence of the other Aſſertion: for the qualifications, *by reaſon of the Spiritual Power*, and, *at leaſt indirectly*, are but notional, inſignificant and illuſive in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a Sovereign Power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; ſeeing that every matter is eaſily referable to a ſpiritual account; ſeeing he is ſole Judge upon what account he doth act; ſeeing experience ſheweth, that he will ſpiritualize all his intereſts, and upon any occaſion exerciſe that pretended Authority; ſeeing it little mattereth, if he may ſtrike Princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or ſlantingly.

§. IV. That ſuch an univerſal and abſolute Power hath been claimed by divers Popes, ſucceſſively for many Ages, is apparent from their moſt ſolemn Declarations, and notorious Practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and riſing upward toward the ſource of this Doctrine) we ſhall repreſent ſome.

Anno 1585. The Bull of P. *Sixtus* V. againſt *the two Sons of wrath*, *Henry* K. of *Navarre*, and the P. of *Conde*, beginneth thus; *The Authority given to Saint* Peter *and his Succeſſors by the immenſe Power of the Eternal King, excels all the Powers of earthly Kings and Princes —— It paſſes uncontroulable ſentence upon them all—— And if it find any of them reſiſting God's Ordinance it takes more ſevere vengeance of them, caſting them down from their Thrones, though never ſo puiſſant, and tumbling them down to the loweſt parts of the earth, as the Miniſters of aſpiring Lucifer.* And then he proceeds to thunder againſt them, *We deprive them and their poſterity for ever of their Dominions and Kingdoms*, and accordingly he depriveth thoſe Princes of their Kingdoms and Dominions, abſolveth their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and forbiddeth them to pay any Obedience to them. *By the Authority of theſe preſents, we do abſolve and ſet free all perſons, as well jointly as ſeverally, from any ſuch Oath, and from all duty whatſoever in regard of Dominion, Fealty and Obedience, and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their Admonitions, Laws and Commands.*

Ab immenſa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejúſque Succeſſoribus tradita Auctoritas omnes terrenorum Regum & Principum ſupereminet Poteſtates —— Inconcuſſa profert in omnes judicia —— Et ſi quos ordinationi Dei reſiſtentes invenit, ſeveriore hos vindictâ ulciſcitur, &, quamvis potentiores, de ſolio dejiciens, veluti ſuperbientis Luciferi miniſtros, ad infima terræ deturbatos proſternit.——

Dominiis Regnis, &c nos illos illorúmque poſteros privamus in perpetuum. ——

A Juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus Domnii, Fidelitatis & Obſequii debito illos omnes tam univerſè quàm ſingulatim auctoritate præſentium abſolvimus & liberamus; præcipiúſque & interdicimus eis univerſis & ſingulis, ne illis eorúmque monitis, legibus & mandatis audeant obedire.

Bulla Sixti V. *Contra* Henr. Navarr. R. *&c.*

Anno 1570. P. *Pius* V. (one of the Holieſt Biſhops of the laſt ſtamp, who hardly hath eſcaped Canonization until now) beginneth his Bull againſt our Q. *Elizabeth* in theſe words; *He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all Power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed the one H. Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to one alone on earth, namely to* Peter *Prince of the Apoſtles, and to the Roman Pontife, Succeſſor of* Peter, *to be governed with a plenitude of Power: This one he hath conſtituted Prince over all Nations, and all Kingdoms, that he might pluck up, deſtroy, diſſipate, ruinate, plant and build——* And in the ſame Bull he declares, that *he thereby deprives the Queen of her pretended Right to the Kingdom, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Privilege whatſoever; and abſolves all the Nobles, Subjects, People of the Kingdom, and whoever elſe have ſworn from their Oath, and all duty whatſoever, in regard of Dominion, Fidelity and Obedience.*

Pius V. —— *Quem mirum eſt in albo Sanctorum nondum relatum eſſe.* Briet. *Chr. Anno* 1572.

Regnans in excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in cœlo & in terra poteſtas unam Sanctam, Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, extra quam nulla eſt Salus, uni ſoli in terris, videlicet Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petrique Succeſſori Romano Pontifici, in poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: Hunc unum ſuper omnes gentes & omnia regna Principem conſtituit, qui evellat, deſtruat, diſſipet, diſperdat, plantet & ædificet —— P. Pius V. *in Bull contra* R. Eliz. (Cambd. *Hiſt. Anno* 1570.)

Ipſam, pretenſo regni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignitate privilegióque privamus; & iterum Proceres, ſubditos &c. Ibid.

Anno 1346. P. *Clement* VI. did pretend to depoſe the Emperor *Lewis* IV.

Anno 1311. P. *Clement* V. in the great Synod of *Vienna*, declared the Emperor ſubject to him, or ſtanding obliged to him by a proper Oath of Fealty.

Apoſtolica auctoritate de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis exiſtere & conſeri debere. Clem. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 9. *Vide Conc.* Vienn. *p.* 909.

Anno 1294. P. *Boniface* VIII. hath a Decree extant in the Canon-Law running thus; *We declare, ſay, define, pronounce it to be of neceſſity to Salvation, for every humane Creature to be ſubject to the Roman Pontife.* The which Subjection, according to this intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double Sword, and aſſerteth to himſelf Juriſdiction over all Temporal

Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, & pronunciamus omnino eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis. Extrav. com. lib. 1, tit. 8, cap. 1.

poral Authorities: for, *One Sword* (ſaith he) *muſt be under another, and the Temporal Authority muſt be ſubject to the Spiritual Power—— whence if the Earthly Power doth go aſtray, it muſt be judged by the Spiritual Power.* The which Aphoriſms he proveth by Scriptures admirably expounded to that purpoſe.

Oportet gladium eſſe ſub gladio, & temporalem authoritatem ſpirituali ſubjici poteſtati. Ibid.

Ergo ſi deviat terrena poteſtas, judicabitur à poteſtate ſpirituali. Ibid.

This Definition might paſs for a Rant of that boiſterous Pope, (*a Man above meaſure ambitious and arrogant*) vented in his paſſion againſt K. *Philip of France*, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no Papal Decree is capable) of being expreſly confirmed by one of their General Councils; for, *We*, (ſaith Pope *Leo* X. in his Bull read and paſſed in the *Lateran* Council) *do renew and approve that H. Conſtitution, with approbation of the preſent H. Council.* Accordingly *Melch. Canus* ſaith, that *the Lateran Council did renew and approve that extravagant* (indeed extravagant) *Conſtitution:* and *Baronius* ſaith of it, that *all do aſſent to it, ſo that none diſſenteth, who doth not by diſcord fall from the Church.*

Vir ſuper modum ambitioſus & arrogans (Binius *in vita* Bonif. *VIII.*)

Conſtitutionem ipſam ſacro præſenti Concilio approbante, innovamus & approbamus. Concil. Lateran. *Seſſ.* 11. *p.* 153.

Quam extravagantem renovavit & approbavit Concilium Lateranenſe ſub Leone X. Canus *loc.* 64.

Hæc Bonifacius *cui aſſentiuntur omnes, ut nullus diſcrepet, niſi qui diſſidio ab Eccleſia excedit.* Baron. *Anno* 1053 §. 14.

The Truth is, P. *Boniface* did not invent that Propoſition, but borrowed it from the School; for *Thomas Aquinas*, in his work againſt the *Greeks*, pretendeth to ſhew, that *it is of neceſſity to Salvation to be ſubject to the Roman Pontife.* The which Scholaſtical Aphoriſm P. *Boniface* turned into Law, and applied to his purpoſe of exerciſing domination over Princes; offering in vertue of it to deprive King *Philip* of his Kingdom.

Oſtenditur etiam quod ſubeſſe Romano Pontifici ſit de neceſſitate ſalutis. (Tho. *in opuſc. contra Græcos.*)

The Appendix to *Mart. Pol.* ſaith of P. *Boniface* VIII. *Regem ſe Regum, Mundi Monarcham, unicum in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus Dominum promulgavit*; That *he openly declar'd himſelf to be King of Kings, Monarch of the World, and ſole Lord and Governour both in Spirituals and Temporals.*

Before him, P. *Innocent* IV. did hold and exemplify the ſame notion; declaring the Emperour *Frederick* II. *his Vaſſal and denouncing in his General Council of* Lyons *a ſentence of deprivation againſt him in theſe terms: We having about the foregoing and many other his wicked Miſcarriages had before a careful deliberation with our Brethren and the H. Council, ſeeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of* Jeſus Chriſt *on earth, and that it was ſaid unto us in the Perſon of Saint* Peter *the Apoſtle, Whatever thou ſhalt bind on earth— the ſaid Prince (who hath rendred himſelf unworthy of Empire and Kingdoms, and of all Honour and Dignity, and who for his Iniquities is caſt away by God, that he ſhould not reign or command, being bound by his Sins, and caſt away, and deprived by the Lord of all Honour and Dignity) do ſhew, denounce, and accordingly by Sentence deprive; abſolving all who are held bound by Oath of Allegiance, from ſuch Oath for ever; by Apoſtolical Authority firmly prohibiting, that no Man henceforth do obey or regard him as Emperour or King; and decreeing, that whoever ſhall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as Emperour or King, ſhall immediately lie under the band of Excommunication.*

Anno 1245.

Nos itaque ſuper præmiſſis, &c. P. Innoc. *IV. in Conc.* Ludg.

Matt. Paris (*Anno* 1253.) ſaith, He deemed Kings *Mancipia Papæ.*

Before him, Pope *Innocent* the Third, (that *true wonder of the World, and changer of the Age*) did affirm *the Pontifical Authority ſo much to exceed the Royal Power, as the Sun doth the Moon*; and applieth to the former that of the Prophet *Jeremy, Ecce, conſtitui te ſuper gentes & regna---- See, I have ſet thee over the Nations and over the Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down,* &c.

Verè ſtupor mundi, & immutator ſeculi. Matt. Par. *Anno* 1217.

Ut quanta eſt inter Solem & Lunam tanta inter Pontifices & Reges differentia cognoſcatur. P. Innoc. III. *in Decret.* Greg. *lib.* 1. *tit.* 33. *cap.* 6.

Jer. 1. 10.

Of this Power that Pope made experiment, by depoſing the Emperour *Otho* IV; *whom* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) *as rebellious to the Apoſtolical See, he firſt did ſtrike with an Anathema; then him perſevering in his obſtinacy, did in a Council of Prelates held at* Rome *pronounce depoſed from Empire.*

Imperatorem--- ut rebellem Sedi Apoſtolicæ & inobedientem anathemate primùm, deinde in pertinacia perſeverantem, in Concilio Præſulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab Imperio depoſitum percuſſit & pronunciavit. Naucl. *Anno* 1212.

The

The which Authority was avowed by that great Council under this Pope, (the which, according to the Men of *Trent*, did repreſent or conſtitute the Church) wherein it was ordain'd, that if a *Temporal Lord, being required and admoniſhed by the Church, ſhould neglect to purge his Territory from Heretical filth, he ſhould by the Metropolitan and the other Comprovincial Biſhops be nooſed in the band of Excommunication; and that if he ſhould ſlight to make ſatisfaction within a year, it ſhould be ſignified to the Pope, that he might from that time denounce the Subjects abſolved from their Fealty to him, and expoſe the Territory to be ſeized on by Catholicks*, &c.

Neque enim per Lateranenſe Concilium Eccleſia ſtatuit, &c. Syn. Trid. Seſſ. 14 cap. 5.

Si vero Dominus temporalis requiſitus & monitus, Conc. Later. *cap.* 3. *in Decret.* Greg. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 7. *cap.* 13.

Anno 1099. *Nam in hac non tantùm parte, ſed ubique, cùm poteris, Henricum, Hæreticorum caput, & ejus fautores pro viribus perſequaris. Nullum profectò gratius Deo ſacrificium, quàm ſi eum impugnes, qui ſe contra Deum erexit, qui Eccleſiæ regnum auferre conatur.* P. Paſch. *Ep.* 7. *ad* Rob. *Fland. Com.*

Before that, Pope *Paſchal* II. deprived *Henry* IV. and excited enemies *to perſecute him*; telling them, that they could not *offer a more acceptable Sacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the Kingdom from God's Church.*

Anno 1088. *Fidelitatem enim quam Chriſtiano Principi jurârunt, Deo ejuſque Sanctis adverſanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate perſolvere. Cauſ.* 15. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 5. * *Si quis Imperator, Rex, Princeps —— contra hanc Conſtitutionem venire tentaverit —— poteſtatis honoriſque ſui dignitate careat ——* P. Urb. *II. Ep.* 12.

Before him, Pope *Urban* II. (called *Turban* by ſome in his Age) did preach this Doctrine, recommended to us in the Decrees, *that *Subjects are by no authority conſtrained to pay the Fidelity which they have ſworn to a Chriſtian Prince, who oppoſes God and his Saints, or violateth their Precepts.* An inſtance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the Canons of *Tours*; * *which* (ſaith he) *if any Emperour, King, Prince*, &c. *ſhall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power.*

But the great Apoſtle (if not Author) of this confounding Doctrine, was Pope *Gregory* VII. (a Man of a bold ſpirit and fiery temper, inured even before his Entry on that See, to bear ſway, and drive on daring projects, poſſeſſed with reſolution to uſe the Advantages of his place and time in puſhing forward the Papal Intereſt to the utmoſt,) who did *lift up his Voice like a Trumpet*, kindling Wars and Seditions thereby over Chriſtendom. His Dictates and Practices are well known, being iterated in his own Epiſtles, and in the *Roman* Councils under him, extant: Yet it may be worth the while to hear him ſwagger in his own language.

Vid. ejus dictata apud Bin. *poſt. Ep. l.* 2. *E.* 55. *Ep.* 4. 2. 8. 21. *& paſſim. Ep.* 1. 58. 2, 5, 12, 13, 18, 32. 3. 10. 4. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

Hâc itaque fiduciâ fretus, pro dignitate & tutelâ Eccleſiæ ſuæ Sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, & Spiritus S. Henricum Regem, Henrici quondam Imperatoris filium, qui audaciâ nimiùm & temerariè in Eccleſiam tuam manus injecit, Imperatoriâ adminiſtratione Regiâque dejicio; & Chriſtianos omnes Imperio ſubjectos juramento illo abſolvo quo fidem veris Regibus præſtare conſueverunt; dignum enim eſt, ut is honore careat, qui majeſtatem Eccleſiæ imminuere cauſatur. Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. & Tom.* 7. *Conc.* Rom 3. *apud* Bin. *p.* 464.

For the dignity and defence of God's Holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I depoſe from Imperial and Royal Adminiſtration King Henry, *Son of* Henry *ſometime Emperor, who too boldly and raſhly hath laid hands on thy Church; and I abſolve all Chriſtians ſubject to the Empire, from that Oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true Kings: for it is right, that he ſhould be deprived of Dignity, who doth endeavour to diminiſh the Majeſty of the Church.*

Agite igitur, Apoſtolorum ſanctiſſimi Principes, & quod dixi—— Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. Conc.* Rom. 7. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 491.

Go to therefore, moſt Holy Princes of the Apoſtles, and what I ſaid, by [illegible] *poſing your Authority, confirm; that all Men may now at length underſta*[illegible], *if ye can bind and looſe in Heaven, that ye alſo can upon Earth take away and give Empires, Kingdoms, and whatſoever Mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning theſe inferiour and profane things? And if it is your part to judge Angels, who govern proud Princes, what becometh it you to do toward their Servants? Let Kings now and all Secular Princes learn by this Man's example, what ye can do in Heaven, and in what eſteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to ſlight the commands of Holy Church: but put forth ſuddenly this judgment, that all Men may underſtand, that not caſually, but by your means, this Son of iniquity doth fall from his Kingdom.*

So did that Pope, not unadviſedly in heat or paſſion, but out of ſettled judgment, upon cool deliberation, expreſs himſelf in his Synods at *Rome*.

This

This Pope is indeed by many held the inventor and broacher of this ſtrange Doctrine; and even thoſe, who about his Age did oppoſe it, did expreſs themſelves of this mind; calling it *the novel Tradition, Schiſm, Hereſie of Hildebrand.*

Quod ex novella Traditione Hildebrandus...

Eccl. Leod. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 521.

Pope *Hildebrand* (ſaith the Church of *Liege*, in their anſwer to the Epiſtle of P. *Paſchal*) *is Author of this New Schiſm, and firſt did raiſe the Prieſt's Lance againſt the Royal Diadem — Who firſt did gird himſelf, and by his example other Popes, with the ſword of war againſt the Emperors.*

Hildebrandus P. author eſt hujus novelli Schiſmatis, & primus levavit ſacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni, lb. *p.* 522. *Qui primus ſe, & ſuo exemplo alios Pontifices, contra Imp. accinxit gladio belli.* Ibid. *p.* 523.

This only Novelty (ſaith *Sigebert*) *not to ſay Hereſie, had not yet ſprang up in the World, that the Prieſts of him * who ſaith to the King, Apoſtate, and who maketh Hypocrites to reign for the ſins of the People, ſhould teach the People, that they owe no ſubjection to bad Kings, and although they have ſworn Allegiance to the King, they yet owe him none; and that they who take part againſt the King, may not be ſaid to be perjured; yea, that he who ſhall obey the King, may be held excommunicate; he that ſhall oppoſe the King, may be abſolved from the crime of injuſtice and perjury.*

Hæc ſola Novitas, ne dicam Hæreſis, nondum in mundo emerſerat, ut Sacerdotes illius qui dicit Regi, Apoſtata, & qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, docerent populum, quòd malis Regibus nullam debeant ſubjectionem, & licèt ei Sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra Regem ſenſerint; imò, qui Regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra Regem fecerit, à nexa injuſtitiæ & perjurii abſolvatur. Sigeb. *Chron. Anno* 1088. * Job 34. 18, 30.

Indeed certain it is, that this Man did in moſt downright ſtrains hold the Doctrine, and moſt ſmartly apply it to practice; yet did he diſclaim the invention or introduction of it; profeſſing that he followed the notions and examples of his Predeceſſors, divers of which he alledgeth in defence of his proceedings. *We,* (ſaith he) *holding the Statutes of our Holy Predeceſſors, do by Apoſtolical authority abſolve thoſe from their Oath who are obliged by Fealty or Sacrament to excommunicate Perſons, and by all means prohibit that they obſerve Fealty to them.*

Nos, ſanctorum prædeceſſorum ſtatuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut ſacramento conſtricti ſunt, Apoſtolicâ auctoritate à ſacramento abſolvimus, & ne eis fidelitatem obſervent omnibus modis prohibemus. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 8. 21. *Cauſ.* 15. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 4.

And ſo it is, that (although for many ſucceſſions before Pope *Hildebrand* the Popes were not in condition or capacity to take ſo much upon them; there having been a row of Perſons intruded into that See, void of virtue, and of ſmall authority, moſt of them very Beaſts, who depended upon the favour of Princes for their admittance, confirmation or ſupport in the place; yet) we may find ſome Popes before him, who had a great ſpice of thoſe imperious conceits, and upon occaſion made very bold with Princes, aſſuming power over them, and darting menaces againſt them. For,

Pope *Leo* IX. telleth us, that *Conſtantine M. did think it very unbecoming, that they ſhould be ſubject to an Earthly Empire, whom the Divine Majeſty had ſet over an Heavenly:* and ſurely he was of his Author's mind, whom he alledged; although indeed this Pope may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak this, and other ſayings to that purpoſe, by ſuggeſtion of *Hildebrand*, by whom he was much governed.

Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio ſubdi, quos Divina Majeſtas præfecit cœleſti. P. Leo IX. *Ep.* 1. *c.* 12.

Plat. *in vita* Leon. IX.

Pope *Stephanus* VI. told the Emperor *Baſilius*, that *he ought to be ſubject with all veneration to the Roman Church.*

Quis te ſeduxit, ut Pontificem Oecumenicum ſcommatibus laceſſeres, & S. Romanam Eccleſiam maledictis inceſſeres, cui cum omni veneratione ſubditus eſſe debes? Steph. *VI. Ep.* 1. Baron. *Anno* 885. §. 11.

Pope *John* VIII. (or IX.) did pretend Obedience due to him from Princes; and in default thereof threatned to excommunicate them.

Anno 873. —— *cunctis venire per mobedientiam neglexiſtis.* Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 119. *deinceps excommunicamus omnes, &c.* Ibid.

Pope *Nicolas* I. caſt many imperious ſayings and threats at King *Lotharius*; theſe among others. *We do therefore by Apoſtolical authority, under obteſtation of the Divine judgment, injoin to thee, that in* Triers *and* Colen *thou ſhouldſt not ſuffer any Biſhop to be choſen, before a report be made to our Apoſtleſhip.* (Was not this *ſatis pro imperio?*) And again, *That being compelled thou mayſt be able*

Anno 865. *Idcirco Apoſtolicâ authoritate, ſub divini judicii obteſtatione, injungimus tibi, ut in*

to

Trevirenſi urbe & in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum ſuper hoc noſtro Apoſtolatui ſiat. Grat. Diſt. 63. cap. 4.

to repent, know, that very ſoon thou ſhalt be ſtruck with the Eccleſiaſtical Sword; ſo that thou mayſt be afraid any more to commit ſuch things in God's holy Church.

Ut ſaltem compulſus reſipiſcere valeas, noveris, te citiſſimè mucrone Eccleſiaſtico feriendum; ita ut ulteriùs talia in S. Dei Eccleſia perpetrare formides. P. Nic. I. Ep. 64.

And this he ſuggeſteth for right Doctrine, that Subjection is not due to bad Princes; perverting the Apoſtle's words to that purpoſe, *Be ſubject to the King as excelling, that is,* ſaith he, *in virtues, not in vices:* whereas the Apoſtle meaneth eminency in power.

Regi quaſi præcellenti, virtutibus ſcilicet, non vitiis, ſubditi eſſote. P. Nic. I. Epiſt. 4. append. p. 626.

Alius item Rom. Pontifex, Zacharias ſcilicet, Regem Francorum, non tam pro ſuis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quòd tantæ poteſtati erat inutilis, depoſuit —— omnéſque Francigenas à juramento fidelitatis quod illi —— Decret. 2 part. Cauſ. 15. q. 6.

Pope *Gregory* VII. doth alſo alledge Pope *Zachary, who* (ſaith he) *did depoſe the King of the* Franks, *and did abſolve all the* French *from the Oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not ſo much for his iniquities, as becauſe he was unfit for ſuch a Power.*

This indeed was a notable act of juriſdiction, if Pope *Gregory*'s word may be taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain, that Pope *Zachary* did only concur with the rebellious depoſers of King *Chilperick* in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

Anno 772. Generali decreto conſtituimus, ut exſecrandum Anathema ſit, & veluti prævaricator Catholicæ Fidei ſemper apud Deum reus exiſtat, quicunque Regum, ſeu Epiſcoporum, vel Potentum, deinceps Romanorum Pontificum Cenſuram in quocunque credideris, vel permiſerit violandam. P. Had. I. Capit. apud Grat. Cauſ. 25. qu. 1. cap. 11.

It was pretty briskly ſaid of Pope *Adrian* I. *We do by general decree conſtitute, that whatever King, or Biſhop, or Potentate, ſhall hereafter believe, or permit that the Cenſure of the Roman Pontifes may be violated in any caſe, he ſhall be an execrable Anathema, and ſhall be guilty before God as a betrayer of the Catholick Faith.*

Conſtitutiones contra Canones & decreta Præſulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti. Diſtinct. 10. cap. 4.

Conſtitutions againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhops of Rome, *or againſt good Manners, are of no moment.*

Anno 730. Tum Romanos tum Italos ab ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecit. Baron. *Anno* 730. § 40.

Before that, Pope *Gregory* II. becauſe the Eaſtern Emperor did croſs the worſhip of Images, did withdraw Subjection from him, and did thruſt his Authority out of *Italy. He* (ſaith *Baronius*) *did effectually cauſe both the* Romans *and* Italians *to recede from Obedience to the Emperor.*

Sic dignum poſteris reliquit exemplum, ne in Eccleſia Chriſti regnare ſinerentur hæretici Principes, ſi ſæpe moniti, in errore perſiſtere obſtinato animo invenirentur. Baron. ibid.

This was an act, in truth, of Rebellion againſt the Emperor, in pretence of Juriſdiction over him; for how otherwiſe could he juſtify or colour the fact? *So* (as *Baronius* reflecteth) *he did leave to poſterity a worthy example,* (forſooth) *that Heretical Princes ſhould not be ſuffered to reign in the Church of Chriſt, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in their error.*

Οὐ αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι Greg. II. Epiſt. 1. Bib. *Tom.* 5. p. 508.

And no wonder he then was ſo bold, ſeeing the Pope had obtained ſo much reſpect in thoſe parts of the World, that (as he told the Emperor *Leo* If.) *all the Kingdoms of the Weſt did hold Saint* Peter *as an earthly God:* of which he might be able to ſeduce ſome to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

Certum eſt rebus veſtris hic eſſe ſalutare, ut, cum de cauſis Dei agitur, juxta ipſius conſtitutionem, Regiam voluntatem Sacerdotibus Chriſti ſtudeatis ſubdere, non præferre —— &c. P. Felix III. (*Anno* 483.) diſt. [illegible] cap. 3.

This is the higheſt ſource, as I take it, to which this extravagant Doctrine can be driven. For that ſingle paſſage of Pope *Felix* III. though much ancienter, will not amount to it. *It is certain, that, in cauſes relating to God, 'tis the ſafeſt courſe for you, that, according to his inſtitution, ye endeavour to ſubmit the will of the King to the Prieſts,* &c.

For while the Emperor did retain any conſiderable Authority in *Italy*, the Popes were better adviſed than to vent ſuch notions, and while they themſelves did retain any meaſure of pious or prudent Modeſty, they were not diſpoſed to it. And we may obſerve divers Popes near that time in word and practice thwarting that practice. For inſtance,

Pope

Pope *Gelaſius*, a vehement ſtickler for Papal Authority, doth ſay to the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, *I, as being a* Roman *born, do love, worſhip, reverence thee as the* Roman *Prince.* And he ſaith, that *the Prelates of Religion* (*knowing the Empire conferr'd on him by Divine Providence*) *did obey his Laws.* And otherwhere he diſcourſeth, that *Chriſt had diſtinguiſhed by their proper acts and dignities the offices of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power*, that one ſhould not meddle with the other; ſo diſclaiming Temporal Power due to himſelf, being content to ſcrew up his Spiritual Authority.

Te, ſicut Romanus natus, Romanum Principem amo, colo, ſuſpicio. P. Gelaſ. 1. *Epiſt.* 6. (*ad* Anaſt. *Imp.*)

—— *cognoſcentes imperium tibi ſuperna diſpoſitione collatum, legibus tuis ipſi quoque parent religionis Antiſtites.* Ibid.

Chriſtus, diſpenſatione magnificâ temperans, ſic actionibus propriis dignitatibuſque diſtinctis officia Poteſtatis utriuſque diſcrevit, &c.

After him, as is well known, Pope *Gregory* I. (as became a pious and good man) did avow the Emperor for *his Lord, by God's gift ſuperior to all men, to whom he was ſubject, whom he in duty was bound to obey*; and ſuppoſed it a high preſumption for any one to *ſet himſelf above the honour of the Empire*, by aſſuming the title of Univerſal Biſhop.

Ad hoc poteſtas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data eſt ſuper omnes homines.

Ego indignus famulus veſter ——
Ego quidem juſſioni ſubjectus.
P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 2. 26.

Qui honori quoque Imperii veſtri ſe per privatum vocabulum ſuperponit. Ep. 4. 32.

After him, Pope *Agatho*, in the Acts of the ſixth General Council, doth call the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus his Lord*; doth avow *himſelf, together with all Preſidents of the Churches, ſervants to the Emperor*; doth ſay, that his See and his Synod were ſubject to him, and did own Obedience to him.

Anno 680.

Δεσπότ) τῷ τέκνῳ. *Act. Syn.* 6. *p.* 53.
Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τῆς βασιλέως. *p.* 304.
Ἡμέτερος δοῦλος. *p.* 32.
Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τῆς χριστιανικωτάτης ὑμῶν κράτους. *p.* 94.
Δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς θρόνος, *p.* 64.
Ἕνεκεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ὀφείλομεν. *p.* 33, 34.
Πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τέκνον. *Act. Syn. VI. p.* 303.
Ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβαινε. *Ibid. p.* 304.

Preſently after him, Pope *Leo* II. who confirmed that General Synod, doth call the Emperor *the prototype Son of the Church*; and acknowledgeth the body of Prieſts to be ſervants (*meaneſt ſervants*) *of his Royal Nobleneſs.*

After him, Pope *Conſtantine*, (the immediate Predeceſſor of Pope *Greg.* II.) when the Emperor did command him to come to *Conſtantinople*, *The moſt holy man*, ſaith *Anaſtaſius* in his Life, *did obey the Imperial Commands.*

Anno 709.

Miſit Imp. ad Conſtantinum P. ſacram, per quam juſſit eum ad Regiam aſcendere urbem; qui ſanctiſſ. vir juſſis imperialibus obtemperans —— Anaſt. *in vit.* P. Conſt.

Yea, Pope *Gregory* II. himſelf, before his defection, (when perhaps the circumſtances of time did not animate him thereto) did, in his Epiſtle to *Leo Iſaurus*, acknowledge him as Emperor to be *the Head of Chriſtians*, and himſelf conſequently ſubject to him.

Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. II. *ad* Leon. Is. *Ep.* 1. (p. 502.)

This *Gregory* therefore may be reputed the Father of that Doctrine, which, being foſtered by his Succeſſors, was by Pope *Gregory* VII. brought up to its robuſt pitch and ſtature.

I know, Pope *Gregory* VII. to countenance him, doth alledge Pope *Innocent* I. excommunicating the Emperor *Arcadius* for his proceeding againſt St. *Chryſoſtome*: and the Writers of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein. But ſeeing the Hiſtorians who lived in St. *Chryſoſtome*'s own time, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any ſuch thing; ſeeing that, being the firſt Act in the kind, muſt have been very notable, and have made a great noiſe; ſeeing that ſtory doth not ſuit with the tenor of proceedings, reported by thoſe moſt credible Hiſtorians in that caſe; ſeeing that it doth no-wiſe ſort to the condition and way of thoſe Times; that report cannot be true, and it muſt be numbred among the many fabulous narrations, deviſed by ſome wanton *Greeks*, to ſet out the Life of that excellent Perſonage.

Greg. VII. *Epiſt.* 8. 2.
Baron. *Anno* 407. §. 23.

Georg. Alex. *vit.* Chryſ. *cap.* 68.
Anon. *vit.* Chryſ. *cap.* 39.

Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

The ſame Pope doth alſo alledge St. *Gregory M.* denouncing Excommunication, and *Deprivation of honour, to all Kings, Biſhops, Judges*, &c. who ſhould violate the Privilege granted to the Monaſtery of St. *Medard*. But this (as are many ſuch Privileges) is a rank Forgery, unworthily impoſed on P. *Gregory*, (that prudent, meek and holy man) much to his wrong and diſgrace: which I will not be at trouble to confute, having ſhewed St. *Gregory* to have been of another judgment and temper than to behave himſelf thus towards Princes; and ſeeing that task is abundantly diſcharged by that very learned man, Monſieur *Launoy*.

Siquis autem Regum, Antiſtitum, Judicum, vel quarumcunque ſecularium perſonarum, hujus Apoſtolicæ auctoritatis & noſtra præceptionis decreta violaverit —— cujuſcunque dignitatis vel poteſtatis ſit, honore ſuo privetur ——
Greg. M. *poſt Epiſt.* 38. *libri* 2.

Epiſt. part VII.

Indeed (upon this occaſion to digreſs a little farther) it doth not ſeem to have been the opinion of the ancient Popes, that they might excommunicate their Sovereign Princes: for if they might, why did they forbear to exerciſe that power, when there was greateſt reaſon, and great temptation for it?

Why did not Pope *Julius* or Pope *Liberius* excommunicate *Conſtantius* the great Favourer of the *Arians*, againſt whom *Athanaſius*, St. *Hilary*, and *Lucifer Calar.* do ſo earneſtly inveigh, calling him Heretick, Antichriſt, and what not? How did *Julian* himſelf eſcape the cenſure of Pope *Liberius?* Why did not Pope *Damaſus* thunder againſt *Valens*, that fierce Perſecutor of Catholicks? Why did not *Damaſus* cenſure the Empreſs *Juſtina*, the Patroneſs of *Arianiſm?* Why did not Pope *Siricius* cenſure *Theodoſius* I. for that bloody fact, for which St. *Ambroſe* denied him the Communion? How was it that Pope *Leo* I. (that ſtout and high Pope) had not the heart to correct *Theodoſius Junior* in his way, who was the ſupporter of his adverſary *Dioſcorus*, and the obſtinate protector of the ſecond *Epheſine* Council, which that Pope ſo much deteſted? Why did not that Pope rather compel that Emperor to reaſon by cenſures, than ſupplicate him by tears? How did ſo many Popes connive at *Theodorick*, and other Princes profeſſing *Arianiſm* at their door? Wherefore did not Pope *Simplicius* or Pope *Felix* thus puniſh the Emperor *Zeno*, the ſupplanter of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, for which they had ſo much zeal? Why did neither Pope *Felix*, nor Pope *Gelaſius*, nor Pope *Symmachus*, nor Pope *Hormiſdas* excommunicate the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, (yea did not ſo much, Pope *Gelaſius* ſaith, as *touch his name*) for countenancing the Oriental Biſhops in their Schiſm and refractory Non-compliance with the Papal Authority? Thoſe Popes did indeed claſh with that Emperor, but they expreſly deny, that they did condemn him with others whom he did favour. *We* (ſaith Pope *Symmachus*) *did not excommunicate thee, O Emperor, but* Acacius. —— *If you mingle your ſelf, you are not excommunicated by us, but by your ſelf.* And, *If the Emperor pleaſeth to join himſelf with thoſe condemned,* (ſaith Pope *Gelaſius*) *it cannot be imputed to us.*

Quid ſibi vult autem, quod dixerit Imperator à nobis ſe in religione damnatum, cùm ſuper hac parte deceſſor meus non ſolùm minimè nomen ejus attigerit —— P. Gelaſ. 1. *Epiſt.* 4.

Nos te non excommunicavimus, Imperator ſed Acacium -- Si te miſces non à nobis, ſed à teipſo excommunicatus es. P. Symmachus I. *Ep.* 7. *Si iſti placet ſe miſcere damnatis, nobis non poteſt imputari.* P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 4.

Baron. *Anno* 503. §. 17. Wherefore *Baronius* doth ill, in affirming Pope *Symmachus* to have anathematized *Anaſtaſius:* whereas that Pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, yea, denied it even in thoſe words which are cited to prove it, being rightly read: for they are corruptly written in *Baronius* and *Binius*; *Ego* (which hath no ſenſe, or one contradictory to his former aſſertion) being put for *Nego*, which is good ſenſe, and agreeable to what he and the other Popes do affirm in relation to that matter.

Dicis quòd mecum conſpirante Senatu, excommunicaverim te. Iſta quidem ego (nego) ſed rationabiliter factum à deceſſoribus meis ſine dubio ſubſequor. P. Sym. *Epiſt.* 7

You ſay, that I excommunicated you by the joint conſent of the Senate. This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reaſon done by my Predeceſſors.

Why do we not read that any Pope formally did excommunicate, though divers did zealouſly contradict and oppoſe, the Princes who did reject Images? In fine, a noble Biſhop above 500 years ago did ſay, *I read and read again the Records of the Roman Kings and Emperors, and I no where find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his Kingdom by the Roman Pontife.*

Lego & relego Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum geſta, & nuſquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel Regno privatum. Otho Friſing. *Chron. lib.* 6. *cap.* 35.

Surely therefore the ancient Popes did either not know their Power, or were very negligent of their Duty.

Such have been the Doctrine and Behaviour of Popes in reference to their Power.

§. V. This Doctrine of the Pope's Univerſal Power over all Perſons in all Matters, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed the ſentiment of all Popes continually for a long time, even for more than 500 years unto this preſent day. For,

1. If this Doctrine be falſe, it implieth no ſlight Error, but one of a very high nature and moſt dangerous conſequence; which involveth great arrogance and iniquity, which tendeth to work enormous wrongs and grievous miſchiefs: whence, if any Pope ſhould conceive it falſe, he were bound openly to diſ-

claim,

claim, to condemn, to refute it; leſt the authority of his Predeceſſors, and of his connivance, ſhould induce others into it, or ſettle them in it; as it is (in regard to Pope *Honorius*) charged upon P. *Leo* II. *who did not, as it became the Apoſtolical Authority, extinguiſh the flame of Heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting cheriſh it.* In ſuch caſe a Pope muſt not be ſilent: For, *No ſmall danger* (ſaid P. *Gelaſius*) *lieth upon Popes in being ſilent about what agreeth to the ſervice of God:* and, *If* (ſaith P. *Paſchal*) *a Pope by his Silence doth ſuffer the Church to be polluted with the gall of bitterneſs and root of impiety, he ſhould no wiſe be excuſable before the Eternal Judge:* and *Error* (ſaith P. *Felix* III.) *which is not reſiſted,* (by thoſe in eminent office) *is approved; and Truth which is not defended, is oppreſſed:* and, *He is not free from ſuſpicion of a cloſe ſociety in miſchief, who ceaſeth to obviate it:* and, *We* (ſaith P. *Gregory* I.) *do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected.* But all Popes ſince the time ſpecified have either openly declared for this Doctrine; or have been ſilent, and ſo have avowed it by tacit conſent.

—*cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit Apoſtolicam authoritatem, incipientem extinxit, ſed negligendo confovit.* P. Leo II. *Ep.* 2.

Non leve deſcrimen incumbit Pontificibus ſiluiſſe pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit. P. Gelaſ. 1. *Epiſt* 8. (*ad* Anaſtaſ. *Imp.*)

Si vero noſtro ſilentio pateremur Eccleſiam felle amaritudinis & impietatis radice pollui, quâ ratione poſſemus apud æternum Judicem excuſari? P. Paſchal II. *Ep.* 3. (*ad* Anſelm. *Cant.*)

Error cui non reſiſtitur, approbatur, & veritas quæ minimè defenſatur, opprimitur. P. Felix III *Ep.* 1. (*ad* Acacium.)

Non caret ſcrupulo ſocietatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori deſinit obviare. Id. ibid.

Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda ſunt tacemus, valde delinquimus. P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 2. 37.

2. Any Pope diſapproving that Tenent, were bound to renounce communion with thoſe that hold and profeſs it; or at leaſt to check and diſcountenance it. But on the contrary they have ſuffered it to be maintained in their preſence and audience; and have hugged that ſort of Men with ſpecial favour, as their moſt affectionate and ſure friends: they have ſuſpected, diſcountenanced and frowned on thoſe who have ſhewed diſlike of it.

Thoſe Men indeed who vouch this Doctrine, may reaſonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the Popes, on purpoſe to gratifie and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it.

οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι. Rom. 1. 32. *They not only do the ſame, but have pleaſure in them that do them.*

3. The chief Authors and moſt zealous Abettors of theſe notions, (Popes, Synods, Doctors of the School) have continually paſſed for moſt authentick Maſters of Divinity, and have retained greateſt authority in the Church governed and guided by the Pope.

4. The Decrees containing them do ſtand in their Canon-Law, and in their Collections of Synods, without any caution or mark of diſlike; which is a ſufficient indication of their conſtant adherence to this Doctrine.

5. The common ſtyle of the Papal Edicts or Bulls doth import their ſenſe: which is imperious, in regard to all perſons without exception: *Let no Man* (ſay they) *preſume to infringe this our will and command,* &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even thoſe who have paſſed for the moſt wiſe and moderate among them) have been ready to practiſe according to thoſe principles, when occaſion did invite, and circumſtances of things did permit; interdicting Princes, abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, raiſing or encouraging Inſurrections; as appeareth by their tranſactions not long ſince againſt our Princes, and thoſe of *France*; which ſhews the very *See* imbued with thoſe Notions.

7. They do oblige all Biſhops moſt ſolemnly to avow this Doctrine, and to engage themſelves to practiſe according to it. For in the Oath preſcribed to all Biſhops they are required to avow, that *they will obſerve the Apoſtolical commands with all their power, and cauſe them to be obſerved by others*; that *they will aid and defend the Roman Papacy and the Royalties of Saint* Peter *againſt every Man*; that *they will to their power perſecute and impugn Hereticks, Schiſmaticks and Rebels to the Pope or his Succeſſors,* without any exception; which was I ſuppoſe chiefly meant againſt their own Prince, (if occaſion ſhould be;) together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment of and abetting the Pope's univerſal Domination.

Mandata Apoſtolica totis viribus obſervabo, & ab aliis obſervari faciam.

Papatum Romanum & Regalia S. Petri Deadjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum contra omnem hominem.

Hæreticos, Schiſmaticos & Rebellas eidem domino noſtro vel ſucceſſoribus prædictis pro poſſe perſequar & impugnabo.

Theſe horrible Oaths of Biſhops to the Pope, do ſeem to have iſſued from the ſame ſhop with the high *Hildebrandine* dictates: for the Oath in the Decretals is Greg. Decret. lib. 2. tit. 24. cap. 4. Concil.

Rom. *VI. apud* Bin. *p.* 489. is aſcribed to Pope *Gregory*, (I ſuppoſe *Greg.* VII.) And in the ſixth *Roman* Synod under *Greg.* VII. there is an Oath of like tenor exacted from the Biſhops of *Aquileia*; perhaps occaſionally, which in purſuance of that example might be extended to all.

Decret. Greg. lib. 1. *tit.* 6. *cap.* 4. And that before that time ſuch Oaths were not impoſed, doth appear from hence, that when P. *Paſchal* II. did require them from ſome great Biſhops, (the Biſhop of *Palermo*, and the Archbiſhop of *Poland*) they did wonder and boggle at it as an uncouth Novelty; nor doth the Pope in favour of his demand alledge any ancient precedent, but only propoſeth ſome odd reaſons, for it. *You have ſignified unto me, moſt dear Brother, that the King and his Nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an Oath with ſuch a condition ſhould be every where offered you by my Commiſſioners, and that you ſhould take that Oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you.*

Significâſti, frater chariſſime, Regem & Regni Majores admiratione permotos, quòd paſſim tibi ab Apocriſiariis noſtris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, ſi ſacramentum, quod à nobis ſcriptum detulerant, jurares, P. Paſch. *II. Epiſt.* 6.

§. VI. All *Romaniſts*, in conſiſtence with their Principles, do ſeem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the Pope's Univerſal Power. For, ſeeing many of their ſtanding Maſters and Judges of Controverſies have ſo expreſly from their Chair declared and defined it; all the Row for many Ages conſenting to it and countenancing it; not one of them having ſignified any diſſent or diſlike of it: And conſidering that, if in any thing they may require or deſerve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more skilful and credible than about the nature of their own Office? *What* (ſaith *Bellarmine* wiſely) *may they be conceived to know better than the Authority of their own See?* Seeing it hath been approved by their moſt great and famous Councils, which they hold Univerſal, and which their adored Synod of *Trent* doth alledge for ſuch, (the *Laterane* under P. *Innocent* III. that of *Lions* under P. *Innocent* IV. the other *Laterane* under P. *Leo* X.) Seeing it hath been current among their Divines of greateſt vogue and authority, the great Maſters of their School: Seeing by ſo large a conſent and concurrence, during ſo long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other Points of great importance) to be confirmed by Tradition or Preſcription: Why ſhould it not be admitted for a Doctrine of the Holy *Roman* Church, *the Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches?* How can they who diſavow this Notion, be true Sons of that Mother, or faithful Scholars of that Miſtreſs? How can they acknowledge any Authority in their Church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to aſſent?

Ipſis præcipuè debet eſſe nota ſuæ Sedis authoritas. Bell. 4. 3.

How can they admit the Pope for authentick Judge of Controverſies, or Maſter of Chriſtian Doctrine, or in any Point credible, who hath in ſo great a matter erred ſo foully, and ſeduced the Chriſtian World; whom they deſert in a Point of ſo great conſideration, and influence on practice; whom they, by vertue of their diſſent from him in this Opinion, may often be obliged to oppoſe in his proceedings?

How can they deny, that bad Doctrines might creep in, and obtain ſway in the Church, by the intereſt of the Pope and his Clients?

How can they charge Novelty or Heterodoxy on thoſe who refuſe ſome [illegible] ſtates of Popes, of Papal Councils, of Scholaſtick Divines, which ſtand upon no better grounds than thoſe on which this Doctrine ſtandeth?

Why hath no Synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Chriſtendom, clearly diſclaimed this Opinion; but all have let it ſlip, or have ſeemed by ſilence to approve it?

Yea, how can the Concord and Unity of that Church well conſiſt with a Diſſent from this Doctrine? For,

No Man apprehending it falſe, ſeemeth capable with good conſcience to hold Communion with thoſe who profeſs it: for, upon ſuppoſition of its falſhood, the Pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the higheſt violation of Divine Commands, and moſt enormous ſins, of Uſurpation, Tyranny, Impoſture, Perjury, Rebellion, Murther, Rapine, and all the Villanies complicated in the practical influence of this Doctrine.

It ſeemeth clear as the Sun, that if this Doctrine be an Error, it is one of the moſt pernicious Hereſies that ever was vented; involving the higheſt Impiety, and producing the greateſt Miſchief. For, If he that ſhould teach Adultery,

tery, Inceſt, Simony, Theft, Murther, or the like Crimes, to be lawful, would be a Heretick; how much more would he be ſuch, that ſhould recommend Perjury, Rebellion, Regicide, (things inducing Wars, Confuſions, Slaughters, Deſolations, all ſorts of Injuſtice and Miſchief) as Duties?

How then can any Man ſafely hold Communion with ſuch perſons? May we not ſay with P. *Symmachus*, that *to communicate with ſuch, is to conſent with them?* with P. *Gelaſius*, that *it is worſe than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?* and, that *He who communicateth with ſuch an Hereſie, is worthily judged to be removed from our ſociety?*

An communicare non eſt conſentire eum talibus? P. Sym. I. Ep. 7. Quaſi non ſit deterius, & non ignorâſſe veritatem, & ſtamen communicâſſe cum veritatis inimicis. P. Gelaſ. I. Ep. 1. Cuicunque hæreſi communicans meritò judicatur à noſtra ſocietate removendus. Id. ibid. Vide Ep. 13. p. 642.

§. VII. Yet ſo looſe and ſlippery are the Principles of the Party which is jumbled in adherence to the Pope, that divers will not allow us to take this Tenent of Infinite Power to be a Doctrine of their Church; for divers in that Communion do not aſſent to it.

For there is a ſort of Hereticks (as *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* call them) ſculking every-where in the boſom of their Church, all about Chriſtendom, and in ſome places ſtalking with open face, who reſtain *the Pope's Authority ſo far, as not to allow him any Power over Sovereign Princes in Temporal Affairs; much leſs any power of depriving them of their Kingdoms and Principalities.*

Altera non tam ſententia quàm hæreſis duo docet, primò Pontificem ut Pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem poteſtatem, nec poſſe ullo modo imperare Principibus ſecularibus, nedum eos regnis & principatu privare—— Bell. *V.* 1.

They are all branded for Hereticks, who take from the Church of Rome, *and the See of St.* Peter, *one of the two Swords, and allow only the Spiritual.* This Hereſie *Baronius* hath nominated the *Hereſie of the Politicks.*

Hæreſis errore notantur omnes qui ab Eccleſia Rom. cathedra Petri è duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec niſi ſpiritualem concedunt. Baron. *Anno* 1053. §. 14. *Hæreſis Politicorum.* Baron. *Anno* 1073. § 13.

This Hereſie a great Nation, otherwiſe ſticking to the *Roman* Communion, doth ſtiffly maintain, not enduring the Papal Sovereignty over Princes in Temporals to be preached in it.

There are many perſons, yea, Synods, who did oppoſe Pope *Hildebrand* in the birth of his Doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious Novelty, and branding it with the name of Hereſie: as we before ſhewed.

Since the *Hildebrandine* Age there have been in every Nation (yea in *Italy* it ſelf) divers Hiſtorians, Divines and Lawyers, who have in elaborate Tracts maintained the Royal Sovereignty againſt the Pontifical. Otto Friſing. Sigebert. Abbas Ubſp. Occam, Marſilius Patav. &c.

This ſort of Hereticks are now ſo much encreaſed, that the *Hildebrandine* Doctrine is commonly exploded. Which, by the way, ſheweth, that the *Roman* Party is no leſs than others ſubject to change its ſentiments; Opinions among them gaining and loſing vogue, according to circumſtances of time and contingencies of things.

§. VIII. Neither are the adherents to the *Roman* Church more agreed concerning the extent of the Pope's Authority even in Spiritual matters.

For although the Popes themſelves plainly do claim an abſolute Supremacy in [illegible] Church; although the ſtream of Divines who do flouriſh in favour with them doth run that way; although, according to their principles, (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed) that might ſeem to be the Doctrine of their Church: Yet is there among them a numerous party, which doth not allow him ſuch a Supremacy, putting great reſtraints to his Authority; (as we ſhall preſently ſhew.) And as the other party doth charge this with Hereſie, ſo doth this return back the ſame imputation on that.

§. IX. That their Doctrine is in this matter ſo various and uncertain, is no great wonder; ſeeing Intereſt is concerned in the queſtion, and Principles are defective toward the reſolution of it.

1. Contrary Intereſts will not ſuffer the Point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely diſputed on either hand.

On one hand, the Pope will not allow his Prerogatives to be diſcuſſed; according to that maxim of the great Pope *Innocent* III. *When there is a queſtion touching the Privileges of the Apoſtolick See, we will not that others judge about them.* Whence (as we before touched) the Pope did peremptorily com-

Cum ſuper privilegiis ſedis Apoſtolicæ cauſa vertatur, nolumus de ipſis per alios judicari. Greg. *Decr. lib.* 2. *tit.* 1. *c.* 12.

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mand his Legates at *Trent*, in no caſe to permit any diſpute about his Authority.

On the other hand, the *French* will not permit the Supremacy of their King in Temporals, or the Privileges of their Church in Spirituals, to be conteſted in their Kingdom. Nor, we may ſuppoſe, would any Prince admit a Deciſion prejudicial to his Authority and Welfare, ſubjecting and enſlaving him to the will of the *Roman* Court. Nor (we may hope) would any Church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppreſſion of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory eſtabliſhment of Papal Omnipotency.

2. Nor is it eaſie for their Diſſenſions to be reconciled upon Theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their Schools and Maſters of their Doctrine do in this caſe diſagree, but their Synods do notoriouſly claſh.

§. X. Yea even Popes themſelves have ſhifted their pretences, and varied in ſtyle, according to the different circumſtances of time, and their variety of humours, deſigns, intereſts.

In time of proſperity, and upon advantage, when they might ſafely do it, any Pope almoſt would talk high, and aſſume much to himſelf: but when they were low, or ſtood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldeſt Popes would ſpeak ſubmiſsly or moderately. As for inſtance, Pope *Leo* I. after the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod, when he had to do with *Theodoſius* II. did humbly ſupplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the Synod of *Chalcedon*, having got the Emperor favourable, and moſt of the Biſhops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may obſerve, that even Pope *Gregory* VII. who did ſwagger ſo boiſterouſly againſt the Emperor *Henry*, was yet calm and mild in his conteſts with our *William* the Conqueror, who had a ſpirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And Popes of high ſpirit and bold face, (ſuch as *Leo* I. *Gelaſius* I. *Nic.* I. *Gregory* II. *Gregory* VII. *Innocent* III. *Boniface* VIII. *Julius* II. *Paul* IV. *Sextus* V. *Paulus* V. *&c.*) as they did ever aſpire to ſcrue Papal authority to the higheſt peg; ſo would they ſtrain their language in commendation of their See as high as their times would bear. But other Popes of meeker and modeſter diſpoſition, (ſuch as *Julius* I. *Anaſtaſius* II. *Gregory* I. *Leo* II. *Adrian* VI. *&c.*) were content to let things ſtand as they found them, and to ſpeak in the ordinary ſtyle of their times; yet ſo, that few have let their Authority to go backward or decline.

We may obſerve, that the pretences and language of Popes have varied according to ſeveral periods, uſually growing higher as their State grew looſer from danger of oppoſition or controul.

In the firſt times, while the Emperors were Pagans, their pretences were ſuited to their condition, and could not ſoar high; they were not then ſo mad as to pretend to any Temporal Power, and a pittance of Spiritual Eminency did content them.

P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511, & 513.

When the Empire was divided, they could ſometimes be more haughty and peremptory; as being in the Weſt, ſhrowded under the wing of the Emperors there, (who commonly did affect to improve their Authority, in competition to that of other Biſhops) and at diſtance from the reach of the Eaſtern Emperor.

The cauſe of *Athanaſius* having produced the *Sardican* Canons, concerning the Reviſion of ſome cauſes by the Popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their authority, and raiſe their ſtyle; eſpecially in the Weſt, where they had great advantages of augmenting their Power.

When the Weſtern Empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the Empire which came under protection of the Eaſtern Emperors, rendring them able to do ſervice or diſſervice to thoſe Emperors, they, according to the ſtate of Times and the need of them, did talk more big, or more tamely.

Pope *Boniface* III. having by compliance with the Uſurper *Phocas* obtained a declaration from him concerning the Headſhip of the *Roman* Church, did make a conſiderable ſtep forward toward the height of Papal Greatneſs.

After that Pope *Greg.* II. had withdrawn *Italy* from the Oriental Empire, and *Rome* had grown in a manner looſe and independent from other ſecular powers;

powers; in the confuſions of the Weſt, the Pope interpoſing to arbitrate between Princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occaſion ſerved, for mutual aid and countenance, did grow in Power, and anſwerably did advance his pretences.

The ſpurious Decretal Epiſtles of the ancient Popes (which aſſerted to the Pope high degrees of Authority) being ſoiſted into mens hands, and inſenſibly creeping into repute, did inſpire the Pope with confidence to invade all the ancient Conſtitutions, Privileges and Liberties of Churches; and having got ſuch intereſt every where, he might ſay what he pleaſed, no Clergy-man daring to check or croſs him. Having drawn to himſelf the final deciſion of all Cauſes, having got a finger in diſpoſal of all Preferments, having by Diſpenſations, Exemptions and Grants of privileges tyed to him ſo many Dependants, what might not he ſay or do?

Pope *Gregory* VII. being a Man of untameable Spirit, and taking advantage from the diſtractions and corruptions of his Times, did venture to pull a feather with the Emperor; and with ſucceſs having mated him, did ſet up a peremptory claim to Sovereignty over all Perſons in all Cauſes.

In his footſteps his Succeſſors have trodden, being ever ready upon occaſion to plead ſuch a title, and to practiſe according to it. No Pope would foregoe any Power which had been claimed by his Predeceſſors; and Popes would ever be ſure to have dancers after their pipe, numberleſs abettors of their pretences.

No wonder then that perſons deferring much regard to the Authority of Popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them, (or of perſons depending on them) ſhould in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of Papal Authority; it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in ſeveral Ages continued the ſame thing.

§. XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to diſcuſs the pretended Authority of the Pope, and to ſhew that He by no Divine inſtitution, and by no Immutable right, hath any ſuch power as he doth claim; by reaſon of this perplexed variety of Opinions I do find it difficult to ſtate the Queſtion, or to know at what diſtinct mark I ſhould level my Diſcourſe.

§. XII. But ſeeing his pretence to any Authority in Temporals, or to the Civil Sword, is ſo palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a ſerious diſpute, having nothing but impudence and ſophiſtry to countenance it; ſeeing ſo many in the *Roman* Communion do reject it, and have ſubſtantially confuted it; ſeeing now moſt are aſhamed of it, and very few, (even among thoſe Sects, which have been its chief Patrons) will own it; ſeeing *Bellarmine* himſelf doth acknowledge it a Novelty, deviſed about 500 years ago in St. *Bernard*'s time; ſeeing the Popes themſelves, what-ever they think, dare now ſcarce ſpeak out, and forbear upon ſufficient provocation to practiſe according to it; I ſhall ſpare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my Diſcourſe to the Pope's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, the pretence whereto I am perſuaded to be no leſs groundleſs, and no leſs pernicious than the other to Chriſtendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as ſuperſtructed on it, muſt alſo neceſſarily fall.

Primi qui temporalem poteſtatem ſummo Pontifici ex Chriſti inſtitutione tribuunt, videntur eſſe Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c. Bell. 5. 5.

The firſt that yield the Pope Temporal power by Chriſt's Inſtitution, ſeem to be *Hugo*, &c.

§. XIII. And here the Doctrine which I ſhall conteſt againſt, is that in which the Cordial partizans of that See do ſeem to conſent, which is moſt common and current, moſt applauded and countenanced in their Theological Schools; which the Popes themſelves have ſolemnly defined, and declared for ſtanding law, or rule of juriſdiction; which their moſt authentick Synods (whereby their Religion is declared, and diſtinguiſhed from others) have aſſerted, or ſuppoſed; which the tenour of their Diſcipline and Practice doth hold forth; which their Clergy by moſt ſolemn profeſſions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the Clients and Confidents of *Rome* do zealouſly ſtand for (more than for any other point of Doctrine;) and which no man can diſclaim without being deemed an enemy, or a prevaricator toward the Apoſtolical See.

§. XIV. Which Doctrine is this, That (in the words of the *Florentine* Synod's Definition) *the Apoſtolical Chair and the Roman High-Prieſt doth hold a Primacy*

Ἔτι δείζομεν ἡ ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, &c. Concil. Flor. *defin.* p. 854.

Primacy over the Univerſal Church; and that the Roman High-Prieſt is the Succeſſor of St. Peter *the Prince of the Apoſtles; and the true Lieutenant of Chriſt, and the Head of the Church; and that he is the Father and Doctor of all Chriſtians; and that unto him in St.* Peter *full Power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the Catholick Church under Chriſt; according as is contained in the Acts of General Councils, and in the Holy Canons.*

Chriſtus —— migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in ſolidit ate Petræ Petrum ejúſque Succeſſores vicarios ſuos inſtituit, quibus ex libri Regum teſtimonio ità obedire neceſſe eſt, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur. P. Leo X. *in Conc.* Later. *Seſſ.* 11. p. 151.

That (in the words of Pope *Leo* X approved by the *Laterane* Synod) *Chriſt, before his departure from the world, did in ſolidity of the Rock inſtitute* Peter *and his Succeſſors, to be his Lieutenants, to whom it is ſo neceſſary to obey, that who doth not obey muſt die the death.*

That to the Pope as Sovereign Monarch, by Divine Sanction of the whole Church, do appertain Royal Prerogatives, (*Regalia Petri*, the Royalties of *Peter* they are called in the Oath preſcribed to Biſhops.) Such as theſe which follow;

To be Superior to the whole Church, and to its Repreſentative a General Synod of Biſhops. To convocate General Synods at his pleaſure; all Biſhops being obliged to attend, upon ſummons from him. To preſide in Synods, ſo as to ſuggeſt matter, promote, obſtruct, over-rule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their Determinations, giving life to them by his aſſent, or ſubtracting it by his diſſent. To define Points of Doctrine, or to decide Controverſies authoritatively; ſo that none may preſume to conteſt, or diſſent from his Dictates. To enact, eſtabliſh, abrogate, ſuſpend, diſpenſe with Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Canons. To relax or evacuate Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures by indulgence, pardon, *&c.* To void Promiſes, Vows, Oaths, Obligations to Laws by his Diſpenſation. To be the Fountain of all Paſtoral Juriſdiction and Dignity. To conſtitute, confirm, judge, cenſure, ſuſpend, depoſe, remove, reſtore, reconcile Biſhops. To confer Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Benefices by paramount Authority, in way of Proviſion, Reſervation, *&c.* To exempt Colleges, Monaſteries, *&c.* from Juriſdiction of their Biſhops and ordinary Superiors. To judge all perſons in all Spiritual Cauſes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating Judges for them; with a final and peremptory Sentence. To receive Appeals from all Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories; and to reverſe their Judgments, if he findeth cauſe. To be himſelf unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, aboliſh Epiſcopal Sees. To exact Oaths of Fealty and Obedience from the Clergy. To found Religious Orders; or to raiſe a Spiritual *Militia* for propagation and defence of the Church. To ſummon and commiſſionate Soldiers by Croiſade, *&c.* to fight againſt Infidels, or perſecute Infidels.

Bell. 4. 22.

Some of theſe are expreſſed, others in general terms couched in thoſe words of P. *Eugenius*, telling the *Greeks* what they muſt conſent unto. *The Pope* (ſaid he) *will have the Prerogatives of his Church; and he will [illegible] Appeals to him; and to feed all the Church of Chriſt, as Shepherd of the [illegible] preſide in theſe things, that he may have authority and power to convoke [illegible] Synods when need ſhall be; and that all the Patriarchs do yield to [illegible]*

Θέλει τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ποιμαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸ κεφ[illegible] ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἵνα [illegible] καὶ σύνοδον συναθροίζειν, ὅτε δέῃσει· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπείκ[illegible] Concil. Flor. p. 8[illegible]

That the Pope doth claim, aſſume and exerciſe a Sovereignty [illegible] Church endowed with ſuch Prerogatives, is ſufficiently viſible in [illegible] of fact, is apparent by the authoriſed Dictates in their Canon-law, and ſhall be diſtinctly proved by competent allegations, when we ſhall examine the branches of this pretended Authority.

In the mean time it ſufficeth to obſerve, that in effect all Clergy-men do avow ſo much, who *bonâ fide* and without prevarication do ſubmit to take the Oaths and Engagements preſcribed to them of courſe by Papal appointment. For this ſurely, according to the Pope's meaning, (by which their obligation is to be meaſured) is deſigned in the profeſſion ordained by Pope *Pius* IV. wherein every beneficed Clergy-man is enjoined to ſay, *And I do promiſe and ſwear true Obedience to the Roman Pontife, the Succeſſor of St.* Peter *and Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt.* Which profeſſion

—— Romano Pontifici, B. Petri ſucceſſori, ac Jeſu Chriſti Vicario, veram obedientiam ſpondeo ac juro. Bull. Pii IV. ſuper forma juram.

profeſſion was appointed in purſuance of a Sanction made by the *Trent* Council, that all ſuch perſons *ſhould vow and ſwear to abide in Obedience to the Roman Church*; and conſequently, how hard ſoever its Yoke ſhould be, they would not ſhake it off: which inferreth moſt abſolute Sovereignty of that Church, or of the Pope, who ruleth the roaſt in it.

Proviſi de beneficiis —— in Romanæ Eccleſiæ obedientia ſe permanſuros ſpondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. *Seſſ.* 24. *cap.* 12.

But what that *true Obedience* doth import, or how far the Papal Authority in the Pope's own ſenſe, and according to the publick ſpirit of that Church, doth ſtretch, is more explicitly ſignified in the Oath which all Biſhops at their Conſecration, and all Metropolitans at their Inſtalment, are required to take; the which, as it is extant in the *Roman* Pontifical, ſet out by order of Pope *Clement* VIII. doth run in theſe terms.

Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. *Anno* 1626. *p.* 59. & *p.* 86.

I *N.* Elect *of the Church of N.* from henceforward will be faithful *and obedient* to St. *Peter the Apoſtle*, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, *the Lord N.* Pope N. and to his Succeſſors canonically coming in. I will neither adviſe, *conſent*, or do any thing that they may loſe life or member, or that their Perſons may be ſeized, *or hands any-wiſe laid upon them, or any injuries offer'd to them under any pretence whatſoever.* The counſel which they ſhall intruſt me withal, by themſelves, *their Meſſengers* or Letters, I will not *knowingly* reveal to any, to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, *and the Royalties of St.* Peter, ſaving my Order, againſt all Men. The Legate of the Apoſtolick See, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his neceſſities. *The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his foreſaid Succeſſors, I will endeavour to preſerve, defend, increaſe and advance. I will not be in any counſel, action or treaty, in which ſhall be plotted againſt our ſaid Lord, and the ſaid Roman Church any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their perſons, right, honour, ſtate or power; and if I ſhall know any ſuch thing to be treated or agitated by any whatſoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as ſoon as I can, will ſignifie it to our ſaid Lord, or to ſome other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apoſtolick decrees, ordinances or diſpoſals, reſervations, proviſions and mandates I will obſerve with all my might, and cauſe it to be obſerved by others. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels to our ſaid Lord or his foreſaid Succeſſors, I will to my power perſecute and oppoſe.* I will come to a Council when I am call'd, unleſs I be hinder'd by a Canonical impediment. I will by my ſelf in perſon viſit the thresholds of the Apoſtles every *three* years; *and give an account to my Lord and his foreſaid Succeſſors, of all my Paſtoral Office, and of all things any wiſe belonging to the ſtate of my Church, to the diſcipline of my Clergy and People, and laſtly to the ſalvation of Souls committed to my truſt; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apoſtolick commands. And if I be detain'd by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforeſaid* by a certain Meſſenger *hereto ſpecially impower'd, a member of my Chapter, or ſome other of Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, or elſe having a Parſonage; or in default of theſe, by a Prieſt of the Dioceſe; or in default of one of the Clergy* [*of the Dioceſe*] *by ſome other Secular or Regular Prieſt of approved Integrity and Religion, fully inſtructed in all things abovementioned. And ſuch impediment I will make out by lawful Proofs, to be tranſmitted by the foreſaid Meſſenger to the Cardinal Proponent of the Holy Roman Church, in the Congrega-*

Ego N. Electus *Eccleſiæ N.* ab hac hora in antea fidelis & *obediens* ero B. Petro *Apoſtolo*, Sanctæque Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Domino noſtro, *Domino N.* Papæ N. ſuiſque Succeſſoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in conſilio, *aut conſenſu*, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; ſeu capiantur mala captione; *aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæſito colore.* Conſilium verò quod mihi credituri ſunt, per ſe, *aut Nuncios ſuos*, ſeu literas, ad eorum damnum, *me ſciente*, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & *Regalia Sancti Petri* adjutor eis ero ad defendendum & retinendum, ſalvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ Sedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè tractabo & in ſuis neceſſitatibus adjuvabo. *Jura, honores, privilegia, & auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Domini noſtri Papæ & Succeſſorum prædictorum, conſervare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in conſilio, vel facto, ſeu tractatu in quibus contra ipſum Dominum noſtrum, vel eandem Romanam Eccleſiam aliqua ſiniſtra vel præjudicialia perſonarum, juris, honoris, ſtatûs & poteſtatis eorum machinentur. Et ſi talia a quibuſcunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro poſſe, & quanto citius potero ſignificabo eidem Domino noſtro, vel alteri per quem poſſit ad ipſius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, ſeu diſpoſitiones, reſervationes, proviſiones & mandata Apoſtolica totis viribus obſervabo, & faciam ab aliis obſervari. Hæreticos, Schiſmaticos & Rebelles eidem Domino noſtro vel Succeſſoribus prædictis pro poſſe perſequar & impugnabo.* Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonicâ præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis triennijs perſonaliter per me ipſum viſitabo, & *Domino noſtro ac Succeſſoribus* præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo paſtorali officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Eccleſiæ ſtatum, ad cleri, & populi diſciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ ſunt ſalutem quovis modo pertinentibus, & vicissim mandata Apoſtolica humiliter recipiam & quàm diligentiſſimè exequar. Quod ſi legitimo impedimento detentus fuero, præfata omnia adimplebo per Certum Nuncium ad hoc ſpeciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutum, ſeu alias perſonatum habentem, aut [illegible] defectionem, per diœceſanum Sacerdotem & clerg defuncta curiæ, per aliquem alium Presbyterum ſæcularem vel regularem ſpectatæ probitatis & religionis, de ſuprædictis omnibus plene inſtructum. De hujuſmodi autem impedimento, dicebo per legitimas probationes ad [illegible] Eccleſiæ Cardinalem Proponentem Congregationis Sacri Concilii per præfatum Nuncium tranſmittendas. [illegible] pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo, neque impignorabo, nec alio modo alienabo, etiam cum conſenſu Capituli Eccleſiæ meæ, præſente Romano Pontifice. Et ſi ad aliquam alienationem devenire [illegible]*

tion

in quadam ſuper hoc edita conſtitutione contentas eo ipſo incurrere volo. Sic me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.

tion of the Sacred Council. The Poſſeſſions belonging to my Table I will neither ſell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wiſe alienate, no not even with the conſent of the Chapter of my Church, without conſulting the Roman Pontife. And if I ſhall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the Penalties contain'd in a certain Conſtitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and the Holy Goſpels of God.

Such is the Oath preſcribed to Biſhops, the which is worth the moſt ſerious attention of all Men, who would underſtand how miſerably ſlaviſh the condition of the Clergy is in that Church, and how inconſiſtent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their Prince.

Gregor. *Decret. lib.* 2. *tit.* 24. *cap.* 4.

And in peruſing it we may note, that the clauſes in a different character are not in the more ancient Oath extant in the *Gregorian* Decretals: by which it appeareth how the Pope doth more and more enlarge his Power, and ſtraiten the bands of Subjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new Oath hath changed thoſe words *REGULAS SANCTORUM PATRUM* into *REGALIA SANCTI PETRI*, i. e. *THE RULES OF THE HOLY FATHERS* into *THE ROYALTIES OF SAINT PETER.*

§. XV. I know there are within the *Roman* Communion great ſtore of Divines, who do contract the Papal Sovereignty within a much narrower compaſs, refuſing to him many of thoſe Prerogatives, yea ſcarce allowing to him any of them.

There are thoſe who affirm the Pope, in Doctrine and Diſcipline, ſubject to the Church, or to a General Synod repreſenting it. Which opinion thwarteth a propoſition, in *Bellarmine*'s opinion, *e'en almoſt an Article of Faith:* but to be even with him, they do hold his propoſition to be quite heretical: *The Pope is ſimply and abſolutely above the Univerſal Church — this propoſition is almoſt an Article of Faith,* ſaith *Bellarmine:* The Cardinal of *Lorrain* on the contrary, *But I* (ſaith he) *cannot deny but that I am a French man, and bred up in the Church of* Paris, *which teaches that the Roman Pontife is ſubject to a Council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as Hereticks.*

Summus Pontifex ſimpliciter & abſolutè eſt ſupra Eccleſiam Univerſam; — hæc propoſitio eſt ferè de fide. Bell. *de Conc.* 2. 17.

Ego verò negare non poſſum quin Gallus ſim, & Pariſienſis Eccleſiæ alumnus, in quâ Rom. Pontificem ſubeſſe concilio tenetur, & qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. Card. Loth. *apud* Laun. *Ep.* 1. 1.

There are thoſe who affirm the Pope, if he undertake Points of Faith without aſſiſtance of a General Synod, may teach Hereſie: (* which opinion, as *Bellarmine* thought, doth *cloſely border on Hereſie:*) And thoſe who conceive that Popes may be, and have been Hereticks; whence Chriſtians ſometimes are not obliged to admit their Doctrine, or obſerve their pleaſure.

* *Quæ ſententia videtur omnino erronea & hæreſi proxima.* Bell. 4. 2.

There are thoſe who maintain the Pope, no leſs than other Biſhops, ſubject to the Canons, or bound to obſerve the Conſtitutions of the Church; that he may not infringe them, or over-rule againſt them, or diſpenſe with them: and that to him attempting to do ſo obedience is not due.

There are thoſe who maintain, that the Pope cannot ſubvert or violate the Rights and Liberties of particular Churches, ſettled in them agreeably to ancient Canons of the Church Univerſal.

There are thoſe who aſſert to General Councils a power of Reformation Church, without or againſt the Pope's conſent.

There are thoſe who (as *Bellarmine* telleth us) do allow the Pope to be more in the Eccleſiaſtical Republick, than as the Duke of *Venice* in his [illegible] nate, or as the General of an Order in his Congregation; and that he therefore hath but a very limited and ſubordinate Power.

There are conſequently thoſe who conceive the Pope notoriouſly erring, or miſdemeaning himſelf to the prejudice of the Chriſtian State, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be diſcarded by a General Synod.

Such notions have manifeſtly prevailed in a good part of the *Roman* Communion, and are maintained by moſt Divines in the *French* Church; and they may be ſuppoſed every-where common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the Inquiſition doth not reign.

There have been ſeaſons wherein they have ſo prevailed, as to have been defined for Catholick Truths in great Synods, and by them have been applied to practice. For,

In

In the firſt great Synod of *Piſa* it was declared, that Councils may *reform the Church ſufficiently both in Head and Members:* and accordingly that Synod did aſſume to judge two Popes (*Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII.) contending for the Papacy, (whereof one was the true Pope) and depoſing them both, did ſubſtitute *Alexander* V. *who for one year* (as *Antoninus* reporteth) *according to the common opinion, did hold the Seat of* Peter.

Anno 1409. *Conc.* Piſ. *Seſſ.* 16, 17.

Qui anno uno ſedem Petri tenuit, ſecundum communem opinionem. Anton. de Concil. Piſ. cap. 5. §. 3.

The Synod of *Conſtance* declared, that *the Synod lawfully aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt, making a General Council repreſenting the Catholick Church militant, hath immediately power from Chriſt; to which every one, of whatever ſtate or dignity he be, although it be Papal, is bound to obey in thoſe things which belong to Faith, and the extirpation of (the ſaid) Schiſm, and the general reformation of the Church of God in Head and Members.*

Primò declarat quòd ipſa Synodus, &c. Seſſ. 4, & 5.

The which Doctrine they notably put in practice, exerciſing juriſdiction over Popes, and for Errors, Miſdemeanors, or Contumacies diſcarding three, (of whom it is hard if one were not true Pope) and chuſing another, who afterward did paſs for a right Pope, and himſelf did confirm the Acts of that Counceil. (So that this Semi-hereſie hath at leaſt the authority of one Pope to countenance it.) *Our moſt holy Lord the Pope ſaid in anſwer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably obſerve all and every of thoſe things that were conciliarly determin'd, concluded and decreed by the preſent Council in matters of Faith.*

Sanctiſſ. Dominus noſter Papa dixit, reſpondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia & ſingula determinata, concluſa & decretà in materiis fidei per præſens concilium conciliariter tenere, & inviolabiliter obſervare volebat. Conc. Conſt. *Seſſ.* 45. *p.* 1119.

The Synod of *Baſil* declared the ſame Point, *that Councils are ſuperior to Popes, to be a truth of Catholick Faith, which whoever doth ſtiffly oppoſe, is to be accounted a Heretick: Nor* (ſay they) *did any skilful Man ever doubt the Pope to be ſubject to the judgment of General Synods in things concerning Faith. In vertue of which Doctrine, and by its irreſiſtible authority,* the Synod did ſentence and reject Pope *Eugenius* as criminal, heretical and contumacious.

Veritas de poteſtate Concilii ſupra Papam—— eſt veritas fidei Catholicæ—— cui pertinaciter repugnans eſt cenſendus hæreticus. Conc. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 33. (*p* 95)

Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, ſummum Pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt, judicio earundem generalium Synodorum eſſe ſubjectum. Concil. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 45. *p.* 117.

Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili & inexpugnabili auctoritate —— Seſſ. 38. *p.* 101.

Theſe Synods, although reprobated by Popes * in Counter-ſynods, are yet by many *Roman* Catholick Divines retained in great veneration; and their Doctrine is ſo current in the famous *Sorbonne*, that (if we may believe the great Cardinal of *Lorrain*) the contrary is there reputed *heretical.*

* (*Concil. Later. &c.*)

Ego verò negare non poſſum &c.

§. XVI. Yet notwithſtanding theſe oppoſitions, the former Opinion averring the Pope's abſolute Sovereignty, doth ſeem to be the genuine Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, if it hath any.

For thoſe Divines, by the Pope and his intimate Confidents, are looked upon as a mongrel brood, or mutinous faction; which he by politick connivance doth only *tolerate*, becauſe he is not well able to correct or ſuppreſs them. He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his ſenſe, leſt he ſpend his artillery in vain, and loſe all his power and intereſt with them.

Nam adhuc videmus ab Eccleſia tolerari, qui eam ſententiam ſequuntur—— Bell. 4. 1.

Indeed do thoſe Men ſeem to adhere to the *Roman* Party out of entire or cordial affection; but in compliance with their Princes, or upon ſome of their Intereſt, or at beſt with regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the Pope, becauſe his Intereſt is twiſted with their own, is not eaſily to be diſentangled.

But how can they heartily ſtick to the Pope, whenas their Opinion doth plainly imply him to be an Uſurper and a Tyrant, (claiming to himſelf, and exerciſing authority over the Church, which doth not rightfully belong to him;) to be a Rebel and a Traitor againſt the Church, (invading and poſſeſſing the Sovereignty due to it; for ſuch queſtionleſs the Duke of *Venice* would be, ſhould he challenge and aſſume to himſelf ſuch a Power over his Commonwealth, as the Pope hath over Chriſtendom;) to be an Impoſtor and Seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he hath not.

How can they honeſtly condemn thoſe who (upon ſuch grounds) do ſhake off ſuch yokes, refuſing to comply with the Pope, till he correct his Errors, till he deſiſt from thoſe Uſurpations and Impoſtures, till he reſtore to the Church its Rights and Liberties?

How are the Doctrines of thoſe Men conſiſtent or congruous to their practice? For they call the Pope Monarch of the Church, and Univerſal Paſtor of Chriſtians, by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his Laws, and reject Doctrines which he teacheth, particularly thoſe which moſt nearly touch him, concerning his own Office and Authority. They profeſs themſelves his loyal Subjects, yet pretend Liberties which they will maintain againſt him. They hold that all are bound to entertain Communion with him, yet confeſs that he may be heretical, and ſeduce into Error. They give him the name and ſhadow of a Supremacy, but ſo that they void the ſubſtance and reality thereof.

Manifeſtum autem Schiſmatis argumentum eſt, cùm quis ſe communioni ſubtrahit Apoſtolicæ ſedis. Baluſ. *not. ad* Agobard. *p.* 112.

It is a manifeſt Argument of Schiſm, when a Man withdraws himſelf from Communion with the Apoſtolick See.

In fine, where ſhould we ſeek for the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, but at *Rome*, or from *Rome* it ſelf, where theſe Doctrines are Heterodoxies?

§. XVII. We ſhall not therefore have a diſtinct regard to the Opinion of theſe *Semi-Romaniſts*; nor conſider them otherwiſe, than to confirm that part of Truth which they hold, and to confute that part of Error which they embrace; allowing, at leaſt in word and ſemblance, more power to the Pope, than we can admit as due to him. Our diſcourſe ſhall be levelled at him as ſuch as he pretendeth himſelf to be, or as aſſuming to himſelf the forementioned Powers and Prerogatives.

§. XVIII. Of ſuch vaſt Pretences we have reaſon to require ſufficient Grounds. He that demandeth aſſent to ſuch important Aſſertions, ought to produce clear proofs of them: He that claimeth ſo mighty Power, ſhould be able to make out a good Title to it; for *No Man may take this* (more than Pontifical) *honour to himſelf, but he that is called by God, as was* Aaron. *They are worthily to be blamed, who tumultuouſly and diſorderly fall upon curbing or reſtraining thoſe, who by no law are ſubject to them.*

Heb. 5. 4.

Jure culpandi ſunt, qui turbidè atque inordinatè in eos coërcendos inſiliunt, qui nullâ ſibi lege ſubjecti ſunt. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 17.

We cannot well be juſtified from a ſtupid Eaſineſs, in admitting ſuch a Lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not ſee exhibited to us manifeſt and certain Patents aſſuring its Commiſſion to us. We ſhould love the Church better, than to yield up its Liberty to the will of a Pretender, upon ſlight or no ground. Their boldly claiming ſuch a Power, their having ſometime uſurped ſuch a Power, will not excuſe them or us. Nor will precarious Aſſumptions, or ſubtil Diſtinctions, or blind Traditions, or looſe Conjectures ſerve for probations in ſuch a caſe.

Nemo ſibi & profeſſor & teſtis eſt. Tertul. *l.* 1. *adv.* Marc.

None can be both a Claimer and a Witneſs for himſelf.

§. XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk: wherefore for ſatisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St. *Peter*; affirming that on him by our Lord there was inſtated a Primacy over his brethren, all the Apoſtles and the Diſciples of our Lord, importing all the Authority which they claim; and that from him this Primacy was devolved by ſucceſſion to the Biſhops of *Rome*, by right indefectible for all future Ages.

Which Plea of theirs doth involve theſe main Suppoſitions,

I. *That St.* Peter *had a Primacy over the Apoſtles.*

II. *That St.* Peter's *Primacy with its Rights and Prerogatives was* [illegible] *but derivable to his Succeſſors.*

III. *That St.* Peter *was Biſhop of* Rome.

IV. *That St.* Peter *did continue Biſhop of* Rome, *after his Tranſlatio* [illegible] *ſo at his deceaſe.*

V. *That the Biſhops of* Rome (*according to God's Inſtitution, and by* [illegible] *right derived thence*) *ſhould have an Univerſal Supremacy and Juriſdiction over the Chriſtian Church.*

VI. *That in fact the* Roman *Biſhops, continually from St.* Peter's *time, have enjoyed and exerciſed this Sovereign Power.*

VII. *That this Power is indefectible and unalterable.*

The Truth and Certainty of theſe Propoſitions we ſhall in order diſcuſs; ſo that it may competently appear, whether thoſe who diſclaim theſe Pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of Hereſie and Schiſm; or they rather are liable to the imputations of Arrogancy and Impiety, who do obtrude and urge them.

A TREATISE OF THE Pope's Supremacy.

MATTH. X. 2.

Now the Names of the twelve Apoſtles were theſe; the firſt, Simon, *who is called* Peter. Πρῶτος Σίμων.

AMONG the Modern Controverſies, there is ſcarce any of greater conſequence, than that about Univerſal Supremacy, which the Biſhop of *Rome* claimeth over the Chriſtian Church; the aſſertion whereof on his ſide dependeth upon divers *Suppoſitions*; namely theſe.

I. *That Saint* Peter *by our Lord's appointment had a Primacy, implying a Sovereignty of Authority and Juriſdiction over the Apoſtles.*

II. *That the Rights and Prerogatives of this Sovereignty were not perſonal, but derivable, and tranſmitted to Succeſſors.*

III. *That Saint* Peter *was Biſhop of* Rome.

IV. *That Saint* Peter *did continue Biſhop of* Rome *after his Tranſlation, and was ſo at his Deceaſe.*

V. *That hence of Right to the Biſhops of* Rome, *as Saint* Peter's *Succeſſors, an Univerſal Juriſdiction over the whole Church of* Chriſt *doth appertain.*

VI. *That in Fact the ſaid Biſhops continually from Saint* Peter's *time, have enjoyed and exerciſed this Power.*

VII. *That this Power is indefectible; ſuch as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the diſcuſſion and reſolution of the firſt Point, I ſhall treat upon the Primacy of Saint *Peter*; endeavouring to ſhew what Primacy he was capable might enjoy; what he could not pretend to, nor did poſſeſs.

SUPPOSITION I.

The firſt *Suppoſition* of thoſe who claim Univerſal Juriſdiction to the [illegible] over the Church, is, *That Saint* Peter *had a Primacy over the Apoſtles.*

In order to the reſolution of this Point, we may conſider, that there are ſeveral kinds of Primacy, which may belong to a Perſon in reſpect of others: for there are,

1. *A Primacy of Worth, or Perſonal Excellency.*
2. *A Primacy of Reputation and Eſteem.*
3. *A Primacy of Order, or bare Dignity and Precedence.*
4. *A Primacy of Power or Juriſdiction.*

To

To each of theſe what Title Saint *Peter* might have, let us in order examine.

I. As for the firſt of theſe (*a Primacy of Worth, or Merit*, as ſome of the Ancients call it) we may well grant it to Saint *Peter*, admitting that probably he did exceed the reſt of his Brethren in perſonal Endowments and Capacities, (both natural and moral) qualifying him for the diſcharge of the Apoſtolical Office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickneſs of apprehenſion, in boldneſs of ſpirit, in readineſs of ſpeech, in charity to our Lord, and zeal for his Service, in reſolution, activity and induſtry he was tranſcendent, may ſeem to appear by the tenour of the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Hiſtories; in the which we may obſerve him upon all occaſions ready to ſpeak firſt, and to make himſelf *the mouth* (as the *Fathers* ſpeak) of the Apoſtles, in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onſet; being παντὸς θερμὸς, *always hot* and eager, always *prompt* and vigorous, as St. *Chryſoſtom* often affirmeth concerning him: theſe things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiſs to ſet down ſome inſtances.

Εὐπερίεργος γὰρ ἀεί πως ἦν ἄνθρωπος, κεκινημένος καὶ μετείσης εἰς τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν περθυμίαν. Cyrill. *in* Joh. 21. 15. He was a very active and ſtirring man, exceedingly ſpurr'd on with much promptneſs and alacrity in doing and ſpeaking.

Παντὸς ἐνείσης ὑπὸ πόθε ὁρμῶν. Chryſ. *in* Joh. Or. 12. (13. 24.)

Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ ἀγάπη ἐμφαίνει θερμότητα. Chryſoſt. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 59.

When our Lord obſerving the different apprehenſions men had concerning him, asked the Apoſtles, *but whom ſay ye that I am*, up ſtarteth he, προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνει, *he ſkippeth forth, and preventeth the reſt*, crying, *Thou art the Chriſt, the Son of the living God.* The other Apoſtles were not ignorant of the Point; for they at their Converſion did take *Jeſus* for the *Meſſias*, which (even according to the common Notion of the *Jews*) did imply his being the Son of God; *Nathanael* (that is, Saint *Bartholomew*, as is ſuppoſed) had in terms confeſſed it; the whole company, upon ſeeing our Lord walk on the Sea, had avowed it; Saint *Peter* before that, in the name of them all had ſaid, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν, *We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Chriſt, the Son of the living God.* They therefore had the ſame Faith, but he from a ſpecial alacrity of ſpirit, and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it; *He was more hot* (ſaith St. *Greg. Naz.*) *than the reſt at acknowledging Chriſt.*

Matt. 16. 16.

Licèt cæteri Apoſtoli ſciant, Petrus tamen reſpondet pro cæteris. Ambr. *in* Luc. *lib.* 6. *cap* 9.

Joh. 1. 42. 46. Matt. 26. 63. Joh. 1. 50. Matt. 14. 33.

Joh. 6. 69.

Θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν χριστοῦ, Greg. Naz. Or. 34.

When our Saviour walked on the Sea, who but He had the Faith and the Courage to venture on the Waters towards him?

Matt. 14. 28.

When our Lord was apprehended by the Soldiers, preſently up was his ſpirit, and out went his Sword in defence of him.

Joh. 18. 10.

When our Lord predicted, that upon his coming into trouble all the Diſciples would be offended, and deſert him; he was ready to ſay, *Though all men ſhould be offended becauſe of thee, yet will I never be offended*; and, *Though I ſhould die with thee, yet will I not deny thee*; ſuch was his natural courage and confidence.

Matt. 26. 33, 35. Joh. 13. 37.

When our Lord was diſcourſing about his Paſſion, he ſuddenly [illegible] adviſing in the caſe, and urging him *to ſpare himſelf*; upon which [illegible] *ſtom* biddeth us to *conſider, not that his anſ[illegible] adviſed, but that it came from a genuine and [illegible] fection.*

Matt. 16. 22.

Μὴ τοῦτο σκέψωμεν, ὅτι ἀπείσκεπτος ἡ ἀπόκρισις, ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίας πόθε καὶ ζέσης. Tom. 5. Or. 59.

And at the Transfiguration, he fell to propoſing about making [illegible] there, *not knowing what he ſaid*; ſo briſk was he in imagination and [illegible]

Μὴ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει. Mark 9. 6. Luk. 9. 33.

Upon the good Woman's report that our Lord was riſen from the [illegible] firſt ran to the Sepulchre, and ſo (as Saint *Paul* implieth) did obtain the ſight of our Lord after the Reſurrection; ſuch was his zeal and activity [illegible] all occaſions.

Luk. 24. 12, 34. Joh. 20. 3. Καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα. 1 Cor. 15. 5.

And that he appeared to Cephas, *after that to the twelve.*

At the Conſultation about ſupplying the place of *Judas*, he *roſe up*, propoſed, and preſſed the matter.

Acts 1. 15.

At the Convention of the Apoſtles and Elders, about reſolving *the debate* concerning obſervance of Moſaical Inſtitutions, he firſt roſe up, and declared his ſenſe.

Acts 15. 7.

In

In the Promulgation of the Goſpel, and Defence thereof before the Jewiſh Rulers, he did aſſume the conduct, and conſtantly took upon him to be the Speaker; the reſt ſtanding by him, implying aſſent, and ready to avow his word; *Peter* (ſaith Saint *Luke*) *ſtanding with the reſt, lift up his voice, and ſaid unto them*; ſo *did they utter a common voice*, (ſaith St. *Chryſ.*) *and he was the mouth of all*

Κοινὴ περὶ ἁπάντων ἐβόησε φωνήν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ στόμα.

That in affection to our Lord, and zeal for his ſervice, Saint *Peter* had ſome advantage over the reſt, that Queſtion, *Simon Peter, doſt thou love me more than theſe?* may ſeem to imply: (although the words πλέον τούτων may bear other interpretations, whereby the ſeeming invidiouſneſs of the Queſtion according to that ſenſe will be removed.) However, that he had a ſingular zeal for promoting our Lord's ſervice, and propagation of the Goſpel, therein outſhining the reſt, ſeemeth manifeſt in the Hiſtory, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently did ſhew to him.

Aug. *in* Joh. *Tract.* 123.

Ὁ μανικὸς ἐρασὴς τοῦ χριστοῦ. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 24. An extreme lover of Chriſt.

Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amoriſq; quam maximi fuiſſe Petrum in Dominum. Hier. *in* Mat. 16. 22.

We have often ſaid that *Peter* was tranſported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord.

Ipſe enim Petrus in Apoſtolorum ordine primus, in Chriſti amore promptiſſimus, ſæpe unus reſpondet pro omnibus. Aug. *Serm.* 13. *de verb. Dom. in* Matt. 1.

For *Peter* himſelf being firſt in the Order of the Apoſtles, and moſt prompt and forward in the Love of Chriſt, anſwer'd oftentimes alone for all the reſt.

Upon theſe Premiſſes we may well admit, that Saint *Peter* had a Primacy of Worth; or that in perſonal accompliſhments he was moſt eminent among the twelve Apoſtles; (although afterward there did ſpring up one, who hardly in any of theſe reſpects would yield to him; who could confidently ſay, *That he did not come behind the very chief Apoſtles:* and of whom St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, * *Neither was* Paul *inferior to* Peter —— *being well to be compared even to the firſt, and ſecond to none:* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, † *For what was greater than* Peter, *and what equal to* Paul?) This is the Primacy which *Euſebius* attributeth to him, when he calleth him, *the excellent and great Apoſtle, who for his virtue was the Proloquutor of all the reſt.*

1 Cor. 15. 10. 2 Cor. 11. 23. 2 Cor. 11. 5. & 12. 11.

* *Nec Paulus inferior Petro —— cum primo quoque facilè conferendus, & nulli ſecundus.* Ambr. *de Sp. S.* 2. 12.

† Τί γὰρ Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον; Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 167.

Τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προηγόρου. Euſeb. *Hiſt.* 2. 4.

II. As to *a Primacy of Repute*; which Saint *Paul* meaneth, when he ſpeaketh of the οἱ δοκοῦντες, *thoſe which had a ſpecial reputation*, of thoſe *who ſeemed to be Pillars*, of the ὑπὲρ λίαν Ἀπόστολοι, the *ſupereminent Apoſtles*; this advantage cannot be refuſed him; being a neceſſary conſequent of thoſe eminent qualities reſplendent in him, and of the illuſtrious performances atchieved by him, beyond the reſt.

Gal. 2. 2, 6. Gal. 2. 9. 2 Cor. 11. 5. 12. 11.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renown, which he hath had propagated from the beginning to all poſterity.

This at leaſt thoſe elogies of the Fathers (ſtyling him the Chief, Prince, Head of the Apoſtles) do ſignify.

Ὁ ἐπαρχίας τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρῶτος. Ath. *diſp. c.* Arium, *p.* 121.

This alſo may be collected from his being ſo conſtantly ranked in the firſt place, before the reſt of his Brethren.

III. As to *a Primacy of Order, or bare Dignity*, importing, that commonly in all meetings and proceedings the other Apoſtles did yield him the precedence, the πρωτοκαθεδρία or privilege of ſpeaking firſt (whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice) in the conduct and moderation of affairs; that this was ſtated on him, may be queſtioned; for that this were a kind of womaniſh privilege; and that it doth not ſeem to befit the gravity of ſuch perſons, or their condition and circumſtances, to ſtand upon ceremonies of reſpect; for that alſo our Lord's Rules do ſeem to exclude all ſemblance of ſuperiority, all kinds of inequality, and diſtance between his Apoſtles; for that the practice doth not ſeem conſtantly and thoroughly to agree to his being inveſted with this advantage; eſpecially ſeeing all that practice which favours it, may fairly be aſſigned to other cauſes; for that alſo the Fathers Authority (if that be objected, as a main argument of ſuch a Primacy) in points of this nature, not bordering on eſſentials of Faith, is of no great ſtrength; they in ſuch caſes ſpeaking out of their own ingeny and conjecture; and commonly indulging their imaginations no leſs freely than other men.

But yet this Primacy may be granted, as probable upon divers accounts of uſe and convenience; it might be uſeful to preſerve order, and to promote expedition,

expedition, or to prevent confuſion, diſtraction, and dilatory obſtruction in the management of things; yea to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremoſt, which is natural to men.

For ſeeing all could not go, ſpeak, or act firſt, all could not guide affairs, it was expedient that one ſhould be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue; *See* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, noting on *Acts* 2. 14. where Saint *Peter* ſpeaketh for the reſt) *the concord of the Apoſtles; they yield unto him the ſpeech, for they could not all ſpeak*; and *One* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *is choſen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occaſion of Schiſm might be removed.*

Σκόπει τὴν Ἀποστόλων ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτοὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν δημηγορίαν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἑνὶ πάντας φθέγγεσθαι. Chryſ. *in* Act. 2. 14.

Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite conſtituto Schiſmatis tolleretur occaſio. Hier. *in* Jovin. *I. cap.* 14.

Cyp. *Ep.* 73. *de unit. Eccl. &c.* St. *Cyprian* hath a reaſon for it ſomewhat more ſubtile and myſtical, ſuppoſing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his Brethren (who otherwiſe in power and authority were equal to him) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other *African* Doctors (*Optatus* and St. *Auſtin*) do commonly harp on the ſame notion: I can diſcern little ſolidity in this conceit, and as little harm.

In typo unitatis —— Aug. *de Bapt.* 3. 17.

However, ſuppoſing this Primacy (at leaſt in reſpect to the Fathers, who generally ſeem to countenance it) divers probable reaſons may be aſſigned, why it ſhould eſpecially be conferred on Saint *Peter*.

Petrus —— *naturâ unus homo erat, gratiâ unus Chriſtianus, abundantiore gratiâ unus idémque primus Apoſtolus.* Aug. *in* Joh. *tract.* 123

Peter was by nature one Man, by grace one Chriſtian, by a more abundant grace one and the ſame prime Apoſtle.

Ipſe enim Petrus in Apoſtolorum ordine primus, in Chriſti amore promptiſſimus, ſæpe unus reſpondet pro omnibus. Aug. *de verbis Dom. ſup.* Matt. 1. *Serm.* 23.

For *Peter* himſelf being the firſt in the Order of the Apoſtles, the moſt forward in the love of Chriſt, he alone oft-times anſwers for all the reſt.

1. It is probable, that Saint *Peter* was firſt in ſtanding among the Apoſtles; I mean not that he was the firſt Diſciple, or firſt converted to Faith in *Chriſt*; but firſt called to the Apoſtolical Office; or firſt nominated by our Lord, when out of all his Diſciples *he choſe twelve, and called them Apoſtles*; Simon *whom he called* Peter, *and* Andrew *his Brother* —— He was one of the firſt Believers at large; he was perhaps the firſt, that diſtinctly believed our Lord's Divinity; he was probably the very firſt Apoſtle, * as the fitteſt Perſon in our Lord's eye for that employment. *He* (ſaith St. *Hilary*) *did firſt believe, and is the Prince* (or firſt man) *of the Apoſtleſhip. He* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *was the firſt, whom the Lord choſe. He* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *was by judgment preferred before all the Diſciples.* He by other Ancients is called *the firſt-fruits of the Apoſtles.* And according to this ſenſe St. *Hierom* (I ſuppoſe) doth call *him*, and his Brother *Andrew*, *Principes Apoſtolorum*, that is (according to frequent uſage of the word *Princeps* in Latin) *the firſt of the Apoſtles.*

[Περιτίθησι δὲ Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἀνδρέᾳ, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι. Theoph *in* Mat. 10.]

Luke 6. 14. Matt. 4. 18.
Mark 1. 16. Luke 5. 3.

* Γινώσκων τις ἐν πρώτοις ἀξιοῖ τάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἐκλέξατο Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι —— Epiph. *har.* 51.

Primus credidit, & Apoſtolatûs eſt Princeps. Hil. *in* Matt. *Can.* 7.

Quem primum Dominus elegit. Cypr. *Ep.* 7.

Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν πρωτεύων. Baſ. *de Judicio Dei, Tom.* 2. *p.* 268.

Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Modeſt. *apud* Phot. *Cod* 75. Clem. *ad* Jac. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1.

So that as in divers Churches, (perhaps when time was, in all) ancientness priority in ordination did ground a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with ſome exception; ſo might Saint *Peter* upon this account of being firſt ordained Apoſtle, obtain ſuch a Primacy.

2. Saint *Peter* alſo might be the firſt in age; which among Perſons otherwiſe equal is a fair ground of preference; for he was a married Man; and that before he was called, as is intimated in Saint *Luke*; and may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he *had left all*, and devoted himſelf to follow our Lord. Upon which account of Age St. *Hierom* ſuppoſe that he was preferred before the beloved Apoſtle: *why* (ſaith he) *was not Saint* John *elected, being a Batchelor? it was deferred to age, becauſe* Peter *was to be elected, that a youth and almoſt a boy might not be preferred before men of good age.*

Luke 4. 48. 5. 7. Matt. 19. 27.

Sed cur non Johannes electus eſt virgo? ætati dilatum eſt, quia Petrus ſenior erat; nè adhuc adoleſcens & pènè puer progreſſa ætatis hominibus præferretur. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

I know that *Epiphanius* affirmeth St. *Andrew* to have been the elder Brother; but it doth not appear whether he ſaith it from conjecture, or upon any other ground. And his

Μικρότερον ὄντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ Πέτρου. Epiph. *har.* 51.

Peter being the younger in age.

his Authority, although we ſhould ſuppoſe it bottomed on tradition, is not great; tradition it ſelf in ſuch matters being very ſlippery; and often one tradition croſſing another.

3. The moſt eminent qualifications of Saint *Peter*, (ſuch as we before deſcribed) might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honeſt confidence, puſhing him forward on all occaſions to aſſume the foremoſt place, and thence by cuſtom to poſſeſs it; for *qui ſibi fidet, Dux regit examen* —— it being in all action, as in walking, where he that naturally is moſt vigorous and active, doth go before the reſt. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 19.

They might induce others to a voluntary conceſſion thereof; for to thoſe, who indiſputably do excel in good qualities or abilities, honeſt and meek Perſons eaſily will yield precedence, eſpecially on occaſions of publick concernment; wherein it is expedient, that the beſt qualified perſons ſhould be firſt ſeen.

Αὐτοὶ παραχωρῶσιν αὐτῷ, &c. Chryſ. *in* Acts 2. 14. They yield unto him, &c.

They probably might alſo move our Lord himſelf to ſettle, or at leaſt to inſinuate this order; aſſigning the firſt place to him, whom he knew moſt willing to ſerve him, and moſt able to lead on the reſt in his ſervice.

It is indeed obſervable, that upon all occaſions our Lord ſignified a particular reſpect to him, before the reſt of his Collegues; for to him more frequently than to any of them he directed his diſcourſe; unto him, by a kind of anticipation he granted or promiſed thoſe gifts and privileges, which he meant to confer on them all; Him he did aſſume as Spectator and Witneſs of his glorious Transfiguration; Him he picked out as Companion and Attendant on him in his grievous Agony; His Feet he firſt waſhed; to him he did firſt diſcover himſelf after his Reſurrection (as Saint *Paul* implieth;) and with him then he did entertain moſt diſcourſe; in eſpecial manner recommending to him the Paſtoral care of the Church; by which manner of proceeding our Lord may ſeem to have conſtituted Saint *Peter* the firſt in order among the Apoſtles, or ſufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admoniſhing them by his example to render unto him a ſpecial deference. Matt. 16. 16. Matt. 17. 1. Mat. 26. 37. John 13. 6. 1 Cor. 15. 5. John 21.

4. The Fathers commonly do attribute his priority to the merit of his Faith and Confeſſion, wherein he did outſtrip his Brethren. *He obtained ſupereminent glory by the confeſſion of his bleſſed faith*, ſaith St. *Hilary*. *Becauſe he alone of all the reſt profeſſeth his love*, Joh. 21. *therefore he is preferred above all*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*.

Hil. *in* Matt. *Can.* 14. *p.* 566. *Supereminentem beatæ fidei ſuæ confeſſione gloriam promeruit.* Hil. *de Trin. lib.* 6. *p.* 121. *Ideò quia ſolus profitetur amorem ſuum* (John 21.) *ex omnibus, omnibus anteferetur.* Ambr. *in* Luc. *cap. ult.*

5. Conſtantly in all the Catalogues of the Apoſtles Saint *Peter*'s name is ſet in the front; and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is uſually mentioned firſt, which ſeemeth not done without careful deſign, or ſpecial reaſon. Matt. 10. 2. Mar. 3. 17. Luk. 6. 14. Acts 1. 13. Joh. 21. 2.

Upon ſuch grounds it may be reaſonable to allow Saint *Peter* a primacy of order; ſuch a one as the Ring-leader hath in a Dance, as the primipilar Centurion had in the Legion, or the Prince of the Senate had there, in the *Roman* State; at leaſt, as among Earls, Baronets, *&c.* and others co-ordinate in degree, yet one hath a precedence of the reſt.

V. As to a Primacy, importing Superiority in power, command, or juriſdiction; this by the *Roman* Party is aſſerted to Saint *Peter*, but we have great reaſon to deny it, upon the following conſiderations.

1. For ſuch a Power (being of ſo great importance) it was needful that a Commiſſion from God, its Founder, ſhould be granted in downright and perſpicuous terms; that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon, might have any doubt of it, or excuſe for boggling at it; it was neceſſary not only for the Apoſtles to bind and warrant their Obedience, but alſo for us, becauſe it is made the ſole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us; which we cannot heartily diſcharge without being aſſured of our obligation thereto, by clear revelation, or promulgation of God's will in the Holy Scripture; for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true Rule, which St. *Auſtin* in one caſe thus expreſſeth, *I do believe*

* It was a reaſonable demand, which was made to our Saviour, *Tell us by what authority thou doſt theſe things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?* (*Luke* 20. 2.) and the reaſonableneſs of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no ſin to diſbelieve or reject him. (*John* 5. 31, 36. 10. 25, 37. 15. 22, 24.)

Credo etiam hinc divinorum eloquiorum clariſſima authoritas eſſet, ſi homo ſine diſpendio promiſſæ ſalutis ignorare non poſſet. Aug. *de pec. mer. & rem.* 2. 36.

Nullum fundamentum aut firmitatem poſſunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis. Lact. 7. 2.

that alſo on this ſide there would be moſt clear authority of the Divine Oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it, without damage of his Salvation; and *Lactantius* thus, *Thoſe things can have no foundation, or firmneſs, which are not ſuſtained by any Oracle of God's word.*

But apparently no ſuch Commiſſion is extant in Scripture; the allegations for it being, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, no-wiſe clear, nor probably expreſſive of any ſuch Authority granted by God; but on the contrary divers clearer teſtimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If ſo illuſtrious an Office was inſtituted by our Saviour, it is ſtrange that no-where in the Evangelical or Apoſtolical Hiſtory (wherein divers acts and paſſages of ſmaller moment are recorded) there ſhould be any expreſs mention of that Inſtitution; there being not only much reaſon for ſuch a report, but many pat occaſions for it: The time when Saint *Peter* was veſted with that Authority; the manner and circumſtances of his Inſtalment therein; the nature, rules and limits of ſuch an Office had ſurely well deſerved to have been noted, among other occurrences relating to our Faith and Diſcipline, by the Holy Evangeliſts; no one of them, in all probability, could have forborn punctually to relate a matter of ſo great conſequence, as the ſettlement of a Monarch in God's Church, and a Sovereign of the Apoſtolical College; (from whom ſo eminent Authority was to be derived to all poſterity, for compliance wherewith the whole Church for ever muſt be accountable;) particularly it is not credible that Saint *Luke* ſhould quite ſlip over ſo notable a paſſage, who *had* (as he telleth us) *attained a perfect underſtanding of all things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were ſurely believed among Chriſtians* in his time, of which things, this, if any, was one of the moſt conſiderable.

Luke 1. 1.

The time of his receiving Inſtitution to ſuch Authority can hardly be aſſigned. For was it when he was conſtituted by our Lord an Apoſtle? Then indeed probably he began to obtain all the primacy and pre-eminence he ever had; but no ſuch power doth appear then conferred on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at leaſt, if it was, it was ſo covertly and undiſcernably, that both he himſelf, and all the Apoſtles, muſt be ignorant thereof, who a little before our Lord's Paſſion did more than once earneſtly conteſt about Superiority. And it is obſervable, that whereas our Lord before his Paſſion did carefully teach and preſs on the Apoſtles the chief duties, which they were to obſerve in their behaviour towards each other, The maintenance of peace, of charity, of unity, of humility toward one another; yet of paying due reſpect and obedience to this Superior he ſaid nothing to them.

Matt. 10. 1.

Mar. 9. 50. Joh. 13. 34. 15. 12. 17. 21. Joh. 13. 14.

The collation of that Power could not well be at any time before the celebration of our Lord's Supper, becauſe before that time Saint *Peter* was ſcarce an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon; at leaſt he was no Prieſt, as the Convention of *Trent* under a curſe doth require us to believe; for it were ſtrange, that an unconſecrated Perſon, or one who was not ſo much as a Prieſt, ſhould be endowed with ſo much ſpiritual Power.

Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Chriſtum non inſtituiſſe Apoſtolos Sacerdotes—— anathema ſit. Conc. Trid. *Seſſ.* 22. *Can.* 2.

If any one ſhall ſay that in thoſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Chriſt did not ordain his Apoſtles Prieſts—— let him be accurſed.

Ἐνεκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις—— Acts 1. 2. John 20. 21. Matt. 28. 19. Luke 24. 49. Mark 16. 15.

After his Reſurrection, our Lord did give divers common Inſtructions, Orders and Commiſſions to his Apoſtles, but it doth not appear that he did make any peculiar grant to St. *Peter*; for as to the pretence of ſuch an one drawn out of the *Appendix* to St. *John*'s Goſpel, or grounded on the words *Paſce oves*, we ſhall afterward declare that to be invalid.

4. If Saint *Peter* had been inſtituted Sovereign of the Apoſtolical College, his Office and State had been in nature and kind very diſtinct from the common Office of the other Apoſtles; as the Office of a King from the ſtate of any Subject; as an ordinary, ſtanding, perpetual, ſucceſſive Office from one that is only extraordinary, tranſitory, temporary, perſonal and incommunicable; (to ſpeak according to diſtinctions now in uſe, and applied to this caſe) whence probably, as it was expedient to be, it would have been ſignified by ſome diſtinct name, or title, characterizing it, and diſtinguiſhing it from others; as that of Arch-apoſtle, Arch-paſtour, High-prieſt, Sovereign Pontife, Pope,

Pope, his Holineſs, the Vicar of *Chriſt*, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there was ſuch an Officer, what the nature of his Office was, what ſpecialty of reſpect and obedience was due to him: But no ſuch name or title (upon any occaſion) was aſſumed by him, or was by the reſt attributed to him, or in Hiſtory is recorded concerning him; the name of an Apoſtle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to him.

5. There was indeed no Office above that of an Apoſtle, known to the Apoſtles, or to the Primitive Church; this (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) was *the greateſt authority*, and *the top of authorities*; there was (ſaith he) none *before an Apoſtle*, *none ſuperior*, *none equal to him*; this he aſſerteth of all the Apoſtles, this he particularly applieth to St. *Paul*; this he demonſtrateth from St. *Paul* himſelf, who purpoſely enumerating the chief Officers inſtituted by God in his Church, doth place Apoſtles in the higheſt rank; *Our Lord* (* ſaith St. *Paul*) *gave ſome Apoſtles*, *ſome Prophets*, *ſome Evangeliſts*, *ſome Paſtors and Teachers*; and God hath ſet ſome in † *his Church*, *firſt Apoſtles*, *ſecondarily Prophets*, *thirdly Teachers*; πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους, why not firſt a Pope, an Univerſal Paſtor, an Oecumenical Judge, a Vicar of *Chriſt*, a Head of the Catholick Church? Could St. *Paul* be ſo ignorant, could he be ſo negligent, or ſo envious, as to paſs by, without any diſtinction, the Supreme Officer, if ſuch a one then had been? As put caſe, that one ſhould undertake to recite the Officers in any State, or Republick, would he not do ſtrangely if he ſhould pretermit the King, the Duke, the Conſul, the Major thereof? Would not any one, confiding in the skill, diligence and integrity of ſuch a Relator, be induced from ſuch an omiſſion to believe there was no ſuch Officer there? St. *Chryſoſtom* therefore did hence very rationally infer, that the Apoſtolical Office was the Supreme in the Chriſtian ſtate, having no other ſuperior to it.

Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη. ζ κορυφὴ τ ἀρχῶν. ξ — Chryſ. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 114.

Εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τ Ἀποστολον, κ) ὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, ὔτε ἀνωτερον. *Ibid.*

Τῶν δ Ἀποστόλων ἴσον ὐδεὶς γέγονεν. Chryſ. *Tom* 5. *Or.* 33.

Ἀυτὸς τὸ Παῦλος ἀπέσαμβε ἀριθμῶν τ κὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, κ) ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τ Ἀποστολικὸν καθίζον τ. Chryſ. *Tom.* 8. *ubi ſupra.*

We have heard *Paul* himſelf reckoning up powers or authorities, and placing the Apoſtolical in the higheſt place.

* Eph. 4. 11.

† 1 Cor. 12. 28.

Saint *Peter* therefore was no more than an Apoſtle, and as ſuch he could have no more command over thoſe, who were in the ſame higheſt rank co-ordinate to him; and who as Apoſtles could not be ſubject to any.

6. Our Lord himſelf, at ſeveral times, declared againſt this kind of Primacy, inſtituting equality among his Apoſtles, prohibiting them to affect, to ſeek, to aſſume or admit a ſuperiority of Power one above another.

There was (ſaith St. *Luke among the twelve*, at the participation of the Holy Supper) *a ſtrife among them*, *who of them ſhould be accounted the greateſt*, or who had the beſt pretence to Superiority; This ſtrife our Lord preſently did check and quaſh; but how? not by telling them, that he already had decided the caſe in appointing them a Superior, but rather by aſſuring them, that he did intend none ſuch to be; that he would have no Monarchy, no exerciſe of any Dominion or authority by one among them over the reſt; but that notwithſtanding any advantages one might have before the other, (as * greater in gifts, or as preceding in any reſpect) they ſhould be one as another, all humbly condeſcending to one another, each being ready to yield help and ſervice to one another; *The Kings* (ſaid he) *of the Gentiles exerciſe Lordſhip over them*; *and they that exerciſe authority over them*, *are called benefactors: but ye ſhall not be ſo*; *but he that is* † *greater among you*, *let him be as the ſtranger*; *and he that is* ‖ *leader*, *as he that doth miniſter*; that is, whatever privilege any of you obtaineth, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and ſubſerviency, as occaſion ſhall require; let him not pretend to be a Superior, but rather behave himſelf as an Inferior: Thus our Lord did ſmother the debate, by removing from among them, whatever greatneſs any of them did affect or pretend to; forbidding that any of them ſhould, κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν, exerciſe any Dominion or Authority over the reſt, as worldly Princes did over their Subjects.

Luke 22. 14. Luke 22. 24. Τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ μείζων.

So doth St. *Clemens* interpret μείζων, alluding to this place.

* Ἤτω τις πιστὸς, ἤτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐκφῆναι· ἤτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἤτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· κ) ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πᾶσιν, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτῷ. Clem. *ad* Corinth. *I. p.* 63. *apud* Clem. Alex. *Strom. 6. p.* 466.

Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wiſe in diſcovering reaſons, let him be ſtrenuous in works, by ſo much the more ought he to be humble-minded, by how much the more he ſeems to be greater than others; and to ſeek the common benefit of all, and not of himſelf.

† Ὁ μείζων.

‖ Ὁ ἡγούμενος.

Luke 22. 25, 26.

Again, upon another occaſion (as the circumſtances of the place do imply) when two of the Apoſtles (of ſpecial worth and conſideration with our Lord, Saint *James* and Saint *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*) did affect a preeminence over the reſt, requeſting of our Lord, *Grant unto us, that we may ſit one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand in thy Glory*, (or *in thy Kingdom*, as Saint *Matthew* hath it, that is, in that new ſtate, which they conceived our Lord was ready to introduce;) which requeſt doth not ſeem to import any great matter of Authority; nor probably did they deſire ſo much, as our Adverſaries do give to Saint *Peter*; yet our Lord doth not only reject their ſuit, but generally declareth, that none of them were capable of ſuch a preferment in his Kingdom; which therein differed from worldly Dominion, becauſe in it there was no room for ſuch an ambition; eſpecially in that ſtate of things, wherein the Apoſtles were to be placed; which was a ſtate of undergoing Perſecutions, not of enjoying Dignity, or exerciſing Command; all the preferment which they reaſonably could aſpire to, being to be diſpenſed in the future ſtate (whereof they were not aware) according to God's preparation, in correſpondence to the patience and induſtry any of them ſhould exert in God's ſervice (upon which account St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *it was a clear caſe, that St.* Paul *ſhould obtain the preference.*)

Mark 10. 37. Matt. 20. 25.

Εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐπολαύσει τιμῆς καὶ περιφρίας. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 33.

It was indeed (as our Lord intimateth) incongruous for thoſe, who had forſaken all things for *Chriſt*, who had embraced a condition of diſgrace, who were deſigned by ſelf-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealth and honour; by undergoing perſecution, and undertaking conformity to our Lord (*being baptized with the baptiſm, with which he was baptized*) to propagate the Faith of a Crucified Maſter; to ſeek, or take on them authoritative dignity; for among them there could not well be any need of commanding, or being commanded; it was more fit, that all of them ſhould conſpire to help and ſerve one another, in promoting the common deſign and ſervice of their Lord, with mutual condeſcenſion, and compliance; which was the beſt way of recommending themſelves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him anſwerable reward. Such was the drift of our Lord's diſcourſe; whereunto (as in the other caſe) he did annex the prohibition of exerciſing dominion; *Ye know* (ſaith he) *that the Princes of nations exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe authority upon them; but it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter; and whoſoever will be firſt among you, let him be your ſervant*; Ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ, whoever among you hath a mind to ſpecial grandeur and pre-eminence, let him underſtand, that there is no other to be attained, beſide that which reſulteth from the humble performance of charitable Offices to his Brethren: the which whoever ſhall beſt diſcharge, he alone will become greateſt and higheſt in the eye of God.

* Τότε ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ οὐ τιμὴ, ἀλλὰ πρόνοια ἦν ἀρχομένων, &c. Chryſ. *on* Acts 1. 26.

Then the Government was not an honour, but a provident care of the governed, &c.

Matth. 20. 26.

Again, at another time, the Apoſtles dreaming of a ſecular Kingdom to be erected by our Lord, *diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould be the greateſt*; and for ſatisfaction preſumed to enquire of our Lord about it; (whereas they ſurely were very ignorant of Saint *Peter*'s being their head, ſo there was a fair occaſion as could be of our Lord's inſtructing them in that point, and injoining their duty towards him; but he did not ſo, but rather taught him together with the reſt, not to pretend to any ſuch thing as preferment above the reſt; *He ſitting down called the twelve, and ſaid unto them, If any one deſire to be firſt, the ſame ſhall be laſt of all, and ſervant of all*; how could he (conſidering the occaſion and circumſtances of that ſpeech) in plainer terms diſclaim equality, or diſcountenance any claim to ſuperiority among them? If Saint *Peter* then advanced ſuch a plea, as they now affirm of right belonging to him, would he not thereby have depreſſed and debaſed himſelf to the loweſt degree?

Mar. 9. 34. Luk. 9. 46. Matt. 18. 1.

Mar. 9. 35.

To impreſs this rule, our Lord then *calling a little child, did ſet him in the midſt of them*, telling them, that except *they were converted* (from ſuch ambitious pretences) *and became like little children*, (wholly void of ſuch conceits) *they*

Καὶ τοῖς περὶ παιδείας φιλονεικοῦσι γνωρίμοις μὴ ἁπλότητι δὲ ἢ ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾷ, λέγων ὡς τὰ παιδία αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι δεῖ. Clem. Alex. *Str.* 5. (p. 409.)

they could not enter into the Kingdom of heaven, that is, could not in effect be ſo much as ordinary good Chriſtians; adjoining, that *whoſoever ſhould humble himſelf as did that little child*, (not affecting, or aſſuming more than ſuch an innocent did) *ſhould be greateſt in the Kingdom of heaven*; in real worth, and in the favour of God tranſcending the reſt; ſo that *Peter* claiming ſuperiority to himſelf, would have forfeited any title to eminency among Chriſtians.

And to thoſe familiar friends ſtriving for the pre-eminence, he commends equality together with ſimplicity, ſaying, that they ought to become as little Children.

Again, as to the power which is now aſcribed to Saint *Peter* by the Party of his pretended Succeſſors, we may argue from another place; where our Saviour prohibiting his Diſciples to reſemble the Jewiſh Scribes and Phariſees in their ambitious deſires and practices, their affectations of pre-eminence, their aſſuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, he ſaith, *But be ye not called Rabbi, for there is one Maſter* (one Guide, or Governour) *of you, even Chriſt, but ye are Brethren.* How more pregnantly could he have declared the nature of his Conſtitution, and the relation of Chriſtians one to another eſtabliſhed therein, to exclude ſuch differences of power? Whereby one doth in way of domination impoſe his opinion or his will on others.

Matt. 23. 8. Εἷς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καθηγητὴς ὑμῶν.

Ye are all fellow-ſcholars, fellow-ſervants and fellow-children of God; it therefore doth not become you to be any ways imperious over one another; but all of you humbly and lovingly to conſpire in learning and obſerving the Precepts of your common Lord; the doing which is backed with a Promiſe, and a Threat ſuitable to the purpoſe; *He that exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that will abaſe himſelf ſhall be exalted*; the which ſentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the Rules foregoing.

If it be ſaid, that ſuch diſcourſe doth impugn all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; I anſwer, that indeed thereby is removed all ſuch haughty and harſh Rule, which ſome have exerciſed over Chriſtians; that αὐθεντία, (*arbitrary power*) that ἐξουσία ἀνυπεύθυνος (*abſolute uncontroulable authority*) that τυραννικὴ πρεσβεία, (*tyrannical prerogative*) of which the Fathers complain, that καταχυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων (*domineering over their charges*) which Saint *Peter* forbiddeth. *We* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *were deſigned to teach the word, not to exerciſe empire or abſolute ſovereignty; we do bear the rank of adviſers exhorting to duty.* λέγω προεχειρίσθημεν, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐθεντίαν συμβούλων τάξιν ἐπέχομεν φιλανθρώπων.

Chryſoſt. *in* 1 Tim. 3. 1. *in* Eph. Or 11. Iſid. Pel. *Ep.* 4. 219. 2. 125. Greg. Naz. Orat. 28, 1 Pet. 5. 3. Εἰς διδασκαλίαν Chryſ. *in* Eph. Orat. 11.

A Biſhop (ſaith St. *Hierom*) differeth from a King, in that a Biſhop *preſideth over thoſe that are willing*, the King *againſt their will*; (that is, the Biſhop's governance ſhould be ſo gentle and eaſy, that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it; but ſhould obey, as Saint *Peter* exhorteth, οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, *not by conſtraint, but of their own accord*) and, *Let* (ſaith he) *the Biſhops be content with their honour; let them know themſelves to be Fathers, not Lords; they ſhould be loved, not feared.*

Ille enim nolentibus praeſt, hic volentibus. Hier. *Ep.* 3. *ad Nepot.*

Ὁ μὴ τοῦ ἑκόντων ἄρχειν, &c. Chryſ. *in* Tit. 1. 7.

He ought to rule them ſo as they may be willing to be ruled. &c.

1 Pet. 5.

Sed contenti ſint honore ſuo; Patres ſe ſciant eſſe non dominos —— Hier *Ep.* 62. *ad* Theoph. *cap.* 3.

Amari parens, & epiſcopus debet, non timeri. Idid cap. 1.

And *Thou* (ſaith St. *Bernard* to Pope *Eugenius*) *doſt ſuperintend, the name of Biſhop ſignifying to thee not dominion, but duty.*

Inde denique ſuperintendis, ſonante tibi Epiſcopi nomine non dominium, ſed officium. Bern. *de Conſid.* 2. 6.

At leaſt thoſe precepts of our Lord do exclude that power, which is aſcribed to Saint *Peter* over the Apoſtles themſelves, the which indeed is greater, than in likelihood any Phariſee did ever affect; yea in many reſpects doth exceed any domination which hath been claimed or uſurped by the moſt abſolute Monarch upon earth; for the power of Saint *Peter*, in their opinion, was the ſame, which now the *Roman* Biſhop doth challenge to himſelf over the Paſtors and People of God's Church, by vertue of ſucceſſion to him; (Saint *Peter*'s power [illegible] Baſe of the Papal, and therefore not narrower than its ſuperſtructure;) [illegible] domination comparable to that hath ever been uſed in the world? [illegible] Emperor did ever pretend to a rule ſo wide in extent (in regard either to perſons, or matters) or ſo abſolute in effect?

Who ever, beſide his Holineſs, did uſurp a command not only over the external actions, but the moſt inward cogitations of all mankind; ſubjecting the very minds and conſciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his cenſures?

Who

Who ever thundred Curſes and Damnations on all thoſe, who ſhould preſume to diſſent from his Opinion, or to conteſt his Pleaſure?

Who ever claimed more abſolute Power, in making, abolishing, ſuſpending Laws, or impoſing upon men what he pleaſed, under obligation of conſcience, and upon extreme penalties?

What Prince ever uſed a ſtyle more imperious, than is that which is uſual in the Papal Bulls? *Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expreſſion of our will and command, or to go againſt it with bold raſhneſs.*

Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ voluntatis & mandati infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contra ire.

What *Domitian* more commonly did admit the appellation of Lord, than doth the Pope? *our moſt Holy Lord*, is the ordinary ſtyle, attributed to him by the Fathers of *Trent*, as if they were his ſlaves, and intended to enſlave all Chriſtendom to him.

Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter. Concil. Trid. *Seſſ.* 22. *cap.* 11. *&c.*

Who ever did exempt his Clients and Dependents in all Nations from ſubjection to Civil Laws, from undergoing common burthens and taxes, from being judged or puniſhed for their miſdemeanors and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to diſpoſe of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly; to diſpoſe even of Kingdoms, to judge Sovereign Princes, and to condemn them, to depoſe them from their authority, abſolving their Subjects from all allegiance to them, and expoſing their Kingdoms to rapine?

To whom but a Pope were ever aſcribed prerogatives like thoſe of judging all men, and himſelf being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame? ſo that (as a Papal Canon aſſureth us) *let a Pope be ſo bad, as by his negligence and male-adminiſtration to carry with him innumerable people to Hell, yet no mortal man whatever muſt preſume here to reprove his faults; becauſe he being to judge all men, is himſelf to be judged of no man, except he be catcht ſwerving from the Faith*; which is a caſe they will hardly ſuffer a man to ſuppoſe poſſible.

Si Papa ſua, &c. Grat. *dſt.* 40. *cap.* 6.

To whom but to a Pope was ſuch Power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himſelf, that he could hear thoſe words applyed to him, *All Power is given to thee in Heaven and in Earth?*

Concil. Lat. *ſub* Leone X. *Seſſ.* 11. *p.* 133. (*in Orat. Archiep. Patrac.*)

Such Power the Popes are wont to challenge, and when occaſion ſerveth do not fail to execute; as Succeſſors of St. *Peter*; to whom therefore conſequently they aſcribe it; and ſometimes in expreſs terms; as in that brave apoſtrophe of P. *Gregory* VII. (the Spirit of which Pope hath poſſeſſed his Succeſſors generally) *Go to therefore* (ſaid he, directing his Speech to Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*) *moſt Holy Princes of the Apoſtles, and what I have ſaid confirm by your Authority, that now at length all men may underſtand, whether ye can bind and looſe; that alſo ye can take away and give on Earth Empires, Kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have.*

Hâc itaque fiduciâ fretus, &c. Excommun. Henrici R. in Concil. Rom. 3. *ſub* Greg. 7. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 484.

Agite Apoſtolorum Sanctiſſimi Principes, &c. Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. In Concil.* Rom. 6. *apud* Bin. *p.* 491.

Now if the aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch Powers be not that καθηγεμόνειν, and καθεγητιάζειν, that exalting ones ſelf, that being called Rabbi, Father, Maſter, which our Lord prohibiteth, what is ſo? what then can thoſe words ſignify? what could our Lord mean?

The Authority therefore which they aſſign to Saint *Peter*, and aſſume to themſelves from him, is voided by thoſe Declarations and Precepts of our Lord; the which it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord would have propoſed, if he had deſigned to conſtitute Saint *Peter* in ſuch a Supremacy over his Diſciples and Church.

7. Surveying particulars, we ſhall not find any peculiar adminiſtration committed to Saint *Peter*, nor any privilege conferred on him, which was not granted to the other Apoſtles.

Was Saint *Peter* an Ambaſſador, a Steward, a Miniſter, a Vicar (if you pleaſe) or Surrogate of *Chriſt*? ſo were they, by no leſs immediate and expreſs warrant than he; for *As the Father ſent me, ſo alſo I ſend you*, ſaid our Lord preſently before his departure; by thoſe words (as St. *Cyprian* remarketh)

granting

granting an equal Power to all the Apoſtles; and *We* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *are Ambaſſadors for Chriſt; we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be reconciled to God*; and, *So let a man eſteem us as the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God.*

Et quamvis Apoſtolis omnibus poſt reſurrectionem ſuam parem poteſtatem tribuat & dicat, Sicut, &c. Cypr. de Un. Eccl.
2 Cor. 5. 20.
1 Cor. 4. 1. 2 Cor. 6. 4.

Was Saint *Peter* a Rock, on which the Church was to be founded? Be it ſo; but no leſs were they all; for the Wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *came down from Heaven*, had *twelve foundations, on which were inſcribed the names of the twelve Apoſtles of the Lamb*; and *We* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *are all built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf being the chief Corner-ſtone*; whence *Equally* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *the ſtrength of the Church is ſettled upon them.*

Matt. 16. 18.
Apoc. 21. 10, 14.
Eph. 2. 20.

Ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidatur. Hier. in Jovin. l. 14.

Was Saint *Peter* an Architect of the *Spiritual houſe* (as himſelf called the Church?) ſo were alſo they; for *I* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *as a wiſe Maſter-builder have laid the Foundation.*

1 Pet. 2. 5.
1 Cor. 3. 10.

Were *the Keys* of the Church (or *of the Kingdom of Heaven*) committed to him? So alſo were they unto them; They had a Power to open and ſhut it by effectual inſtruction and perſuaſion, by diſpenſation of the Sacraments, by exerciſe of Diſcipline, by excluſion of ſcandalous and heretical Perſons; Whatever faculty the Keys did import, the Apoſtles did uſe it in the foundation, guidance and government of the Church; and did (as the Fathers teach) impart it to thoſe, whom they did in their ſtead conſtitute to feed and govern the Church.

Matt. 16. 19.

Had Saint *Peter* a Power given him of binding and looſing effectually? So had they, immediately granted by our Saviour, in as full manner, and couched in the ſame terms; *If thou ſhalt bind on Earth, it ſhall be bound in Heaven*, ſaid our Lord to him; and *Whatſoever things ye ſhall bind on Earth, they ſhall be bound in Heaven*, ſaid the ſame Divine mouth to them.

Matt. 16. 19.
Matt. 18. 18.

——Ὅσα γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν καλὰ διαδοχῇ παραδεδομένοις ἀξιοῦμεν, ταὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν πεπιστεῦσθαι τὸ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐξουσίαν πιστεύομεν. Phot. Cod. 283. p. 1600.

Thoſe, who by Succeſſion from them (*viz.* the Apoſtles) were endowed with Epiſcopal Authority, we believe to have the ſame Power of binding and looſing.

Had he a privilege to remit and retain ſins? it was then by vertue of that common grant or promiſe; *Whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they ſhall be remitted*; *and whoſe ſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.*

Joh. 20. 23.

Had he power and obligation to feed the Sheep of *Chriſt* (all or ſome?) ſo had they indefinitely and immediately: ſo had others by Authority derived from them; who were nominated *Paſtors*; who had this charge laid on them, *Take heed unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own Blood*; whom he doth himſelf exhort, *Feed the Flock of God which is among you, taking the overſight thereof*: Let feeding ſignify what it can, inſtruction, or guidance, or governance, or all of them together (*Regio more impera*, if you pleaſe, as *Bellarmine* will have it) it did appertain to their charge; to teach was a common duty, to lead and to rule were common functions; St. *Peter* could not, nor would not appropriate it to himſelf; it is his own exhortation, when he taketh moſt upon him, *Be mindful of the commandment* (or precept) *of us the Apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.*

Eph. 4. 11.
Acts 20. 28.
1 Pet. 5. 2.
2 Pet. 3. 2.

Was his commiſſion univerſal, or unlimited? ſo was theirs, by the ſame immediate Authority; for *All Power* (ſaid he to them, when he gave his laſt charge) *is given to me in Heaven and in Earth*; *Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to obſerve all things, whatſoever I commanded you*; and *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature.*

Matt. 28. 19.
Mark 16. 15.
Luke 24. 47.

They (as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh) *were all in common intruſted with the whole world, and had the care of all Nations.*

Πάντας κοινῇ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐμπιστευθῆναι. Chryſ. Tom. 8. p. 115. Tom. 5. Orat. 47. 2 Cor. 11. 28.

Was he furniſhed with extraordinary gifts, with ſpecial graces, with continual directions and aſſiſtances for the diſcharge of the Apoſtolical Office? ſo were they; for the *promiſe* was common of ſending the Holy Spirit, *to lead them into all truth*; and *cloathing them with the power from on high*; and of endowing

Luke 24. 49.
Joh. 16. 13. 14. 26.

Luke 24. 49. Mark 10. 17. Joh. 20. 22. Acts 2. 4. Acts 15. 28. endowing them with Power to perform all ſorts of miraculous Works; Our Lord before his departure *breathed into them, and ſaid, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt; All of them* (ſaith Saint *Luke*) *were filled with the Holy Ghoſt*; all of them with confidence and truth could ſay, *It hath ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us*; all of them did abundantly partake of that character, which Saint *Paul* reſpected, when he did ſay, *The Signs of an Apoſtle were wrought among you, in ſigns and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

2 Cor. 12. 11, 12.

Did Saint *Peter* repreſent the Church as receiving privileges in its behalf; as the Fathers affirm? ſo did they according to the ſame Fathers; *If therefore* (ſaith St. *Auſtin*, citing the famous place, *ſicut me miſit Pater*) *they did bear the Perſon of the Church, and this was ſaid to them as if it were ſaid to the Church it ſelf, then the peace of the Church remitteth Sins.*

Cui totius Eccleſiæ figuram gerenti, &c. Aug. Ep. 165.

Ergo ſi perſonam gerebant Eccleſiæ & ſic eis hoc dictum eſt, tanquam ipſi Eccleſiæ diceretur, pax Eccleſia dimittit peccata, &c. Aug. de Bapt. c. Don. 3. 18.

What ſingular prerogative then can be imagined appertaining to Saint *Peter*? what ſubſtantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other Apoſtles? Nothing ſurely doth appear; whatever the Patrons of his Supremacy do claim for him, is precariouſly aſſumed, without any fair colour of proof: he for it, is beholding not to any teſtimony of Holy Scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy: We may well infer with Cardinal *Cuſanus*; *We know that* Peter *did not receive more Power from Chriſt than the other Apoſtles; for nothing was ſaid to* Peter, *which was not alſo ſaid to the other; Therefore* (addeth he) *we rightly ſay, that all the Apoſtles were equal to* Peter *in Power.*

Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus poteſtatis à Chriſto recepit aliis Apoſtolis; nihil enim dictum eſt ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non eſt. Ideo rectè dicimus omnes Apoſtolos eſſe æquales cum Petro in poteſtate. Card. Cuſ. de Conc. Cath. 2. 13.

8. Whereas Saint *Peter* himſelf did write two *Catholick Epiſtles*; there doth not in them appear any intimation, any air or ſavour of pretence to this Archapoſtolical Power. It is natural for Perſons endowed with unqueſtionable Authority (howſoever otherwiſe prudent and modeſt) to diſcover a ſpice thereof in the matter, or in the ſtyle of their writing; their Mind conſcious of ſuch advantage will ſuggeſt an authoritative way of expreſſion; eſpecially when they earneſtly exhort, or ſeriouſly reprove, in which caſes their very Authority is a conſiderable motive to aſſent or compliance, and ſtrongly doth impreſs any other arguments; But no Critick peruſing thoſe *Epiſtles* would ſmell a Pope in them. The Speech of St. *Peter*, although preſſing his Doctrine with conſiderations of this nature, hath no tang of ſuch Authority.

1 Pet. 5. 1---- *The Elders*, (ſaith he) *which are among you, I exhort, who alſo am an Elder, and a witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the Glory that ſhall be revealed*; by ſuch excellent, but common advantages of his Perſon and Office he preſſeth on the Clergy his advices.

Had he been what they make him, he might have ſaid, I the peculiar Vicar of *Chriſt*, and Sovereign of the Apoſtles, do not only exhort, but require this of you: This language had been very proper, and no leſs forcible; but nothing like this, nothing of the Spirit and Majeſty of the Pope, is ſeen in his diſcourſe; there is no *pagina noſtræ voluntatis & mandati*, which now is the Papal ſtyle; when He ſpeaketh higheſt, it is in the common name of the Apoſtles, *Be mindful* (ſaith he) *of the command* (that is, of the Doctrine and Precepts) *of us the Apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.*

Τῆς ἐντολῆς. 2 Pet. 3. 2.

9. In the Apoſtolical Hiſtory, the proper place of exerciſing this power (*wherein*, as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *we may ſee the predictions of Chriſt, which he uttered in the Goſpels, reduced to act, and the truth of them ſhining in the things themſelves*) no footſtep thereof doth appear.

Καὶ γὰρ τὰς προῤῥήσεις ἃς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Χριστὸς προανεφώνει, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐλαυνόμενα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμπουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Chryſ. in Act. 1.

We cannot there diſcern, that Saint *Peter* did aſſume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his Brethren was rendered to him as to their Governour or Judge. No inſtance there doth occur of his laying commands on any one Apoſtle, or exerciſing any act of juriſdiction upon any one; but rather to the contrary divers paſſages are obſervable, which argue, that he pretended to no ſuch thing, and that others did not underſtand any ſuch thing belonging to him.

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His temper indeed and zeal commonly did prompt him to be moſt forward in ſpeaking and acting, upon any emergency, for the propagation or maintenance of the Goſpel; and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him, ſtrongly might inſtigate him thereto; regard to his ſpecial gifts and ſufficiency, did incline the reſt willingly to yield that advantage to him; and perhaps becauſe upon the conſiderations before touched, they did allow ſome preference in order to him; but in other reſpects, as to the main adminiſtration of things, he *is but one among the reſt*; not taking upon him in his ſpeech or behaviour beyond others. All things are tranſacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in caſes of difference is made ſingly to him, no peremptory deciſion or decree is made by him; no orders are iſſued out by him alone, or in a ſpecial way; in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies he acteth but as one member; in deliberations he doth only propound his opinion, and paſſeth a ſingle vote; his judgment and practice are ſometimes queſtioned, but he is put to render an account of them; he doth not ſtand upon his Authority, but aſſigneth reaſons to perſuade his opinion, and juſtify his actions; yea ſometimes he is moved by the reſt, receiving orders and employment from them; theſe things we may diſcern by conſidering the inſtances which follow.

Ὡς θερμὸς, καὶ ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ ποιμνιον. καὶ ὡς τῆς χορῆς πρῶτος, ἀεὶ πρότερον ἄρχει τοῦ λόγου. Chryſ. in Act. 1. 15.

As being a man hot and earneſt, and as intruſted with the flock by Chriſt, and as the fore man of the company, he ever begins to ſpeak.

Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς —— in Act. 1. 26.

Probably ſo it fell out by reaſon of the ſignal virtue of the man.

Ἕτερός τις ὢν τῶν ἐκείνου τῆς χορῆς. Chryſ. de Sacerd. Or. 4.

Ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς γνώμης πάντα ποιοῦντα· καὶ οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς. Chryſ. in Act. 1. 16.

Behold him doing all things by common conſent; nothing authoritatively, nor imperiouſly.

In the deſignation of a new Apoſtle, to ſupply the place of *Judas*, he did indeed ſuggeſt the matter and lay the caſe before them, he firſt declared his ſenſe; but the whole company did chuſe two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration. Act. 1. Act. 1. 15. 21. Act. 23. 26. Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο ——

At the inſtitution of Deacons, *the twelve did call the multitude of Diſciples*, and directed them *to elect* the perſons; and the propoſal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly; *they choſe Stephen*, &c. whom *they ſet before the Apoſtles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.* Act. 6. 2. V. 5. Καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον.

In that important tranſaction about the obſervance of Moſaical Inſtitutions, *a great ſtir and debate being ſtarted*, which Saint *Paul* and Saint *Barnabas* by diſputation could not appeaſe, what courſe was then taken? did they appeal to Saint *Peter* as to the Supreme Dictator and Judge of Controverſies? not ſo; but *they ſent to the Apoſtles and Elders at* Jeruſalem *to enquire about the queſtion:* when thoſe great Meſſengers were arrived there, *they were received by the Church, and the Apoſtles, and Elders*; and having made their report, *the Apoſtles and Elders did aſſemble to conſider about that matter.* In this Aſſembly, *after much debate* paſſed, and that many had freely uttered their ſenſe, Saint *Peter roſe up*, with Apoſtolical gravity, declaring what his reaſon and experience did ſuggeſt conducing to a reſolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much adviſable, grounded not only upon common reaſon, but upon ſpecial revelation concerning the caſe; whereupon Saint *James*, alledging that revelation, and backing it with reaſon drawn from Scripture with much authority pronounceth his judgment: *Therefore*, ſaith he, *I judge*, (that is, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, *I authoritatively ſay*) *that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them*, &c. And the reſult was, that according to the propoſal of Saint *James*, it was by general conſent determined to ſend a decretal Letter unto the Gentile Chriſtians, containing a Canon or Advice directive of their practice in the caſe; *It ſeemed good to* (or was decreed by) *the Apoſtles and Elders with the whole Church, to ſend* —— and the Letter ran thus, *The Apoſtles, and Elders, and Brethren, to the Brethren of the Gentiles* —— Now in all this action, (in this leading precedent for the management of things in Eccleſiaſtical Synods and Conſiſtories) where can the ſharpeſt ſight deſcry any mark of diſtinction or pre-eminence which Saint *Peter* had in reſpect to the other Apoſtles? did Saint Act. 15. Γενομένης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης. V. 2. V. 4. V. 6. Act. 15. V. 7. Act. 15. V. 13 —— V. 14. V. 15. Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω. V. 19. Τί δὲ κρίνω ἐγὼ; ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ ἀκριβείας λέγω τοῦτο ἔστι. Chryſ. Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c. V. 12. Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Act. 16. 4. Κοινάπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπετείλαμεθα. Act. 21. 25.

Peter there any-wiſe behave himſelf like his pretended Succeſſors upon ſuch occaſions? what authority did he claim or uſe before that Aſſembly, or in it, or after it? did he ſummon or convocate it? no, they met upon common agreement: did he preſide there? no, but rather Saint *James, to whom* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *as Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *the Government was committed:* did he offer to curb or check any man, or to reſtrain him from his liberty of diſcourſe there? no, *there was much diſputation*, every man frankly ſpeaking his ſenſe: did he more than uſe his freedom of ſpeech becoming an Apoſtle, in arguing the caſe, and paſſing his vote? no, for in ſo exact relation nothing more doth appear: did he form the definitions, or pronounce the Decree reſulting? no, Saint *James* rather did that; for (as an ancient Author ſaith) Peter *did make an Oration, but Saint* James *did enact the Law:* was, beſide his ſuffrage in the debate, any ſingular approbation required from him, or did he by any Bull confirm the Decrees? no ſuch matter; theſe were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In ſhort, doth any thing correſpondent to Papal pretences appear aſſumed by Saint *Peter*, or deferred to him? If Saint *Peter* was ſuch a Man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himſelf, how did he neglect the right and dignity of his Office, in not taking more upon him, upon ſo illuſtrious an occaſion, the greateſt he did ever meet with? How defective alſo were the Apoſtolical College, and the whole Church of *Jeruſalem*, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their Sovereign, the Vicar of their Lord? Whatever account may be framed of theſe defailances, the truth is, that Saint *Peter* then did know his own place and duty better, than men do know them now; and the reſt as well underſtood how it became them to demean themſelves; St. *Chryſoſtom*'s reflections on thoſe paſſages are very good, that indeed then *there was no faſtuouſneſs in the Church*, and *the ſouls of thoſe primitive Chriſtians were clear of Vanity*; the which diſpoſitions did afterward ſpring up and grow rankly to the great prejudice of Religion, begetting thoſe exorbitant pretences, which we now diſprove.

Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῦ Κυρίε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τότε ἐπισκοπῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ᾧ τὴν Ἰουδαίων πίστιν ἀπάντων περιεσήκει πάντων. (Chry. *Tom.* 5. Or. 59)

Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τῷ τότε ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος —— ἐν δυνάσει ἦν. Chryſ. *in loc.*

For he had the Government committed to him —— he was impowered.

Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ. Heſych. *apud* Phot. *Cod.* 275.

Again, when Saint *Peter* being warned from Heaven thereto, did receive *Cornelius*, a Gentile Soldier, unto Communion; divers good Chriſtians, who were ignorant of the warrantableneſs of that proceeding (as others commonly were, and Saint *Peter* himſelf was, before he was informed by that ſpecial revelation) did not fear διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, *to conteſt with him* about it; not having any notion (as it ſeemeth) of his ſupreme unaccountable Authority (not to ſay of that Infallibility, with which the Canoniſts and Jeſuits have inveſted him) unto whom Saint *Peter* rendreth a fair account, and maketh a ſatisfactory Apology for his proceedings; not brow-beating thoſe audacious contenders with his Authority, but gently ſatisfying them with reaſon. But if he had known his Power to be ſuch, as now they pretend it to be, he ſhould have done well to have aſſerted it, even out of Good-will and Charity to thoſe good Brethren; correcting their error and checking their miſdemeanor; ſhewing them what an enormous preſumption it was ſo to contend with their Sovereign Paſtor and Judge.

Οὕτως ἀδιάφθορος ἦν τότε ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἅπας καθαρὰ δόξης ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή. Chryſ. *ibid.*

Act 10.28. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξε—

Act. 11. 12.

Act. 11. 2.

Bell. *de Pont.* Rom. 4 3. 4, &c.

Act. 11. 18.

Ὅρα τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ ἀκενόδοξον, —— ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογεῖται, καὶ ἐν ἀξιοῖ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀξιώματος κεχρῆσθαι. Chryſ.

See how free he is from pride and vainglory; ſee how he excuſes himſelf, and thinks himſelf not worthy to have the honour of a Maſter.

Ita ut Petrus quoque timens ne culparetur ab ipſis. Iren. 3. 12.

N. In the matter at *Antioch* Saint *Peter* did comply with Saint *James*, and the Judaizers, which did not beſeem ſuch Au[illegible]

Farther, ſo far was Saint *Peter* from aſſuming Command over his Bre[illegible] that he was upon occaſion ready to obey their Orders; as we may ſee [illegible] paſſage, where upon the converſion of divers perſons in *Samaria*, it [illegible]id, which *the Apoſtles hearing it, did ſend to them* Peter *and* John, *who going down prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt.* The Apoſtles ſent him, that, had he been their Sovereign, would have been ſomewhat unſeemly and preſumptuous; for Subjects are not wont to ſend their Prince, or Soldiers their Captain; to be ſent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himſelf did teach;

Act. 8. 14.

teach; *A Servant* (ſaid he) *is not greater than his Lord, nor he that is ſent greater than he that ſent him.* Saint *Luke* therefore ſhould at leaſt have ſo expreſſed this paſſage, that the Apoſtles might have ſeemed to keep their diſtance, and obſerved good manners: if he had ſaid, they beſeeched him to go, that had ſounded well; but *they ſent him*, is harſh, if he were *Dominus noſter Papa*, as the modern Apoſtles of *Rome* do ſtyle their *Peter*. The truth is, then among Chriſtians there was little ſtanding upon *Punctilio's*, private conſiderations and pretences to power then took ſmall place; each one was ready to comply with that which the moſt did approve, the community did take upon it to preſcribe unto the greateſt perſons, as we ſee again in another inſtance, where the Brethren at *Antioch* did *appoint* Paul *and* Barnabas (the moſt conſiderable perſons among them) *to go up unto* Jeruſalem. They were then *ſo generous, ſo merciful, ſo full of charity, as rather than to cauſe or foment any diſturbance, to recede, or go whither the multitude pleaſed, and do what was commanded by it.*

Joh. 13. 16.

"Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Π. καὶ Β. Act. 15. 2. 13. 3.

Τίς ἔνευνος ὑμῖν καὶ φιλόθεος; τίς εὐσπλάγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι ὅπου ἂν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προσταττόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Clem. ad Cor. 69.

Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels of compaſſion? who is full of charity? Let him ſay. If for my ſake there be ſedition, and ſtrife, and diviſions, I will depart and go whither you would have me, and do what ſhall be enjoyned me by the multitude.

10. In all relations, which occur in Scripture, about Controverſies incident of Doctrine or Practice, there is no appeal made to Saint *Peter*'s Judgment, or allegation of it as deciſive, no Argument is built on his Authority: Diſſent from his Opinion, or diſconformity to his Practice, or diſobedience to his Orders are not mentioned as ground of reproof, as aggravation of any error, any miſdemeanour, any diſorder; which were very ſtrange, if then he was admitted or known to be the Univerſal Prince and Paſtor of Chriſtians, or the Supreme Judge and Arbitrator of Controverſies among them: for then ſurely the moſt clear, compendious and effectual way to confute any error, or check any diſorder, had been to alledge the Authority of Saint *Peter* againſt it; who then could have withſtood ſo mighty a prejudice againſt his cauſe? if now a queſtion doth ariſe about any Point of Doctrine, inſtantly the Parties (at leaſt one of them, which hopeth to find moſt favour) hath recourſe to the Pope to define it; and his Judgment, with thoſe who admit his pretences, proveth ſufficiently deciſive, or at leaſt greatly ſwayeth in prejudice to the oppoſite Party. If any Hereſy, or any Opinion diſagreeing from the current ſentiments, is broached, the Pope preſently doth roar, that his voice is heard through Chriſtendom, and thundreth it down; if any Schiſm or Diſorder ſpringeth up, you may be ſure that *Rome* will inſtantly meddle to quaſh it, or to ſettle matters as beſt ſtandeth with its Principles and Intereſts; ſuch influence hath the ſhadow of Saint *Peter*'s Authority now; but no ſuch regard was then had to poor *Pope Peter* himſelf; he was not ſo buſy and ſtirring in ſuch caſes: the Apoſtles did not ſend Hereticks to be knocked down by his Sentence, nor Schiſmaticks to be ſcourged by his Cenſure, but were fain to uſe the long way of Diſputation, ſtriving to convince them by Teſtimonies of Scripture, and rational Diſcourſe. If they did uſe *authority*, it was their own; which they *challenge as given to them by Chriſt for edification*, or upon account of the more than ordinary gifts and graces of the Divine Spirit, conferred on them by God.

2 Cor. 13. 10. 10. 8 12. 21. 1 Cor. 4. 2. 2 Thel. 3. 14. 1 Cor. 7. 25, 40. 1 Thel. 4. 8.

11. Saint *Peter* no where doth appear intermedling as a Judge or Governor paramount in ſuch caſes; yea where he doth himſelf deal with Hereticks, and diſorderly perſons, confuting and reproving them (as he dealeth with divers notoriouſly ſuch) he proceedeth not as a Pope decreeing, but as an Apoſtle [illegible]; arguing and perſuading againſt them.

It is particularly remarkable how Saint *Paul* reproving the factions, which were among Chriſtians at *Corinth*, doth repreſent the ſeveral Parties, ſaying, *I am of* Paul, *I am of* Apollos, *I am of* Cephas, *I am of Chriſt*. Now ſuppoſing the caſe had then been clear and certain (and if it were not ſo then, how can it be ſo now?) that Saint *Peter* was Sovereign of the Apoſtles, is it not wonderful, that any Chriſtian ſhould prefer any Apoſtle, or any Preacher be-

1 Cor. 1. 12. 3. 21.

fore him? as if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the Pope is truly what he pretendeth to be, would any body ſtand in competition with him, would any glory in a relation to any other Miniſter before him?

'Αλλ' ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ὀλίγην ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίνατε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c. Clem. ad Corinth. p. 61.

It is obſervable how St. *Clemens* reflecteth on this contention; *Ye were* (ſaith he) *leſs culpable for that partiality; for ye did then incline to renowned Apoſtles, and to a man approved by them; but now*, &c.

If it be replied, that *Chriſt* himſelf did come into the compariſon; I anſwer, that probably no man was ſo vain, as to compare him with the reſt, nor indeed could any there pretend to have been baptized by him (which was the ground of the emulation in reſpect of the others) but thoſe who ſaid they were of *Chriſt*, were the wiſe and peaceable ſort, who by ſaying ſo declined and diſavowed faction; whoſe behaviour Saint *Paul* himſelf in his diſcourſe commendeth and confirmeth, ſhewing that all indeed were *of Chriſt*, the Apoſtles being only his Miniſters to work faith and virtue in them. *None* (ſaith St. *Auſtin*) *of thoſe contentious perſons were good, except thoſe who ſaid, but I am of Chriſt.*

1 Cor. 3. 5.

Falſum eſt quòd illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Chriſti. Aug. cont. Creſcon. 1. 27.

We may alſo here obſerve, that Saint *Paul* in reflecting upon theſe contentions, had a fair occaſion of intimating ſomewhat concerning Saint *Peter*'s Supremacy, and aggravating their blameable fondneſs, who compared others with him.

12. The conſideration of the Apoſtles proceeding in the converſion of people, in the foundation of Churches, and in adminiſtration of their ſpiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of Saint *Peter*'s Juriſdiction over them.

They went about their buſineſs not by Order or Licence from St. *Peter*, but according to ſpecial inſtinct and direction of God's Spirit (*being ſent forth by the Holy Ghoſt; going by revelation*) or according to their ordinary prudence, and the habitual *wiſdom given unto them*; by thoſe aids, (without troubling St. *Peter* or themſelves more) they founded Societies, they ordained Paſtors, they framed Rules and Orders requiſite for the Edification and good Government of Churches, reſerving to themſelves a kind of paramount inſpection and juriſdiction over them; which in effect was only *παλαιὰ ἐπιμέλεια, a paternal care* over them; which they particularly claimed to themſelves upon account of ſpiritual parentage, for that they had begotten them to *Chriſt*; *If* (ſaith St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*) *I am not an Apoſtle to others, I am howſoever ſo to you.* Why ſo? becauſe he had converted them, and could ſay, *As my beloved Sons I warn you, for though ye have ten thouſand Inſtructors in Chriſt, yet ye have not many fathers; for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the Goſpel.* This paternal charge they did exerciſe without any dependence, or regard to Saint *Peter*, none ſuch appearing, it not being mentioned that they did ever conſult his pleaſure, or render him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded abſolutely, by vertue of their Univerſal Office and Commiſſion of our Lord.

'Εκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῦ πνεύμ. ἁγ. Act. 13. 4. 2. 16. 6. 9. Gal. 2. 2. Κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν. 2 Pet. 3. 5.

1 Cor. 7. 17. 11. 34. 16. 1.

Tit. 1. 5.

Ibid. Pel. 1 Theſ. 2. 7, 11. 1 Cor. 9. 2. Act. 18. 1.

1 Cor. 4. 14, 15. Gal. 4. 19.

If it be alledged that Saint *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem* to Saint *Peter*; I anſwer, that it was *to viſit him* out of reſpect and love; or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort; or at moſt to obtain approbation from him and the other Apoſtles, which might ſatisfy ſome doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative inſtructions from him; it being, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, the deſign of Saint *Paul*'s diſcourſe to disavow any ſuch dependence on any man whatever. So ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom* note, *What* (ſaith he) *can be more humble than this Soul? after ſo many and ſo great exploits, having no need at all of* Peter, *or of his diſcourſe, but being in dignity equal to him* (*for I will now ſay no more*) *he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater and ancienter; and a ſight alone of* Peter *is the cauſe of his journey thither* —— And *He went*

Gal. 1. 18. Ἱστορῆσαι.

Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς μὴ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα κατορθώσας μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενον, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμον ὢν αὐτῷ (πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως) ὅμως ἀνέρχεται, ὡς πρὸς μείζονα, καὶ πρεσβύτερον· καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκεῖ γίνεται αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέτρου μόνου —— ἦλθε γὰρ ὡς μαθητεύσων τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς διορθωτήν τινα δεξόμενον,

went (ſaith he again) *not to learn any thing of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might ſee him, and honour him with his preſence.*

ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ. Chryſ. *in* Gal. 1. 18.

And indeed that there was no ſuch deference of the Apoſtles to Saint *Peter*, we may hence reaſonably preſume, becauſe it would then have been not only impertinent and needleſs, but inconvenient and troubleſome. For,

13. If we conſider the nature of the Apoſtolical Office, the ſtate of things at that time, and the manner of Saint *Peter*'s Life; in correſpondence to thoſe things, he will appear uncapable, or unfit to manage ſuch a juriſdiction over the Apoſtles, as they aſſign him.

The nature of the Apoſtolical Miniſtry was ſuch, that the Apoſtles were not fixed in one place of reſidence, but were continually moving about the World, or *in procinctu*, ready in their gears to move whither Divine ſuggeſtions did call them, or fair occaſion did invite them, for the propagation or furtherance of the Goſpel.

2 Cor. 11. 25. Ἐπαιδὰν γὰρ ἤμελλον τὴν οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. Chryſ. *in* Joan. 21. 23.

For ſeeing they were to take upon them the inſpection and ſuperintendency of all the World, it behoved them not any longer to be mixt or conjoyned together, for this had been a great loſs and hindrance to the World.

The ſtate of things was not favourable to the Apoſtles, who were diſcountenanced and diſgraced, perſecuted, and driven from one place to another; (as our Lord foretold to them) Chriſtians lay ſcattered about at diſtant Places, ſo that Opportunities of diſpatch for conveyance of inſtructions from him, or of accounts to him were not eaſily found.

1 Cor. 4. 9. 2 Cor. 4. 8. 6. 4. 11. 25. Matt. 24. 9. Luke 21. 12.

Saint *Thomas* preaching in *Parthia*, Saint *Andrew* in *Scythia*, Saint *John* in *Aſia*, *Simon Zelotes* in *Britain*, * Saint *Paul* in many Places; other Apoſtles and Apoſtolical men in *Arabia*, in *Æthiopia*, in *India*, in *Spain*, in *Gaul*, in *Germany*, *in the whole World*, *and in all the Creation under Heaven* (as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh) could not well maintain correſpondence with Saint *Peter*; eſpecially conſidering the manner of his Life, which was not ſettled in any one known place, but movable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide World, preaching the Goſpel, converting, confirming and comforting Chriſtian People, as occaſion ſtarting up did induce; how then could he conveniently diſpenſe all about his ruling and judging influence? how in caſes incident could direction be fetched from him, or reference be made to him by thoſe ſubordinate Governors, who could not eaſily know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To ſend to him had been to ſhoot at rovers; affairs therefore which ſhould depend on his reſolution and orders, muſt have had great ſtops; he could but very lamely have executed ſuch an office; ſo that his juriſdiction muſt have been rather an extreme inconvenience and encumbrance, than any-wiſe beneficial or uſeful to the Church.

Euſeb. 3. 1. Niceph. 2. 38. 39 40. Tertul. *ad* Jud. *cap.* 7.

* Ὁ δὲ οἰκουμένην καδιδοὺς, καὶ τῷ θείῳ πίστεως δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφήνας. Baſ. Seleuc. Or. 2.

He that run his race through the whole Univerſe, and by his ſo eager running for the Faith, made the world as it were too narrow for him.

Col. 1. 6. 23. Rom. 10. 18.

Gold and Silver he had none, or a very ſmall Purſe to maintain Dependants and Officers to help him; (Nuncio's, Legates *à latere*, Secretaries, Auditors, &c.) Infinity of affairs would have oppreſſed a poor helpleſs man; and to bear ſuch a Burthen as they lay on him, no one could be ſufficient.

14. It was indeed moſt requiſite, that every Apoſtle ſhould have a complete, abſolute, independent Authority in managing the concerns and duties of his Office; that he might not any-wiſe be obſtructed in the Diſcharge of them; not clogged with a need to conſult others, not hampered with orders from thoſe who were at diſtance, and could not well deſcry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of him who had promiſed to be *perpetually preſent with them*, and [illegible] his Holy Spirit to guide, to inſtruct, to admoniſh them upon all occaſion, was abundantly ſufficient: they did not want any other conduct or aid beſide that ſpecial Light and powerful Influence of Grace, which they received from him; the which ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς, *did* (as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh) *render them ſufficient Miniſters of the New Teſtament.*

Matt. 28 20. Joh. 16. 13. 14. 26. 2 Cor. 3. 5. Rom. 15. 15.

Accordingly

Accordingly their diſcourſe and practice do thoroughly favour of ſuch an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true, which *Bellarmine* dictateth, that *the Apoſtles depended on Saint* Peter, *as on their head, and commander.*

—— *à quo illi tanquam à capite, & imperatore ſuo pendebant.* Bellarm. *de Pont.* 1. 16.

15. Particularly the diſcourſe and behaviour of Saint *Paul* towards Saint *Peter* doth evidence, that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any ſubjection to him.

Saint *Paul* doth often purpoſely aſſert to himſelf an independent and abſolute power, inferior or ſubordinate to none other, inſiſting thereon for the enforcement or neceſſary defence of his Doctrine and Practice; (*I have become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me,* (ſaith he) alledging divers pregnant arguments to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his office, the tenour of his proceedings in the diſcharge of it, the ſucceſs of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of the other Apoſtles.

2 Cor. 12. 11. Rom. 11. 13.

As for his call and commiſſion to the Apoſtolical office, he maintaineth (as if he meant deſignedly to exclude thoſe pretences, that other Apoſtles were only called *in partem ſolicitudinis* with Saint *Peter*) that he was *an Apoſtle not from men, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father*; that is, that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from men, or by the miniſtry of any man; but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the Hiſtory plainly ſheweth, in which our Lord telleth him, that he did *Conſtitute him an Officer, and a choſen inſtrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles.*

Bell. 1. 9. 14. 16. Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου. Gen. 1. 1.

Προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην, &c. Act. 9. 15. 22. 21.

Hence he ſo often is careful and cautious to expreſs himſelf an Apoſtle by *the will* and ſpecial *grace*, or favour and appointment, and command of God; and particularly telleth the *Romans*, that *by Chriſt he had received grace, and Apoſtleſhip.*

Θελήματι Θεοῦ. 1 Cor. 1. 1. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Eph. 1. 1. Col. 1. 1. Tim. 1. 1. Χάριτι. 1 Cor. 15. 10. Eph. 3. 7. 1 Tim. 1. 12. 2 Tim. 1. 12. Κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 1 Tim. 1. 1. Rom. 1. 5.

For the warrant of his Office, he doth not alledge the allowance of Saint *Peter*, or any other, but thoſe ſpecial gifts and graces which were conſpicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performances; *Truly*, ſaith he, *the ſigns of an Apoſtle were wrought among you in all patience, in ſigns and wonders, and mighty deeds*; and *I will not dare to ſpeak of any of thoſe things, which Chriſt hath not wrought by me to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through mighty ſigns and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.*

2 Cor. 12. 12. Rom. 15. 18, 19. 2 Cor. 2. 4.

To the ſame purpoſe he alledgeth his ſucceſsful induſtry in converting men to the Goſpel; *Am I not an Apoſtle?* (ſaith he) *are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an Apoſtle to others, I am ſurely one to you; for the ſeal of mine Apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.* And, *by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace which was on me became not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all.*

1 Cor. 9. 1. — 1 Cor. 15. 10. 2 Cor. 11. 23.

In the diſcharge of his Office, he immediately (after that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour) without conſulting or taking licence from any man, did vigorouſly apply himſelf to the work. *Immediately*, ſaith he, *I conferred not with fleſh and blood, neither went I up to Jeruſalem to them, that before me were Apoſtles*; ſo little did he take upon himſelf to be accountable to any man.

Gal. 1. 16, 17.

In ſettling order, and correcting irregularities in the Church, he profeſſed to act merely by his own Authority, conferred on him by our Lord: *Therefore* (ſaith he) *being abſent*, I write theſe things, *that being preſent I may not uſe ſeverity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for deſtruction.*

2 Cor. 13. 10. 10. 8.

Such being the privileges, which he did aſſert to himſelf with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other Apoſtles, but the chief of them, *knowing the grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right-hand of fellowſhip*, in token of their acknowledgment and allowance of his proceedings.

Gal. 2. 9.

Upon theſe conſiderations (plainly ſignifying his abſolute independence in the reception and execution of his Office) he doth more than once affirm (and in a manner *boaſt*) himſelf *to be inferior in nothing to the very chief Apoſtles*;

2 Cor. 12. 16, 17.

in

in nothing, that is in nothing pertinent to the Authority, or ſubſtantial Dignity of his place; for as to his perſonal merit, he profeſſeth himſelf *much leſs than the leaſt of the Apoſtles*, but as to the authentickneſs and authority of his Office, he deemed himſelf equal to the greateſt; *being by the grace of God what he was; a Miniſter of the Goſpel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was given him according to the effectual working of his power.*

2 Cor. 12. 11. 11. 5. 1 Cor. 15. 9. Eph. 3. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 10. Eph. 3. 7.

When he ſaid he was *behind none*, he could not forget Saint *Peter*; when he ſaid *none of the chief*, he could not but eſpecially mean him (he did indeed, as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, intend *to compare himſelf with St.* Peter;) when he ſaid *in nothing*, he could not but deſign that which was moſt conſiderable, the Authority of his place; which in the context he did expreſly mention. For when he objected to himſelf the ſemblance of fondneſs or arrogance in ſpeaking after that manner, he declared that he did not ſpeak raſhly or vainly, but upon ſerious conſideration, and with full aſſurance, finding it very needful or uſeful to maintain his Authority, or to *magnify his Office*, as he otherwhere ſpeaketh.

Περὶ τοῦ θεὶ Πέτρου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύγκρισιν. 2 Cor. 11. 5. Καὶ περιεργίαν. 2 Cor. 12. 11. 1. 16, 17. Rom. 11. 13.

If things had been, as now we are taught from the *Roman* School, it is ſtrange, that Saint *Paul* ſhould compare himſelf ſo generally, not excepting Saint *Peter*; that he ſhould expreſs (nor by the leaſt touch intimate) no ſpecial conſideration for his, as they tell us, *ordinary Paſtor*; that he ſhould not conſider how liable ſuch words were to be interpreted in derogation to St. *Peter*'s due Prerogatives.

Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 11.

But it is no wonder, that Saint *Paul*, in Saint *Peter*'s abſence, ſhould thus ſtand on his own legs, not ſeeming to mind him, whenas in immediate tranſactions with him he demeaned himſelf as his fellow, yielding to him no reſpect or deference as to his Superior. For,

When Saint *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem* to have conference with Saint *Peter*, and other Apoſtles, who were chief in repute, he profeſſeth, that *they did not confer any thing to him*, ſo as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary courſe of practice, which was different from theirs; this was (it ſeemeth) hardly proper or ſeemly for him to ſay, if Saint *Peter* had been his Sovereign; but he ſeemeth to ſay it on very pupoſe, to exclude any prejudice that might ariſe to his Doctrine from their authority or repute; their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the caſe; for *whatſoever* (addeth he) *they were, it maketh no matter to me, God reſpecteth no man's perſon*; the which might well be ſaid of Perſons greater in common eſteem, but not ſo well of one who was his Superior in Office; to whoſe opinion and conduct, as of his Judge and Paſtor by God's appointment, he did owe a ſpecial regard.

Gal. 2. 6.

Again, St. *Paul* at *Antioch obſerving St.* Peter *out of fear* and policy to act otherwiſe than became the ſimplicity and ſincerity of Chriſtians, to the prejudice of *Evangelical Truth*, Charity and Liberty, againſt his own judgment and former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the ſame unwarrantable courſe of behaviour, did *withſtand him to the face*, did *openly reprove him before all, becauſe he was blameable*; did, as P. *Gelaſius* I. affirmeth (to excuſe another Pope misbehaving himſelf) *worthily confute him*; did (as St. *Auguſtine* often doth affirm and urge, in proof that the greateſt Perſons may ſometimes err and fail) *correct him, rebuke him, chide him.*

Gal. 2. 12, 13, 14.

(*Vid.* P. Pelag. II. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 308. *in Epiſt. ad* Eliam.)

V. 11. 14.

Numquid ideo aut illa ejus ſequenda ſunt, quæ meritò Co-apoſtolus ejus facta redarguit. Gelaſ. I. *de* Anath. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 645.)

Apoſtolo Paulo monſtrante, & corrigente Aug.

c. Creſcon. 1. 32. 2. 32. *Ep.* 19. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 1. 2. *correptus cont. Don.* 2. 1. *objurgavit Ep.* 8.

—— *qui de minore cauſa converſationis ambigua Petro ipſi non pepercit.* Tert. 5. 3. (*contra* Marc.)

—— who for a ſmaller matter of doubtful converſation ſpared not *Peter* himſelf.

Cum laudatur etiam Pauli minimi Apoſtolorum ſana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum Apoſtolorum primum adductum in hypocriſin, & non recta via incedentem ad veritatem Evangelii fideuter improbans, in faciem illi reſtitit eumque coràm omnibus objurgavit. Fac. Her. 8. 6.

Where the ſound reaſon and freedom even of *Paul* the leaſt of the Apoſtles, is commended, in that, when *Peter* the chief of the Apoſtles was carried away with diſſimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the Goſpel, he boldly diſlik'd, and withſtood him to the face, and reprov'd him openly before all.

Which behaviour of Saint *Paul* doth not well conſiſt with the *Suppoſition, That Saint* Peter *was his ſuperior in Office*; if that had been, *Porphyrius* with good colour of reaſon might have objected *procacity* to Saint *Paul* in taxing his betters; for he then indeed had ſhewed us no commendable pattern of demeanour

Hier. *ad* Aug. *Ep.* 41. *in Prol. ad* Gal.

nour towards our Governors, in ſo boldly oppoſing Saint *Peter*, in ſo openly cenſuring him, in ſo ſmartly confuting him.

More unſeemly alſo it had been to report the buſineſs as he doth in writing to the *Galatians*; for to divulge the miſcarriages of Superiors, to revive the memory of them, to regiſter them, and tranſmit them down to all poſterity, to ſet forth our claſhing and conteſts with them, is hardly allowable; if it may conſiſt with juſtice and honeſty, it doth yet little ſavour of gravity and modeſty: It would have been more ſeemly for Saint *Paul* to have privately and humbly remonſtrated to Saint *Peter*, than openly and down-rightly to have reprehended him; at leaſt it would have become him in cold blood to have repreſented his carriage more reſpectfully, conſulting the honour of the Univerſal Paſtor, whoſe reputation was like to ſuffer by ſuch a repreſentation of his proceedings. Pope *Pelagius* II. would have taught Saint *Paul* better manners; who ſaith, that *they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who do reprove or accuſe their Prelates*; and Pope *Gregory* would have taught him another leſſon, namely, that *the evils of their Superiors do ſo diſpleaſe good Subjects, that however they do conceal them from others*; and *Subjects are to be admoniſhed, that they do not raſhly judge the life of their Superiors, if perhaps they ſee them do blameably*, &c.

Non ſunt conſentiendi, ſed reprobandi, qui prælatos ſuos reprehendunt vel accuſant. Pelag. II. Ep. 2.

Bonis ſubditis ſic præpoſitorum ſuorum mala diſplicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent. Greg. M. Moral. 25. 15.

Admonendi ſunt ſubditi, ne præpoſitorum ſuorum vitam temerè judicent, ſiquid eos fortaſſe agere reprehenſibiliter vident, &c. Greg. Paſt. part. 3. cap. 1. Admon. 5.

It is plain, that Saint *Paul* was more bold with Saint *Peter*, than any man now muſt be with the Pope; for let the Pope commit never ſo great crimes, yet *no mortal* (ſaith the Canon Law) *may preſume to reprove his faults*

Grat. diſt. 40. cap. 6.

But if Saint *Peter* were not in Office ſuperior to Saint *Paul*, but his Collegue, and equal in Authority, although preceding him in ſtanding, repute, and other advantages; then St. *Paul*'s free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable, but wholeſome, and deſerving for edification to be recited and recorded; as implying an example how Collegues upon occaſion ſhould with freedom and ſincerity admoniſh their Brethren of their errors and faults; St. *Peter*'s carriage in patiently bearing that correption alſo, affording another good pattern of equanimity in ſuch caſes; to which purpoſe * St. *Cyprian* (alledged and approved by † St. *Auſtin*) doth apply this paſſage; *for* (ſaith he) *neither* Peter *whom the Lord firſt choſe, and upon whom he hath built his Church, when* Paul *afterward conteſted with him about circumciſion, did inſolently challenge, or arrogantly aſſume any thing to himſelf, ſo as to ſay that he did hold the primacy, and that rather thoſe who were newer and later Apoſtles ought to obey him, neither deſpiſed he Saint* Paul, *becauſe he was before a perſecutor of the Church, but he admitted the counſel of truth, and eaſily conſented to the lawful courſe, which St.* Paul *did maintain; yielding indeed to us a document both of concord and patience, that we ſhould not pertinaciouſly love our own things, but ſhould rather take thoſe things for ours which ſometimes are profitably and wholeſomly ſuggeſted by our Brethren and Collegues, if they are true and lawful*; this St. *Cyprian* ſpeaketh, upon ſuppoſition that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* were equals, or (as he calleth them) Collegues and Brethren, in rank co-ordinate; otherwiſe St. *Cyprian* would not have approved the action; for he often ſeverely doth inveigh againſt Inferiors taking upon them to cenſure their Superiors; *What tumour* (ſaith he) *of pride, what arrogance of mind, what inflation of heart, is it to call our Superiors and Biſhops to our cogniſance?* St. *Cyprian* therefore could not conceive Saint *Peter* to be Saint *Paul*'s Governor, or Superior in Power; he doth indeed plainly enough in the forecited words ſignify, that in his Judgment Saint *Peter* had done *inſolently and arrogantly*, if he had aſſumed any *obedience* from Saint *Paul*. St. *Auſtin* alſo doth in ſeveral places of his Writings make the like application of this paſſage.

* *Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, &c.* Cypr. Ep. 71. (ad Quint.)
† Aug. de Bapt. c. Don. 2. 2.

Quis enim hic eſt ſuperbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio ad cognitionem ſuos præpoſitos & Sacerdotes vocare? Cypr. Ep. 69.

Aug. c. Don. de Bapt. 2. 1, 2. Ep. 19.

The ancient Writer contemporary to St. *Ambroſe*, and paſſing under his name, doth argue in this manner; *Who dared reſiſt* Peter *the firſt Apoſtle, to whom the Lord did give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but another ſuch*

Nam quis eorum auderet

a

a one; who in aſſurance of his election knowing himſelf to be not unequal to him, might conſtantly diſprove what he had unadviſedly done?

Petro primo Apoſtolo, cui claves regni cœlorum Dominus dedit, reſiſtere, niſi alius talis, qui fiduciâ electionis ſuæ, ſciens ſe non imparem, conſtanter improbaret quod ille ſine conſilio fecerat? Ambr. *in* Gal. 2. 9.

Paulus Petrum reprehendit, quod non auderet, niſi ſe non imparem ſciret. (Hieron. *vel alius ad* Gal. *citatus à* Grat. *Cauſ.* 2. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 33.)

Paul reprehended *Peter*, which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himſelf to be equal to him.

It is indeed well known, that *Origen*, and after him St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Hierom*, and divers of the Ancients beſide, did conceive that Saint *Paul* did not ſeriouſly oppoſe or tax Saint *Peter*, but did only do it ſeemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good deſign.

S. Cyril. *c.* Jul. *lib.* 9. (*p.* 325) Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. ἐν τῷ Δυκχῷ. Aug. *Ep.* 11.

This interpretation, however ſtrained and earneſtly impugned by Saint *Auſtin*, I will not diſcuſs; but only ſhall obſerve, that it being admitted doth rather ſtrengthen than weaken our diſcourſe: for, if Saint *Peter* were Saint *Paul*'s Governor, it maketh Saint *Peter* to have conſented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and ſcandalous; and how can we imagine, that Saint *Peter* would have complotted to the impairing his own juſt Authority in the eye of a great Church? doth not ſuch a condeſcenſion imply in him a diſavowing of Superiority over Saint *Paul*, or a conſpiracy with him to overthrow good Order?

To which purpoſe we may obſerve, that St. *Chryſoſtom*, in a large and very elaborate diſcourſe, wherein he profeſſeth to endeavour *an aggravation* of the irregularity of St. *Paul*'s demeanour, if it were ſerious; doth not lay the ſtreſs of that aggravation upon St. *Paul*'s oppoſing his lawful Governor, but his only ſo treating a *Co-apoſtle* of ſuch eminency: Neither when to that end he deſigneth to reckon all the advantages of St. *Peter* beyond St. *Paul*, or any other Apoſtle, doth he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpoſe, that he was St. *Paul*'s Governor: which obſervations if we do carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine, that St. *Chryſoſtom* had any notion of St. *Peter*'s Supremacy in relation to the Apoſtles.

Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Καὶ ἵνα αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ μείζονα ποιῶ, &c.

Ὡς οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Πέτρου τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀποκλεισασθαι, ὁ Παῦλος φανεὶς θαρσαλέως, καὶ ἀνεπισκέπτως τὸ σωφρονοῦν κατηγορῶν——

So that 'tis no advantage to me, if, when *Peter* has confuted the charge, *Paul* appear to accuſe his Fellow-Apoſtle boldly and inconſiderately.

In fine, the drift of St. *Paul*, in reporting thoſe paſſages concerning himſelf, was not to diſparage the other Apoſtles, nor merely to commend himſelf, but to fence the truth of his Doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his Diſciples againſt any prejudice that might ariſe from any authority, that might be pretended in any conſiderable reſpects ſuperior to his, and alledged againſt them; to which purpoſe he declareth by arguments and matters of fact, that his Authority was perfectly Apoſtolical, and equal to the greateſt; even to that of St. *Peter* the prime Apoſtle, of St. *John* the beloved Diſciple, of St. *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; the judgment or practice of whom, was no law to him, nor ſhould be to them, farther than it did conſiſt with that Doctrine, which he by an independent Authority, and by ſpecial *revelation from Chriſt* did preach unto them: He might (as St. *Chryſoſtom* noteth) have pretended *to ſome advantage over them*, in regard that he *had laboured more abundantly than they all*, but he forbeareth to do ſo, *being contented to obtain equal advantages*.

Gal. 1. 12.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέλιτα τῶν Ἀποστόλων πλείονα κεκοπίακε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαίρεται διὰ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ, ἀλλὰ τίνος ἡ καλλωπίζεται τότε, ἵνα ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φέρειν. Chryſ. *in* Gal. 1. 1.

Well therefore, conſidering the diſadvantage which this paſſage bringeth to the *Roman* pretence, might this Hiſtory be called by *Baronius*, *a Hiſtory hard to be underſtood, a ſtone of offence, a rock of ſcandal, a rugged place, which St. Auſtin himſelf, under favour, could not paſs over without ſtumbling.*

Baron. *Ann.* § 32. 35. &c.

It may alſo be conſidered, that St. *Paul* particularly doth aſſert to himſelf an independent authority over the *Gentiles*, co-ordinate to that which St. *Peter* had over the *Jews*; the which might engage him ſo earneſtly to conteſt with St. *Peter*, as by his practice ſeducing thoſe, who belonged to his charge; the which alſo probably moved him thus to aſſert his authority to the *Galatians*, as being *Gentiles* under his care, and thence obliged eſpecially to regard his authority. *They*

Rom. 11. 13.

Plena authoritas Petro in Judaïſmi prædicatione data dignoſcitur, & Pauli perfecta authoritas in prædicatione Gentium roboratur. Ambr.

There is diſcerned a full authority given to *Peter* of preaching to the *Jews*, and in *Paul* there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles.

Gal. 1. 6, 7. (ſaith St. *Paul*) *knowing that I was entruſted with the Goſpel of uncircumciſion, as Peter* was entruſted *with that of circumciſion,* —— *gave unto me and* Barnabas *the right hand of fellowſhip*; the which words do clearly enough ſignify, that he took himſelf, and that the other Apoſtles took him to have under *Chriſt* an abſolute charge, ſubordinate to no man, over the *Gentiles*; whence he 2 Cor. 11. 28. claimeth to himſelf, as the burthen, *the care of all the Churches*; he therefore might well conteſt for their liberty, he might well inſiſt upon his authority among them.

Τὰς μὲν ἦν Ἰουδαίους ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἔπεσπεν ὁ Χριστός. Chryſ. T. 5. Or. 59.

Δείκνυσιν ἑαυτοῦ ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει, δείκνυς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔκρινε καὶ ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Chryſ. in Gal. 2. 8.

Thus did St. *Chryſoſtom* underſtand the caſe; for *Chriſt* (ſaith he) *committed the Jews to* Peter, *but ſet* Paul *over the Gentiles*; and, *He* (ſaith that great Father) *farther doth ſhew himſelf to be equal to them in dignity, and compareth himſelf not only to the others, but even to the ring-leader; ſhewing that each did enjoy equal dignity.*

It may alſo by any prudent Conſiderer eaſily be diſcerned, that if St. *Peter* had really been, as they aſſert him, ſo in Authority ſuperior to the other Apoſtles, it is hardly poſſible that St. *Paul* ſhould upon theſe occaſions expreſs nothing of it.

16. If St. *Peter* had been appointed Sovereign of the Church, it ſeemeth that it ſhould have been requiſite, that he ſhould have out-lived all the Apoſtles; for then either the Church muſt have wanted a Head, or there muſt have been an inextricable Controverſy about who that Head was. St. *Peter* dyed long before St. *John* (as all agree) and perhaps before divers other of the Apoſtles. Now, after his departure, did the Church want a Head? (then it might before, and after have none; and our Adverſaries loſe the main ground of their pretence) did one of the Apoſtles become Head? (which of them was it; upon what ground did he aſſume the Headſhip, or who conferred it on him; who ever did acknowledge any ſuch thing, or where is there any report about it?) was any other perſon made Head? (ſuppoſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, who only pretendeth thereto;) then did St. *John*, and other Apoſtles become ſubject to one in degree inferior to them; then what becometh of St. *Paul's* 1 Cor. 12. 28. *firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers?* what do all the Apoſtolical privileges come to, when Saint *John* muſt be at the command of *Linus*, and Eph. 4. 11. *Cletus*, and *Clemens*, and of I know not who beſide? was it not a great abſurdity for the Apoſtles to truckle under the *Paſtors and Teachers of* Rome?

The like may be ſaid for St. *James*, if he (as the *Roman* Church doth in its *Liturgicks* ſuppoſe) were an Apoſtle; who in many reſpects might claim the pre-eminence. Who therefore in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions is preferred before *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome*.

17. Upon the ſame grounds, on which a Supremacy of power is claimed to St. *Peter*, other Apoſtles might alſo challenge a Superiority therein over their Brethren; but to ſuppoſe ſuch a difference of power among the reſt, is abſonous; and therefore the grounds are not valid, upon which St. *Peter's* Supremacy is built.

I inſtance in St. *James* and St. *John*, who upon the ſame probabilities had (after St. *Peter*) a preference to the other Apoſtles. For to them our Saviour declared a ſpecial regard; to them the Apoſtles afterwards may ſeem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances ſeem to have Matt. 4. 21. ſurpaſſed; they (after St. *Peter* and his Brother) were firſt called to the Apo- Luk. 5. 10. ſtolical Office; they (as St. *Peter*) were by our Lord new chriſtned (as it Mar. 3. 17. were) and nominated *Boanerges*, by a name ſignifying the efficacy of their en- 2 Pet. 1. 16. deavour in their Maſter's ſervice; they, together with St. *Peter*, were [illegible]ned Matt. 26. 37. to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our L[illegible] in his Mark 14. 33. agony; they alſo, with St. *Peter* (others being excluded) were taken [illegible]atteſt Matt. 20. 20. our Lord's performance of that great Miracle, of reſtoring the Ruler's daugh- Mark 10. 35. ter to life; they, preſuming on their ſpecial favour with our Lord, did pre- Luk 10. 37. tend to the chief places in his Kingdom.

To one of them it is expreſſed that our Saviour did bear a peculia[illegible]ffection, Joh. 13. 23. he being *the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved*, and *who leaned on his boſom*; to the 21. 7. 20. other he particularly diſcovered himſelf after his Reſurrection, and firſt ho- 1 Cor. 15. 7. noured him with the Crown of Martyrdom.

They

They in blood and cognation did neareſt touch our Lord; being his Couſin Germans, (which was eſteemed by the Ancients a ground of preferment) as *Hegeſippus* reporteth.

Τὰς δ' ἀπολυθείσας ἡγήσασθαι τ' Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὁμῶ καὶ ἐκ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου. Hegeſipp *apud* Euſeb. 3. 20. They being diſmiſt and ſent away to govern the Churches, as being both Witneſſes, and alſo Kinſmen of our Lord.

Their induſtry and activity in propagation of the Goſpel was moſt eminently conſpicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that St. *James* did firſt ſuffer for it, and St. *John* did longeſt perſiſt in the faithful Confeſſion of it; whoſe Writings in ſeveral kinds do remain as the richeſt magazines of Chriſtian Doctrine, furniſhing us with the fulleſt Teſtimonies concerning the Divinity of our Lord, with ſpecial Hiſtories of his Life, and with his divineſt Diſcourſes; with moſt lively incitements to Piety and Charity; with prophetical Revelations concerning the ſtate of the Church. He therefore was one of the στύλοι, chief Pillars and Props of the Chriſtian Profeſſion, one of the ὑπερλίαν Ἀπόστολοι, *the Superlative Apoſtles.*

Acts 12. 2.

Gal. 2. 9.
2 Cor. 12. 11
11. 5.

Accordingly in the Rolls of the Apoſtles, and in reports concerning them, their names uſually are placed after St. *Peter.*

Mar. 3. 17.
Act. 1. 13.

Hence alſo ſome of the Fathers do take them, as St. *Peter* was, to have been preferred by our Lord; * Peter (ſaith St. *Gregory Nazianzen*) *and* James *and* John, *who both were indeed, and were reckoned before the others —— ſo indeed did Chriſt himſelf prefer them*; and Peter, James, *and* John (ſaith *Clemens Alex*) *did not, as being preferred by the Lord himſelf, conteſt for honour, but did chuſe* James *the Juſt, Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, (or as *Ruffinus* reads, *Biſhop of the Apoſtles.*)

* Λαζὼν τὸν τε νῦν καὶ τὸν κορυφαίους. Chryſ. in Matt. 17. 1. Taking therefore the chief and principal.

Διὰ τί τούτους σὺν ἑαυτῷ παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξαίρετοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες. Chryſ. *ib.* Wherefore taketh he theſe only with him? becauſe theſe were the chief and principal above the others.

Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ περὶ τὸν ἄλλων καὶ ὄντες καὶ δεδοξασμένοι—— αὕτη μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις. Greg. Naz. Or. 26.

Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου περιτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιφθονήσας δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι. (*Ruffinus reddit Apoſtolorum Epiſcopum.*) Clem. Alex. *apud* Euſeb. 2. 1.

Hence if by deſignation of *Chriſt*, by the Conceſſion of the Apoſtolical College, by the prefulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground, St. *Peter* had the πρωτεῖα or firſt place, the δευτερεῖα or next place in the ſame kind, by like means, upon the ſame grounds ſeems to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage did imply difference not in Power but in Order only (not authoritative Superiority, but honorary Precedence) then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The Fathers, both in expreſs terms, and implicitly or by conſequence, do aſſert the Apoſtles to have been equal or co-ordinate in Power and Authority.

What can be more expreſs, than that of St. *Cyprian*? *The other Apoſtles were indeed that which* Peter *was, endowed with equal conſortſhip of honour and power*; and again, *Although our Lord giveth to all the Apoſtles after his reſurrection an equal power, and ſaith, As the Father ſent me, ſo I ſend you.*

Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi & honoris & poteſtatis.

—— *quamvis Apoſtolis omnibus poſt reſurrectionem ſuam parem poteſtatem tribuat, ac dicat, &c.* Cypr. de Un. Eccl.

What can be more plain than that of St. *Chryſoſtom*? *St.* Paul *ſheweth, that each Apoſtle did enjoy equal dignity.*

Δεικνὺς, ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ χάρις ἅπασι καὶ ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Chryſ. in Gal. 2. 8.

How again could St. *Chryſoſtom* more clearly ſignify his Opinion, than when comparing St. *Paul* to St. *Peter*, he calleth St. *Paul* ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ, *equal in honour to him*, adding, πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως, *for I will not as yet ſay any thing more*; if he thought St. *Paul* indeed the more honourable?

Chryſ. in Gal. 1. 8.

Vide Tert. de Præſcr. cap. 24.

How alſo could St. *Cyril* more plainly declare his ſenſe to be the ſame, than when he called St. *Peter* and St. *John* ἰσοτίμους ἀλλήλοις, *equal to one another in honour*

Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὰ καὶ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ μαθηταί. *Act. Con. Eph. part.* 1. *p.* 209. *Peter* and *John* were equal in honour one to another, as were alſo the Apoſtles, and the Diſciples.

* Did Tertullian think Saint *Paul* inferior to Saint *Peter*, when he ſaid, *It is well that* Peter *is even in martyrdom equalled to* Paul? *Bene quod Petrus Paulo & in martyrio adæquatur.* Tert. *de Præſcr.* 24.

Did not St. *Hierom* alſo ſufficiently declare his mind in the caſe, when he ſaith of the Apoſtles, that *the ſtrength of the Church is equally ſettled upon them.*

At dicis, ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia, licèt id ipſum alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidetur. Hieron. *in* Jovin. l. 14.

But you will ſay, the Church is founded upon *Peter*, though the ſame thing in another place is affirmed of all the Apoſtles, and that, &c.

Doth not *Dionyſius* (the ſuppoſed *Areopagite*) call *the Decad of the Apoſtles co-ordinate with their Foreman*, St. *Peter*? in conformity, I ſuppoſe, to the current judgment of his Age.

Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος μετὰ τοῦ ὁμοταγοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς δεκάδος. Dionyſ. *de Eccl.* Hier. *cap.* 5.

What can be more full than that of *Iſidore*, (whoſe words ſhew how long this ſenſe continued in the Church) *The other Apoſtles did receive an equal ſhare of honour and power; who alſo being diſperſed in the whole world did preach the Goſpel; and to whom departing the Biſhops did ſucceed, who are conſtituted through the whole world in the Sees of the Apoſtles.*

Cæteri Apoſtolicum Petro par conſortium honoris & poteſtatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe diſperſi Evangelium prædicaverunt, quibuſque decedentibus ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi, qui ſunt conſtituti per totum mundum in ſedibus Apoſtolorum. Iſid. *Hiſp. de Off.* 2. 5.

By conſequence the Fathers do aſſert this Equality, when they affirm (as we before did ſhew) the Apoſtolical Office to be abſolutely Supreme; when alſo they affirm (as afterwards we ſhall ſhew) all the Apoſtles Succeſſors to be equal as ſuch; and particularly that the *Roman* Biſhop upon account of his ſucceeding St. *Peter* hath no pre-eminence above his Brethren? for, *where-ever a Biſhop be, whether at* Rome, *or at* Eugubium, *at* Conſtantinople, *or at* Rhegium, *at* Alexandria, *or at* Thanis, *he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame Prieſthood: the force of wealth, and lowneſs of poverty, doth not render a Biſhop more high, or more low; for that all of them are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.*

Ubicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ ſive Eugubii, &c. Hier. *ad* Evagr. *Ep.* 85. Clem. *ad* Corinth. Iren. 3. 12. 3. 1, 3.

19. Neither is it to prudential eſteem a deſpicable conſideration, that the moſt ancient of the Fathers, having occaſion ſometimes largely to diſcourſe of St. *Peter*, do not mention any ſuch Prerogatives belonging to him.

20. The laſt Argument which I ſhall uſe againſt this Primacy, ſhall be the inſufficiency of thoſe Arguments and Teſtimonies, which they alledge to warrant and prove it.

If this Point be of ſo great conſequence as they make it; if, as they would perſuade us, the ſubſiſtence, order, unity and peace of the Church, together with the Salvation of Chriſtians, do depend on it; if, as they ſuppoſe, many great points of truth do hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main Article of Faith, and *not only a ſimple error, but a pernicious hereſy to deny this primacy:* then it is requiſite that a clear revelation from God ſhould be producible in favour of it (for upon that ground only ſuch points can firmly ſtand;) then it is moſt probable, that God (to prevent controverſies, occaſions of doubt, and excuſes for error about ſo grand a matter) would not have failed to have declared it ſo plainly, as might ſerve to ſatisfy any reaſonable man, and to convince any froward Gainſayer. But no ſuch revelation doth appear; for the places of Scripture which they alledge do not plainly expreſs it, nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair conſequence be inferred from them: No man unpreposſeſſed with affection to their ſide would deſcry it in them; without thwarting St. *Peter*'s Order, and *wreſting the Scriptures*, they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their Allegations will appear.

Agitur de ſumma rei Chriſtianæ, &c. Bell. *præf. ad lib. de Pontif. R.*

Eſt enim revera non ſimplex error, ſed pernicioſa hæreſis negare B. Petri primatum à Chriſto inſtitutum. Bell. *de Pont. R.* 1. 10.

2 Pet. 3. 16.

I. They alledge thoſe words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occaſion of St. *Peter*'s confeſſing him to be the Son of God, *Thou art* Peter, *upon this rock will I build my Church*; here, ſay they, St. *Peter* is declared the Foundation, that is, the ſole Supreme Governor of the Church.

Matt. 16. 18. *S. Romana Eccleſia nullis Synodicis conſtitutis cæteris Eccleſiis prælata eſt, ſed Evangelicâ voce Domini & ſalvatoris noſtri primatum obtinuit;* Tu es Petrus (*inquiens*) &c. Gelaſ. 1. *diſt* 21, *cap.* 3.

The Holy Church of *Rome* is not preferr'd before other Churches by any Synodical Decrees, but has obtain'd the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the Goſpel, ſaying, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

To this I anſwer.

1. Thoſe words do not clearly ſignify any thing to their purpoſe; for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous or capable of divers interpretations; whence

whence they cannot ſuffice to ground ſo main a point of Doctrine, or to warrant ſo huge a Pretence; theſe ought to ſtand upon down-right, evident and indubitable Teſtimony.

It is pretty to obſerve how *Bellarmine* propoſeth this Teſtimony; *Of which words* (ſaith he) *the ſenſe is plain and obvious, that it be underſtood, that under two metaphors the principate of the whole Church was promiſed*; as if that ſenſe could be ſo plain and obvious, which is couched under two metaphors, and thoſe not very pat or clear in application to their ſenſe.

Quorum verborum planus & obvius ſenſus eſt, ut intelligatur ſub duabus metaphoris promiſſum Petro totius Eccleſiæ principatum. Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 10.

2. This is manifeſtly confirmed from that the Fathers and Divines both ancient and modern have much differed in expoſition of theſe words.

[*Some* (ſaith *Abulenſis*) *ſay that this rock is* Peter — *others ſay, and better, that it is Chriſt* — *others ſay, and yet better, that it is the confeſſion which* Peter *maketh.*] Toſtat. *in* Matt. 16. *qu.* 67.

For ſome interpret *this rock* to be *Chriſt* himſelf, of whom St. *Paul* ſaith, *Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.* 1 Cor. 3. 11.

St. *Auſtin* telleth us in his Retractations, that he often had expounded the words to this purpoſe, although he did not abſolutely reject that interpretation which made St. *Peter* the rock; leaving it to the Reader's choice which is the moſt probable.

Scio me poſtea ſæpiſſimè expoſuiſſe, ut ſuper hanc Petram intelligeretur quem confeſſus eſt Petrus; harum autem duarum ſententiarum quæ ſit probabilior eligat Lector. Aug. *Retr.* 1. 21. *Vide* Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 124. *de verb. Dom. in* Matt. *Serm.* 13.

Super hanc, inquit, Petram quam confeſſus es, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 124. *& de verb Dom. in* Matt. *Serm.* 13. (*Tom.* 10.)

Super hanc Petram, id eſt, ſuper me ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Anſ. *in* Matt. 16. 18.

Others (and thoſe moſt eminent Fathers) do take the rock to be St. *Peter*'s faith, or profeſſion; *Upon the rock* (ſaith the Prince of interpreters) *that is upon the faith of his profeſſion*; and again, *Chriſt ſaid that he would build his Church on* Peter's *confeſſion*; and again (he or another ancient Writer under his name) *upon this rock, he ſaid not upon* Peter, *for he did not build his Church upon the man, but upon his faith.*

Τῇ Πέτρᾳ — τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Chryſ. *in* Matt. 16. 18.

— Τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν αὐτοῦ. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 1. 50.

Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ, ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· ἑστηὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 163.

Our Lord (ſaith *Theodoret*) *did permit the firſt of the Apoſtles, whoſe confeſſion he did fix as a prop or foundation of the Church, to be ſhaken.*

Super hanc igitur confeſſionis Petram Eccleſiæ ædificatio eſt. Hil. *de Trin.* 6.

— Ἀποστόλων τὸν πρῶτον, τὸν τῆς ὁμολογίας οἷον τινα κορυφαῖα, καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθέστηκε, σωτηρίως σαλευθῆναι. Theod. *Ep.* 77.

[Whence *Origen* ſaith, that *every diſciple of Chriſt is the rock*, in virtue of his agreement with *Peter* in that holy confeſſion.]

Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, &c. Orig. *in* Matt. 16. *p.* 275.

This ſenſe even Popes have embraced.

In vera fide perſiſtite, & vitam veſtram in Petra Eccleſiæ hoc eſt in confeſſione B. Petri Apoſtolorum Principis ſolidate. Greg. *M. Ep.* 3. 33. Perſiſt in the true Faith, and eſtabliſh and fix your life upon the rock of the Church, that is, upon the confeſſion of Bleſſed *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles.

Super iſtâ confeſſione ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Felix *III. Ep.* 5. *Vide* Nic. *I. Ep.* 2. 6. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 76.

Others ſay, that as St. *Peter* did not ſpeak for himſelf, but in the name of all the Apoſtles, and of all faithful people, repreſenting the Paſtors and people of the Church; ſo correſpondently our Lord did declare, that he would build his Church upon ſuch faithful Paſtors and Confeſſors.

Unus pro omnibus loquens, & Eccleſiæ voce reſpondens. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

One ſpeaking for all, and anſwering in the name of the Church.

Cui Eccleſiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, Super hanc — Aug. *Ep.* 165.

To whom, repreſenting the whole Church, our Lord ſaith, *Upon this rock*, &c.

Petrus ex perſona omnium Apoſtolorum profitetur. Hier. *in loc.* *Peter* profeſſes in the perſon of all the Apoſtles.

Others do indeed by the rock underſtand St. *Peter*'s perſon, but do not thereby expound to be meant his being Supreme Governor of the Apoſtles, or of the whole Church.

Vide Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 27. 40. 70. 71. 73. 69.

The Divines, Schoolmen and Canoniſts of the *Roman* Communion do not alſo agree in the expoſition of the words; and divers of the moſt learned among them do approve the interpretation of St. *Chryſoſtom.*

Now then how can ſo great a Point of Doctrine be firmly grounded on a place of ſo doubtful interpretation? how can any one be obliged to underſtand the words according to their interpretation, which Perſons of ſo good ſenſe and ſo great Authority do underſtand otherwiſe? with what modeſty can they pretend that meaning to be clear, which ſo perſpicacious eyes could not diſcern

ſcern therein? why may not I excuſably agree with St. *Chryſoſtom*, or St. *Auſtin*, in underſtanding the place? may I not reaſonably oppoſe their judgment to the Opinion of any Modern Doctors, deeming *Bellarmine* as fallible in his conceptions, as one of them; why conſequently may I not without blame refuſe their Doctrine as built upon this place, or diſavow the goodneſs of this proof?

3. It is very evident that the Apoſtles themſelves did not underſtand thoſe words of our Lord to ſignify any grant or promiſe to St. *Peter* of Supremacy
Luke 22. 14. over them; for would they have *contended* for the chief place, if they had underſtood whoſe it of right was by our Lord's own poſitive determination?
Mar. 9. 3. would they have *diſputed* about a queſtion, which to their knowledge by their Maſter was already ſtated? would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who ſhould be the greateſt in his Kingdom, when they knew that our Lord
Matt. 18. 1. had declared his will to make St. *Peter* his Viceroy? would the Sons of *Zebedee* have been ſo fooliſh and preſumptuous as to beg the place, which they knew by our Lord's word and promiſe fixed on St. *Peter*? would St. *Peter* among the reſt have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place by our Lord's immutable purpoſe and infallible declaration aſſured to him? And if none of the Apoſtles did underſtand the words to imply this *Roman* ſenſe, who can be obliged ſo to underſtand them? yea who can wiſely, who can ſafely ſo underſtand them? for ſurely they had common ſenſe, as well as any man living now; they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning; their ignorance therefore of this ſenſe being ſo apparent, is not only a juſt excuſe for not admitting this interpretation, but a ſtrong bar againſt it.

Matt. 20. 24. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτησαν.
And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation.

4. This interpretation alſo doth not well conſiſt with our Lord's anſwers to the conteſts, inquiries, and petitions of his Diſciples concerning the point of Superiority: for doth he not (if the *Roman* expoſitions be good) ſeem upon thoſe occaſions not only to diſſemble his own word and promiſe, but to diſavow them or thwart them? can we conceive, that he would in ſuch a caſe of doubt forbear to reſolve them, clearly to inſtruct them, and admoniſh them of their Duty?

5. Taking the Rock as they would have it to be, the Perſon of St. *Peter*, and that on him the Church ſhould be built, yet do not the words being a Rock probably denote Government; for what reſemblance is there between being a Rock and a Governor; at leaſt what aſſurance can there be that this *metaphor* preciſely doth import that ſenſe; ſeeing in other reſpects, upon as fair ſimilitudes, he might be called ſo?

Quare ſunt fundamenta Apoſtoli & Prophetæ, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem noſtram. Aug. *in* Pſ. 86.

In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primùm poſita eſt fides Eccleſiæ. Her. *in* Pſ. 86.

Πέτρα ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ μακαρία Πέτρα ὠνόμασαι, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐρριζῶσθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερρῶς καὶ ἐμπεδότως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐκ πειρασμῶν ἐναγομένας πληγάς. Baſ. *in* Iſ. 2. p. 869.

Petrus à Petra nomen adeptus eſt, quia primus meruit Eccleſiam fidei firmitate fundare. Chryſ. *Serm.* 53.

St. *Auſtin* ſaith, *the Apoſtles were Foundations, becauſe their Authority doth ſupport our weakneſs.*

St. *Hierom* ſaith, that they *were Foundations, becauſe the Faith of the Church was firſt laid in them.*

St. *Baſil* ſaith, that St. *Peter's Soul was called the Rock, becauſe it was firmly rooted in the Faith, and did hold ſtiff without giving way againſt the blows of temptation.*

Chryſologus ſaith, that *Peter had his name from a Rock, becauſe he firſt merited to found the Church by firmneſs of Faith.*

Theſe are fair explications of the *metaphor*, without any reference to St. *Peter*'s Government.

But however alſo admitting this, that being ſuch a Rock doth imply Government and Paſtoral Charge; yet do they (notwithſtanding theſe grants and ſuppoſitions) effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words ſpoken excluſively in regard to other Apoſtles, or to import any thing ſingular to him above or beſide them: He might be a governing Rock, ſo might others be; the Church might be built on him, ſo it might be on other Apoſtles; he might be deſigned a Governor, a great Governor, a principal Governor, ſo might they alſo be; this might be without any violence done to thoſe words.

And this indeed was; for all the other Apoſtles in Holy Scripture are called Foundations, and the Church is ſaid to be built on them.

If

If (ſaith *Origen*, the Father of Interpreters) *you think the whole Church to be only built on* Peter *alone, what will you ſay of* John *the Son of thunder, and of each of the Apoſtles?* &c. largely to this purpoſe.

Εἰ δὲ ὁπὶ ὁ ἕνα ἐκλάβοι Πέτρον νομίζειν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσαις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἑκάστου τῶν Ἀποστόλων, &c. Orig. *in* Matth. 16. *p.* 275.

Chriſt (as St. *Hierom* ſaith) *was the Rock, and he beſtowed on the Apoſtles, that they ſhould be called Rocks.* And *You ſay* (ſaith he again) *that the Church is founded on* Peter, *but the ſame in another place is done upon all the Apoſtles.*

Eph. 2. 20

Petra Chriſtus eſt, qui donavit Apoſtolis, ut ipſi quoque Petræ vocentur. Hier. *in* Amos 9. 12.

Dicis ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia, licèt ad ipſum in alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

The twelve Apoſtles (ſaith another ancient Author) *were the immutable Pillars of Orthodoxy, the Rock of the Church.*

The Church (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *is built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles,* Peter *alſo was one of the Mountains; upon which Rock the Lord did promiſe to build his Church.*

Ἐκκλησία —— ᾠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ Προφητῶν ἐν ᾧ ὄρεσιν ἓν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ Πέτρος ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Baſil. *in* Iſa. 2. *p.* 869.

St. *Cyprian* in his diſputes with Pope *Stephen* did more than once alledge this place, yet could he not take it in their ſenſe to ſignify excluſively; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of Power among the Apoſtles or their Succeſſors. He indeed plainly took theſe words to reſpect all the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, our Lord taking occaſion to promiſe that to one, which he intended to impart to all for themſelves and their Succeſſors; *Our Lord* (ſaith he) *ordering the honour of a Biſhop, and the order of his Church, ſaith to* Peter, *I ſay to thee,* &c. *hence through the turns of times and ſucceſſions, the ordination of Biſhops, and the manner of the Church doth run on, that the Church ſhould be ſettled upon the Biſhops, and every Act of the Church ſhould be governed by the ſame Prelates:* as therefore he did conceive the Church to be built not on the Pope ſingularly, but on all the Biſhops; ſo he thought our Lord did intend to build his Church not upon St. *Peter* only, but on all his Apoſtles.

Cypr. *Ep.* 71, & 73.

Dominus noſter Epiſcopi honorem, & Eccleſiæ ſuæ rationem diſponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico —— Inde per temporum & ſucceſſionum vices Epiſcoporum ordinatio, & Eccleſiæ ratio decurrit, ut Eccleſia ſuper Epiſcopos conſtituatur, & omnis actus Eccleſiæ per eoſdem præpoſitos gubernetur. Cypr. Ep. 27. & *de Unit. Eccl.*

6. It is not ſaid, that the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtolical Office ſhould be built on him; for that could not be, ſeeing the Apoſtles were conſtituted, and the Apoſtolical Office was founded before that promiſe; the words only therefore can import, that according to ſome meaning he was a Rock, upon which the Church, afterward to be collected, ſhould be built; he was *A Rock of the Church to be built,* as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh; the words therefore cannot ſignify any thing available to their purpoſe, in relation to the Apoſtles.

Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ Eccleſiæ Petram dictum. Tertul. *de Præſcr. cap.* 22.

7. If we take St. *Peter* himſelf for the Rock, then (as I take it) the beſt meaning of the words doth import, that our Lord deſigned St. *Peter* for a prime Inſtrument, (the firſt Mover, the moſt diligent and active at the beginning, the moſt conſtant, ſtiff and firm) in the ſupport of his Truth, and propagation of his Doctrine, or converſion of men to the belief of the Goſpel; the which is called building of the Church; according to that of St. *Ambroſe*, or ſome ancient *Homiliſt* under his name, *He is called a Rock, becauſe he firſt did lay in the Nations the Foundations of Faith:* In which regard as the other Apoſtles are called Foundations of the Church (the Church being founded on their labours) ſo might St. *Peter* ſignally be ſo called; who (as St. *Baſil* ſaith, alluſively interpreting our Saviour's words) *for the excellency of his Faith did take on him the edifying of the Church.*

Πέτρος ὁ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν. Chryſ.

Peter firſt of all the Apoſtles preached Chriſt.

Petra dicitur ex quòd primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta poſuerit. Ambr. *de Sanctis. Serm.* 2.

Ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑποδεξάμενος ἐστὶν ὁ οἰκοδομῶν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ. Baſ. *contra* Eunom. *lib.* 2.

Petra ædificandæ Eccleſiæ. Tertul. *de præſ.* c. 22.

Both he and they alſo might be ſo termed, for that upon their teſtimonies concerning the Life, Death and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, the Faith of Chriſtians was grounded; as alſo it ſtands upon their convincing diſcourſes, their holy practice, their miraculous performances, in all which St. *Peter* was moſt eminent, and in the beginning of Chriſtianity diſplayed them to the edification of the Church.

This interpretation plainly doth agree with matter of fact and hiſtory; which is the beſt interpreter of right or privilege in ſuch caſes; for we may reaſonably

ſonably underſtand our Saviour to have promiſed that, which in effect we ſee performed, ſo *the event ſheweth, the Church was built on him, that is by him*, ſaith *Tertullian.*

Sic enim exitus docet, in ipſo Eccleſiæ extructa eſt, id eſt per ipſum, &c. Tert. *de pudic. cap.* 21.

But this ſenſe doth not imply any Superiority of Power, or Dignity granted to St. *Peter* above his Brethren; however it may ſignify an advantage belonging to him, and deſerving eſpecial reſpect; as St. *Chryſoſtom* notably doth ſet out in theſe words; *Although* John, *although* James, *although* Paul, *although any other whoever may appear performing great matters; he yet doth ſurpaſs them all, who did precede them in liberty of ſpeech, and opened the entrance, and gave to them as to a river carried with a huge ſtream to enter with great eaſe:* Doing this, as I ſay, it might ſignify his being a Rock of the Church, ſo it denoteth an Excellency of Merit, but not a Superiority in Power.

Κἂν Ἰωάννης, κἂν Ἰάκωβος, κἂν Παῦλος, κἂν ἄλλος ὁτιοῦν μὴ ταῦτα μέγα τι ποιῶν φαίνῃ, ἀπάντων οὗτος πλεονεκτεῖ, ὁ παῤῥησιασάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ παῤῥησιάσασθαι, καὶ διανοίξας τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμῷ πολλῷ ῥεύσαντι ῥᾳδίως εἰσελθεῖν, &c. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

8. It may alſo be obſerved, that St. *Peter* before the ſpeaking of thoſe words by our Lord, may ſeem to have had a Primacy, intimated by the Evangeliſts, when they report his call to the Apoſtolical Office; and by his behaviour, when in this confeſſion, and before in the like, he undertook to be their mouth and Spokes-man; when *not being unmindful of his place*, (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *he did act a Primacy*; *a Primacy* (addeth that *Father*) *of Confeſſion, not of honour; of Faith, not of order*; his Primacy therefore (ſuch as he had) cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore poſſeſſed of it, and (as St. *Ambroſe* conceived) exerciſing it at that time.

Matt. 10. 2. John 6. 69.

Loci non immemor ſui primatum egit;—— primatum Confeſſionis non honoris, Fidei, non ordinis. Ambr. *de Incarn. cap.* 4.

11. They alledge the next words of our Lord, ſpoken in ſequel upon the ſame occaſion, *To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, that is, ſay they, *the Supreme power over all the Church*; for he (ſay they) that hath the Keys is Maſter of the Houſe.

Per claves datas Petro intelligimus ſummam poteſtatem in omnem Eccleſiam. Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 3.

To this teſtimony we may apply divers of the ſame anſwers, which were given to the former; for,

1. Theſe words are figurative, and therefore not clear enough to prove their aſſertion.

2. They do admit and had received various Interpretations.

3. It is evident, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not underſtand theſe words as importing a Supremacy over them, that St. *Peter* did not apprehend this ſenſe, that our Lord upon occaſion inviting to it, did not take notice of his promiſe, according thereto.

4. The words, *I will give thee*, cannot any-wiſe be aſſured to have been excluſive of others, or appropriated to him. *He ſaid* (as a very learned man of the *Roman* Communion noteth) *to* Peter, *I will give thee the Keys, but he ſaid not, I will give them to thee alone*; nothing therefore can be concluded from them to their purpoſe.

Dixit Petro, dabo tibi claves: at non dixit, dabo tibi ſoli. Rigalt. *in Epiſt. Firmil.*

5. The Fathers do affirm, that all the Apoſtles did receive the ſame Keys. *Are* (ſaith *Origen*) *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given by the Lord to* Peter *alone, and ſhall none other of the Bleſſed ones receive them? but if this, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, be common, how alſo are not all the things common, which were ſpoken before, or are added as ſpoken to* Peter.

Ἆρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων τούτων λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινὸν ἔστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τί δύναται σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπισυναπτόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα; Orig. *in* Matt. 16. *p.* 275.

St. *Hierom* ſays in expreſs words, that all *the Apoſtles did receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Quod Petro dicitur, Apoſtolis dicitur. Amb. *in* Pſal. 38. What is ſaid to Peter, is ſaid to the Apoſtles.

Licèt id ipſum ſit alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, & cunctis claves regni cœlorum accipiant. Hier. *in* Jov. 1. 14.

Though the ſame thing in another place is done upon all the Apoſtles, and all receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

He (ſaith *Optatus*) *did alone receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,* (which were) *to be communicated to the reſt*; that is, (as *Rigaltius* well expoundeth thoſe words) *which Chriſt himſelf would alſo communicate to the reſt.*

Claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris ſolis ſolus accepit. Opt. *lib.* 7.

Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipſe Chriſtus communicaturus erat & cæteris. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *de Un. Eccl.*

Theophy-

Theophylact. *Although it be ſpoken to* Peter *alone, I will give thee, yet it is given to all the Apoſtles.*

Εἰ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται. Theoph. *in loc.*

It is part of St. *John*'s character in St. *Chryſoſtom, He that hath the Keys of the Heavens.*

Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν. Chryſ. *in præf. Evang.* Joh.

6. Indeed whatever (according to any tolerable expoſition, or according to the current expoſitions of the *Fathers*) thoſe Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven do import (whether it be a faculty of opening it by Doctrine, of admitting into it by diſpenſation of Baptiſm, and abſolution, of excluding from it by Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, or any ſuch faculty ſignified by the metaphorical expreſſion) it plainly did belong to all the Apoſtles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea after them upon all the Paſtors of the Church in their ſeveral precincts and degrees; who in all Ages have claimed to themſelves the power of the Keys; to be (as the *Council of Compeign* calleth all Biſhops) *clavigeri*, the *Key-bearers of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Claves intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Chriſti. Rigalt. in Cyp. *Ep.* 13.

Epiſcopi — quos conſtat eſſe vicarios Chriſti, & clavigeros regni cœlorum. Conc. Comp. apud Bin. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 361.

So that in theſe words nothing ſingular was promiſed or granted to St. *Peter*; although it well may be deemed a ſingular mark of favour, that what our Lord did intend to beſtow on all Paſtors, *that* he did anticipately promiſe to him; or, as the *Fathers* ſay, to the Church and its Paſtors in him. In which reſpect we may admit thoſe words of Pope *Leo* I.

Tranſivit quidem in Apoſtolos alios vis iſtius poteſtatis, ſed non fruſtra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergò ſingulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis Eccleſiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur. Leo *I. in Nat. Petri & Pauli. Serm.* 2.

The efficacy of this Power paſſed indeed upon all the Apoſtles; yet was it not in vain, that what was intimated to all, was commended to one. Therefore this is committed ſingly to *Peter*, becauſe *Peter*'s pattern and example is propounded to all the Governours of the Church.

7. Indeed divers of the Fathers do conceive the words ſpoken to St. *Peter* not as a ſingle perſon, but as a repreſentative of the Church, or as ſtanding in the room of each Paſtor therein; unto whom our Lord deſigned to impart the power of the Keys.

All we Biſhops (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *have in St.* Peter *received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cunctis ſuſcepimus ſacerdotes. Ambr. *de dign. Sac.* 1. *Eccleſia quæ fundatur in Chriſto, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit id eſt, poteſtatem ligandi ſolvendique peccata.* Aug. *tract.* 124. *in* Joh. *vide tract.* 50.

The Church which is founded upon Chriſt, received from him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *i. e.* the power of binding and looſing Sins.

In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit poteſtatem — Aug. *de Bapt.* 3. 17.

Our Lord gave the power to *Peter*, as a type of Unity.

Ἐν μεσώπῳ τῷ κορυφαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία δέδοται. Phot. *Cod.* 280.

Such Authority was given to the reſt of the Apoſtles in the perſon of him who was the chief.

Non ſine cauſa inter omnes Apoſtolos Eccleſiæ Catholicæ perſonas ſuſtinet Petrus; huic enim Eccleſiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ ſunt, cùm Petro datæ ſunt — Aug. *de Ag. Chr. cap.* 30. *in* Pſ. 108.

Not without cauſe does *Peter* among the reſt of the Apoſtles ſuſtain the Perſon of the Catholick Church; for to this Church are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given, when they are given unto *Peter.*

8. Theſe anſwers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoyned * equivalent to theſe, and interpretative of them, *And whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven* — the which do import a power or privilege ſoon after expreſly, and in the very ſame words promiſed or granted to all the Apoſtles; as alſo the ſame power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the Reſurrection.

* Aug. *ſupr.* Matt. 18. 18.

Joh. 20. 23.

If therefore the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven do import ſupreme Power, then each Apoſtle had ſupreme Power.

9. If we ſhould grant (that which no-wiſe can be proved) that ſomething peculiarly belonging to St. *Peter* is implied in thoſe words, it can only be this, that he ſhould be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the Goſpel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to Believers; which is an opening of the Kingdom of Heaven; according to what *Tertullian* excellently ſaith of him; *So* (ſaith he) *the event teacheth, the Church was built in him, that is, by him; he did initiate the Key; ſee which, Ye men of* Iſrael, *hear theſe words, Jeſus of* Nazareth, *a man approved of God among you,* &c. *He, in fine, in the baptiſm of Chriſt did unlock the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven,* &c.

Sic enim exitus docet, in ipſo Eccleſia extructa eſt, id eſt per ipſum; ipſe clavem imbuit; vide quam. Vide Iſraelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico. Jeſum Nazarenum virum à Deo vobis destitutum, &c. *Ipſe denique primus in Chriſto baptiſmo reſeravit aditum cœleſtis regni, &c.* Tert. *de Pud.* 21.

10. It ſeemeth abſurd, that St. *Peter* ſhould exerciſe the power of the Keys in reſpect to the Apoſtles: for did he open the Kingdom of Heaven to them, who were by our Lord long before admitted into it? ——

11. In fine, our Lord (as St. *Luke* relateth it) did ſay to St. *Peter*, and probably to him firſt, *Fear not, from henceforth thou ſhalt catch men*; might it hence be inferred, that St. *Peter* had a peculiar or ſole faculty of catching men? why might it not, by as good a conſequence, as this, whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many ſuch inſtances might in like manner be uſed.

Luk 5. 10. Matt. 4. 19.

III. They produce thoſe words of our Saviour to St. *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, that is, in the *Roman* interpretation, *Be thou Univerſal Governor of my Church.*

To this allegation I anſwer,

1. From words which truly and properly might have been ſaid to any other Apoſtle, yea to any Chriſtian Paſtor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpoſe, importing a peculiar duty, or ſingular privilege of St. *Peter*.

2. From indefinite words a definite concluſion (eſpecially in matters of this kind) may not be inferred; it is ſaid, *do thou feed my Sheep*, it is not ſaid, do thou alone feed all my Sheep; this is their arbitrary gloſs, or preſumptuous improvement of the Text; without ſuccour whereof the words ſignify nothing to their purpoſe, ſo far are they from ſufficiently aſſuring ſo vaſt a pretence: for inſtance, when St. *Paul* doth exhort the Biſhops at *Epheſus to feed the Church of God*, may it thence be collected, that each of them was an Univerſal Governor of the whole Church, *which Chriſt had purchaſed with his own blood?*

Act. 20. 28.

3. By theſe words no new power is (aſſuredly at leaſt) granted or inſtituted by our Lord; for the Apoſtles before this had their Warrant and Authority conſigned to them, when our Lord did inſpire them, and ſolemnly commiſſionate them, ſaying, *As the Father did ſend me, ſo I ſend you*; to which Commiſſion, theſe words (ſpoken occaſionally, before a few of the Diſciples) did not add or derogate. At moſt, the words do only (as St. *Cyril* ſaith) *renew the former Grant of Apoſtleſhip*, after his great offence of denying our Lord.

Κεχειροτόνηλο μὲ ἤδη πρὸς ἡ θεὸν Ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος. Cyril. *in loc.*

Peter was ordained to the holy Apoſtleſhip together with the reſt of the Diſciples.

John 20. 21.

Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο φῶνας ὁ Κύριος βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου, ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς ἤδη δοθείσης Ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖν. Cyril. *ib.*

4. Theſe words do not ſeem inſtitutive or collative of Power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the preſſing a common duty, before incumbent on St. *Peter*, upon a ſpecial occaſion, in an advantageous ſeaſon, that he ſhould effectually diſcharge the Office which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord (I ſay) preſently before his departure, when his words were like to have a ſtrong impreſſion on St. *Peter*, doth earneſtly direct and warn him to expreſs that ſpecial ardency of affection, which he obſerved in him, in an anſwerable care to perform his duty of feeding, that is, of inſtructing, guiding, edifying in faith and obedience thoſe Sheep of his, that is, thoſe Believers, who ſhould be converted to embrace his Religion, as ever he ſhould find opportunity.

Paulus Apoſtolus boni Paſtoris implebat Officium quando Chriſtum prædicabat. Aug. in Joh. *tr.* 47.

Paul fulfilled the Office of a good Paſtor, when he preached Chriſt.

5. The ſame Office certainly did belong to all the Apoſtles, who (as St. *Hierom* ſpeaketh) *were the Princes of our Diſcipline, and Chieftains of the Chriſtian Doctrine*; they at their firſt vocation had a commiſſion and command to *go unto the loſt ſheep of the houſe of* Iſrael, *that were ſcattered abroad like ſheep not having a ſhepherd*; they before our Lord's aſcenſion were enjoyned *to teach all Nations* the Doctrines and Precepts of *Chriſt*, to receive them into the fold, to feed them with good inſtruction, to guide and govern their Converts with good Diſcipline: Hence *All of them* (as St. *Cyprian* ſaith) *were ſhepherds; but the flock did appear one, which was fed by the Apoſtles with unanimous agreement.*

Principes Diſciplinæ noſtræ, & Chriſtiani Dogmatis duces. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Matt. 10. 6. 9. 36.

Matt. 28. 19. 20.

Paſtores ſumus omnes, ſed grex unus oſtenditur, qui ab Apoſtolis omnibus unanimi conſenſione paſcatur. Cypr. *de Un. Eccl.*

6. Neither could St. *Peter*'s charge be more extenſive, than was that of the other Apoſtles; for they had a general and unlimited care of the whole Church; that is, according to their capacity and opportunity, none being exempted from it,

it, who needed, or came into the way of their diſcharging Paſtoral Offices for them.

They were Oecumenical Rulers (as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith) *appointed by God, who did not receive ſeveral Nations or Cities, but all of them in common were entruſted with the world.*

Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεως διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἁπασαν ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chryſ. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 115.

Hence particularly St. *Chryſoſtom* calleth St. *John, a Pillar of the Churches over the world,* and St. *Paul an Apoſtle of the world*; who *had the care not of one Houſe, but of Cities and Nations, and of the whole Earth*; who *undertook the World, and governed the Churches*; on whom *the whole World did look,* and *on whoſe ſoul the care of all the Churches every where did hang*; *into whoſe hands were delivered the Earth, and the Sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the World.*

Ὁ στύλος τῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἐκκλησιῶν. Chryſ. *præf. comment. ad* Joh. Καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος ἦν. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. 9. 2. Οὗτος οὐκ οἰκίας μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων. Chryſ. *in* 2 Cor. 11. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπελαμβάνετο πάσης, καὶ διεκυβέρνα τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Chryſ. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 115. Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς γῆς Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἦν ἠρτημέναι —— Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἐνεχείρισε· Παύλου δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. Chryſ. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 39.

And could St. *Peter* have a larger Flock committed to him? could this charge, *feed my ſheep*, more agree to him, than to thoſe, who no leſs than he were obliged to feed all Chriſtian people every where?

7. The words indeed are applicable to all Chriſtian Biſhops and Governors of the Church; according to that of St. *Cyprian* to Pope *Stephen* himſelf, *We being many Shepherds do feed one Flock, and all the Sheep of Chriſt*; for they are ſtiled Paſtors; they in terms as indefinite as thoſe in the text are exhorted *to feed the Church of God which he hath purchaſed with his own blood*; to them (as the *Fathers* commonly ſuppoſe) this Injunction doth reach; our Lord when he ſpake thus to St. *Peter*, intending to lay a charge on them all to expreſs their love and piety toward him in this way, by feeding his Sheep and People.

Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen gregem, & oves Chriſti univerſas paſcimus. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. *ad P. Steph.*

Quanto magis debent uſque ad mortem pro veritate certare, & uſque ad ſanguinem adverſus peccatum, quibus oves ipſas paſcendas, hoc eſt docendas regendáſque committit. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 123.

How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and againſt ſin even unto blood, to whom he committeth his Sheep to be fed, that is to be taught and governed.

Which Sheep, ſaith St. *Ambroſe, and which Flock, not only then St.* Peter *did receive, but alſo with him all we Prieſts did receive it.*

Quas oves, & quem gregem non ſolum tunc B. ſuſcepit Petrus, ſed & cum eo nos ſuſcepimus omnes. Ambr. *de Sacerd.* 2.

Our Lord (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *did commit his Sheep to* Peter, *and to thoſe which came after him*; that is, to all Chriſtian Paſtors, as the ſcope of his diſcourſe ſheweth.

Τὰ προβάτια, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπιχείρισε. Chryſ. *de Sacerd.* 1.

When it is ſaid to Peter, (ſaith St. *Auſtin*) *it is ſaid to all, Feed my Sheep.*

Cùm dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Paſce oves meas. Aug. *de Agone Chriſt.* 30.

And *we* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *are taught this* (obedience to Superiors) *by Chriſt himſelf, conſtituting St.* Peter *Paſtor after himſelf of the Church* (*for* Peter, *ſaith he, doſt thou love me more than theſe? feed my Sheep*) *and conferring to all Paſtors and Teachers continually afterward an equal power* (of doing ſo;) *whereof it is a ſign that all do in like manner, bind and looſe as he.*

Καὶ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ χειρὶ παραδόμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μετ' ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρε, φησὶ, φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; ποίμαινε τὰ προβάτιά μου· καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τὴν ἴσην παρέχοντος ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ δεσμεῖν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, καὶ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον. Baſ. *Conſt. Mon. cap.* 22.

St. *Auſtin* compriſeth all theſe conſiderations in thoſe words.

Et quidem, fratres, quod Paſtor eſt, dedit & membris ſuis; nam & Petrus Paſtor, & Paulus Paſtor, & cæteri Apoſtoli Paſtores, & boni Epiſcopi Paſtores. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 47.

And indeed, brethren, that which a Paſtor is, he gave alſo to his members, for both *Peter* was a Paſtor, and *Paul* a Paſtor, and the reſt of the Apoſtles were Paſtors, and good Biſhops are Paſtors.

Now could theſe great Maſters more clearly expreſs their mind, that our L[illegible] in thoſe words to St. *Peter* did inculcate a duty no-wiſe peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all Guides of the Church; but in ſuch manner, as when a Maſter doth preſs a duty on one Servant, he doth thereby admoniſh all his Servants of the like duty; whence St. *Auſtin* ſaith, that St. *Peter* in that caſe *did ſuſtain the perſon of the Church*, that which was ſpoken to him, belonging to all its members, eſpecially to his Brethren the Clergy.

Ut ergo Petrus, quando ei dictum eſt, Tibi dabo claves, in figura perſonam geſtabat Eccleſiæ, ſic & quando ei dictum eſt, Paſce oves meas, Eccleſiæ quoque perſonam in figura geſtabat. Aug. *in* Pſal. 108.

Οὐ πρὸς ἱερέας ἡ τοῦτο μόνον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποιμνίον. Chryſ. *in* Matt. 24. Or. 77.
This was not ſpoken to thoſe Prieſts only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little Flock committed to him.

Διδασκάλοις ἡ γνῶσις διὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιποίμενος εἰσέρχεται θεωρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως εὐαρεστήσειεν τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ, εἰ μὴ τὰ τοῦ λογικῶν προβάτων εὐρωστίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἕνα δυνάμεως ποιοῖτο φροντίδα. Cyril. *ibid.*

It was (ſaith St. *Cyril*) *a leſſon to Teachers, that they cannot otherwiſe pleaſe the Arch-paſtor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational Sheep.*

8. Hence it followeth, that the Sheep, which our Saviour biddeth St. *Peter* to feed, were not the Apoſtles, who were his Fellow-ſhepherds, deſigned to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common believers or People of God, which St. *Peter* himſelf doth call *the Flock of God*; *Feed*, ſaith he to his Fellow-elders, *the flock of God, which is among you*; and St. *Paul*, *Take heed therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers.*

1 Pet. 2. 5.

Act. 20. 28.

9. Take Feeding for what you pleaſe, for Teaching, for Guiding —— the Apoſtles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught, and guided by God himſelf.

Hence we may interpret that ſaying of St. *Chryſoſtom*, which is the moſt plauſible argument they can alledge for them, that our Lord in ſaying this, did commit to St. *Peter a charge* (or preſidency) *over his brethren*; that is, he made him a Paſtor of Chriſtian people, as he did others; at leaſt, if πρωτασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν be referred to the Apoſtles, it muſt not ſignify authority over them, but at moſt a primacy of order among them; for that St. *Peter* otherwiſe ſhould feed them, St. *Chryſoſtom* could hardly think, who preſently after ſaith, that *ſeeing the Apoſtles were to receive the adminiſtration of the whole world, they ought not afterward to converſe with one another*; *for that would ſurely have been a great damage to the world.*

Ἐγχειρίζει τὴν πρωτασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 21. 15.
Τὴν πρωτασίαν ἐπιστεύθη τῶν ἀδελφῶν. *In* Ver. 21.

Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἔμελλον τὴν οἰκουμένην τῷ ἐπιστόλῳ ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. *Ibid.* V. 23.

10. But they, forſooth, muſt have St. *Peter* ſolely obliged to feed all *Chriſt*'s Sheep; ſo they did impoſe upon him a vaſt and crabbed Province; a task very incommodious, or rather impoſſible for him to undergo. How could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able to feed ſo many flocks of Chriſtian people ſcattered about in diſtant Regions, through all Nations under Heaven? he, poor man, that had ſo few helps, that had no Officers or Dependents, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the Sheep in *Britain* and in *Parthia*; unto infinite diſtraction of thoughts ſuch a charge muſt needs have engaged him.

Reſpondeo, S. Petrum partim per ſe, partim per alios univerſum Dominicum gregem ut ſibi imperatum erat, paviſſe —— Bell. *de Pont. R.* 1, 16.

But for this their great Champion hath a fine expedient; St. *Peter*, ſaith he, *did feed Chriſt's whole flock, partly by himſelf, partly by others*; ſo that, it ſeemeth, the other Apoſtles were St. *Peter*'s Curates, or Vicars and Deputies. This indeed were an eaſy way of feeding; thus although he had ſlept all his time, he might have fed all the Sheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a late invention, not known ſo ſoon in the Church; and it might then ſeem near as abſurd to be a Shepherd, as it is now (in his own account) to be a juſt man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* paſtorage, as this *a putative righteouſneſs*. However the Apoſtles, I dare ſay, did not take themſelves to be St. *Peter*'s Surrogates, but challenged to themſelves to be accounted *the Miniſters, the Stewards, the Ambaſſadors of Chriſt himſelf*; from whom immediately they received their Office, in whoſe name they acted, to whom they conſtantly refer their Authority, without taking the leaſt notice of St. *Peter*, or intimating any dependence on him.

2 Cor. 4. 1.
2 Cor. 5. 20. 10. 8.
Gal. 1, 1. Tit. 1. 3. } &c.

It was therefore enough for St. *Peter*, that he had Authority reſtrained to no place, but might, as he found occaſion, preach the Goſpel, convert, confirm, guide Chriſtians every where to truth and duty; nor can our Saviour's words be forced to ſignify more.

In

In fine, this (together with the precedent Teſtimonies) muſt not be interpreted ſo as to thwart Practice and Hiſtory; according to which it appeareth, that St. *Peter* did not exerciſe ſuch a Power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer ſuch an one upon him.

IV. Farther in confirmation of their Doctrine they do draw forth a whole ſhole of Teſtimonies, containing divers Prerogatives, as they call them, of St. *Peter*; which do, as they ſuppoſe, imply this Primacy; ſo very ſharp-ſighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about him, they can deſcry ſome argument or ſhrewd inſinuation of his preheminence; eſpecially being aided by the gloſſes of ſome fanciful Expoſitor. From the change of his Name, from his walking on the Sea, from his miraculous draught of Fiſh, from our Lord's praying for him, that his Faith ſhould not fail, and bidding him to confirm his Brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's firſt waſhing his feet, and his firſt appearing to him after the Reſurrection; from the prediction of his Martyrdom; from ſick Perſons being cured by his ſhadow; from his ſentencing *Ananias* and *Sapphira* to death, from his preaching to *Cornelius*, from its being ſaid *that he paſſed through all*, from his being prayed for by the Church, from St. *Paul*'s going to viſit him; from theſe paſſages, I ſay, they deduce or confirm his Authority. Now in earneſt is not this ſtout arguing? is it not egregious modeſty for ſuch a point to alledge ſuch proofs? what cauſe may not be countenanced by ſuch rare fetches? who would not ſuſpect the weakneſs of that Opinion, which is fain to uſe ſuch forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honeſt or conſcionable dealing ſo to wreſt or play with the Holy Scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs, where there is no ſhew of conſequence?

P. Leo IX. Ep 1. *Ad ejuſdem primatûs confirmationem, &c.* Bell. 1. 17.

Act. 5. 9.

To be even with them, I might aſſert the Primacy of St. *John*, and to that purpoſe might alledge his Prerogatives, (which indeed may ſeem greater than thoſe of St. *Peter*) namely, that he was *the beloved Diſciple*, that he leaned on our Lord's breaſt; that St. *Peter*, not preſuming to ask our Lord a queſtion, deſired *him* to do it, as having a more ſpecial confidence with our Lord; that St. *John* did higher ſervice to the Church, and all Poſterity, by writing not only more Epiſtles, but alſo a moſt divine Goſpel, and a ſublime * Prophecy concerning the ſtate of the Church; that St. *John* did † *out-run* Peter, *and came firſt to the Sepulchre*, (in which paſſage ſuch acute deviſers would find out marvellous ſignificancy;) that St. *John* was a Virgin; that he did out-live all the Apoſtles (and thence was moſt fit to be Univerſal Paſtor;) that St *Hierom* comparing *Peter* and *John*, doth ſeem to prefer the latter; for *Peter* (ſaith he) *was an Apoſtle, and* John *was an Apoſtle; but* Peter *was only an Apoſtle,* John *both an Apoſtle and an Evangeliſt, and alſo a Prophet* —— *and* (ſaith he) *that I may in brief ſpeech comprehend many things, and ſhew what privilege belongeth to* John —— *yea virginity in* John; *by our Lord a Virgin, his Mother the Virgin is commended to the Virgin Diſciple*

Joh. 13.

* *Infinita futurorum myſteria continentem.* Hier.
Containing infinite myſteries of future things.
† Joh. 20. 4.

Petrus Apoſtolus eſt, & Joannes Apoſtolus, maritus & Virgo; ſed Petrus Apoſtolus tantùm. Joannes & Apoſtolus & Evangeliſta & Propheta, &c. Hier. in Jovin. 1. 14.
Et ut brevi ſermone multa comprehendam, dicámque cujus privilegii ſit Joannes. —— imò in Joanne Virginitas, à Domino Virgini mater Virgo Virgini Diſcipulo commendatur. Hier. ibid.

Thus I might by Prerogatives and Paſſages very notable infer the Superiority of St. *John* to St. *Peter*, in imitation of their reaſoning; but I am afraid they would ſcarce be at the trouble to anſwer me ſeriouſly, but would think it enough to ſay I trifled; wherefore let it ſuffice for me in the ſame manner to put off thoſe levities of diſcourſe.

They argue this Primacy from the conſtant placing St. *Peter*'s name before the other Apoſtles, in the Catalogues and Narrations concerning him and them.

To this I anſwer,

1. That this Order is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, as not to admit ſome exceptions; for St. *Paul* ſaith, that *James, Cephas and John, knowing the grace given unto him* —— ſo it is commonly read in the ordinary Copies, in the Text of ancient Commentators, and in old Tranſlations; and, *whether* Paul, *whether* Apollos, *whether* Cephas, ſaith St. *Paul* again; and, *As the other Apoſtles, and the Brethren of our Lord, and* Cephas; and *Philip* (ſaith St. *John*) *was of* Bethſaida,

Gal. 2. 9.
1 Cor. 3. 22.
1 Cor. 9. 5.
Joh. 1. 45.

Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ Κύριος. Euſeb. *Hiſt.* 2. 1.

Bethſaida, *the City of* Andrew *and* Peter; and *Clemens Alex.* in *Euſebius* ſaith, that *the Lord after his reſurrection delivered the ſpecial knowledge to* James *the Juſt, and to* John, *and to* Peter, poſtponing St. *Peter*, as perhaps conceiving him to have leſs of ſublime Revelations imparted to him; that Order therefore is not ſo punctually conſtant.

Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατασσόμεθα — *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8. 30.

In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* being introduced jointly preſcribing Orders, they begin, *I* Paul, *and I* Peter *do appoint* — ſo little ambitious or curious of precedence are they repreſented.

2. But it being indeed ſo conſtant as not to ſeem caſual, I farther ſay, that poſition of names doth not argue difference of degree, or ſuperiority of power; any ſmall advantage of age, ſtanding, merit, or wealth, ſerving to ground ſuch precedence, as common experience doth ſhew.

3. We formerly did aſſign other ſufficient and probable cauſes, why St. *Peter* had this place; ſo that this is no cogent Reaſon.

VI. Farther, (and this indeed is far their moſt plauſible argumentation) they alledge the Titles and Elogies given to St. *Peter* by the Fathers; who call him ἔξαρχον, (the Prince) κορυφαῖον, (the Ring-leader) κεφαλὴν, (the Head) * πρόεδρον, (the Preſident) ἀρχηγὸν, (the Captain) προήγορον, (the Prolocutor) πρωτοστάτην, (the Foreman) προστάτην, (the Warden) ἔκλεκτον τῶν Ἀποστόλων (the choice, or egregious Apoſtle) *Majorem*, (the greater, or Grandee among them) *Primum*, (the firſt, or prime Apoſtle.)

1 Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 21. *Cir. c* Ἰουδ. ξάτην (*p.* 325.) Aug. *Ep.* 11. 19.

To theſe and the like allegations I anſwer,

The truth is, the beſt Arguments of the Papiſts in other queſtions are ſome flouriſhes of Orators, ſpeaking hyperbolically and heedleſly.

1. If we ſhould ſay, that we are not accountable for every hyperbolical flaſh or flouriſh occurring in the Fathers, (it being well known, that they in their encomiaſtick ſpeeches, as Orators are wont, following the heat and gaiety of fancy, do ſometimes overlaſh) we ſhould have the pattern of their greateſt Controvertiſts to warrant us; for *Bellarmine* doth put off their Teſtimonies, by ſaying, that they do *ſometimes ſpeak in way of exceſs, leſs properly, leſs warily, ſo as to need benign Expoſition*, &c. as Biſhop * *Andrews* ſheweth; and it is a common ſhift of Cardinal *Perron*, whereof you may ſee divers inſtances alledged by † *M. Daillée.*

Per exceſſum loqui. Bell. *de Miſſ.* 2. 10. *minus propriè.* 3. 4. *benignâ expoſitione opus habere. de amiſſ. gr.* 4. 12. *minus, cautè. de purg.* 1. 11.

* *Tort. Tort.* p. 338.

† Dall. *de uſ. P. lib.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 158. (& *p.* 314.

Which obſervation is eſpecially applicable to this caſe; for that eloquent men do never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy, than in the demonſtrative kind, in panegyricks, in their commendations of perſons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for thoſe expreſſions of Pope *Leo*, founding ſo exorbitantly, that St. *Peter* was by our Lord *aſſumed into conſortſhip of his individual unity*; and that *nothing did paſs upon any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of* Peter.

Nunc enim in conſortium individuæ unitatis aſſumptum id quod ipſe erat, voluit nominari. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 89. *Nihil à bonorum fonte Deo in quemquam ſine Petri participatione tranſire.* P. Leo *de aſſumpt. ſuâ Serm.* 3.

2. We may obſerve, that ſuch turgid Elogies of St. *Peter* are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for *Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Clemens Alex. Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian* —— when they mention St. *Peter*, do ſpeak more temperately and ſimply, according to the current notions and traditions of the Church in their time; uſing indeed fair terms of reſpect, but not ſuch high ſtrains of courtſhip, about him. But they are found in the latter Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their diſcourſe to vent thoſe faculties, did ſpeak more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence according to a prudent eſtimation of things in ſuch a caſe, that ſilence or ſparingneſs of the firſt ſort is of more conſideration on the one hand, than the ſpeech, how free ſoever, of the latter is on the other hand; and we may rather ſuppoſe thoſe titles do not belong to St. *Peter*, becauſe the firſt do not give them, than that they do, becauſe the other are ſo liberal in doing it.

Indeed if we conſult the Teſtimonies of this kind alledged by the *Romaniſts*, who with their utmoſt diligence have raked all ancient Writings for them, it is ſtrange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find ſo few plauſible ones; that they are fain (to make up the number) to produce ſo many

many, which evidently have no force or pertinency, being only commendations of his Apoſtolical Office, or of his Perſonal Merits, without relation to others

3. We ſay, that all thoſe terms or Titles, which they urge, are ambiguous, and applicable to any ſort of Primacy or Preheminency; to that which we admit, no leſs than to that which we refuſe; as by inſtances from good Authors, and from common uſe, might eaſily be demonſtrated; ſo that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cauſe.

Cicero calleth *Socrates, Prince of the Philoſophers*, and *Sulpitius, Prince of all Lawyers*; would it not be ridiculous thence to infer, that *Socrates* was a Sovereign Governor of the Philoſophers, or *Sulpitius* of the Lawyers? The ſame great Speaker calleth *Pompey, Prince of the City in all Mens judgment*; doth he mean, that he did exerciſe juriſdiction over the City? Cic. *de Nat. D. lib* 2. Cic. *de clar. Orat.*

Quem omnium judicio longè principem eſſe Civitatis videbat —— Principem orbis terrâ virum —— Cic. *pro domo ſua.*

Tertullus calleth St. *Paul*, πρωτοστάτην, *a ring-leader of the ſect of the Nazarenes*; and St. *Baſil* calleth *Euſtathius Sebaſtenus, foreman of the ſect of the Pneumatomachi*; did *Tertullus* mean, that St. *Paul* had univerſal Juriſdiction over Chriſtians; or St. *Baſil*, that *Euſtathius* was Sovereign of thoſe Hereticks? Act. 24. 5.

Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως. Baſ. *Ep* 74.

So neither did Prince of the Apoſtles, or any equivalent term, in the ſenſe of thoſe who aſſigned it to St. *Peter*, import Authority over the Apoſtles, but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in apoſtolical performances, or at moſt in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the ſtate of things, not the ſtate of things to be inferred from them; and in underſtanding them we ſhould obſerve the Rule of *Tertullian*.

Malo te ad ſenſum rei quàm ad ſonum vocabuli exerceas. Tert. *ad Prax. cap.* 3. I had rather you would apply yourſelf to the ſenſe of the thing, than to the ſound of the word.

Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὴν φύσιν φθείρουσι· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκουσα μεταβάλλει. Athan. *Orat.* 3. *Adv.* Ar. (*p.* 373.)

For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to it ſelf.

4. Accordingly the *Fathers* ſometimes do explain thoſe Elogies, ſignifying them to import the ſpecial gifts and virtues of St. *Peter*, wherein he did excel; ſo *Euſebius* calleth St. *Peter, the moſt excellent and great Apoſtle, who for his virtue was prolocutor of the reſt.* Euſeb. *Hiſt.* 2. 24.

5. This anſwer is thoroughly confirmed from hence, that even thoſe who gave thoſe Titles to St. *Peter*, do yet expreſly affirm other Apoſtles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who doth give higher Elogies to him than St. *Chryſoſtom*? yet doth he aſſert all the Apoſtles to be Supreme, and *equal in dignity*; and particularly he doth often affirm St. *Paul* to be ἰσότιμον, equal in honour to St. *Peter*, as we before ſhewed.

The like we declared of St. *Hierom*, St. *Cyril*, *&c.* And as for St. *Cyprian*, who did allow a Primacy to St. *Peter*, nothing can be more evident, than that he took the other Apoſtles to be *equal to him in power and honour*.

The like we may conceive of St. *Auſtin*, who having carefully peruſed thoſe Writings of St. *Cyprian*, and frequently alledging them, doth never contradict that his Sentiment.

Even Pope *Gregory* himſelf acknowledgeth St. *Peter* not to have been properly the Head, but only *the firſt member of the univerſal Church, all being members of the Church under one Head.* *Certè Petrus Apoſtolus primum membrum S. & univerſalis Eccleſiæ ——*

ſub uno capite omnes membra ſunt Eccleſiæ. Greg. *I. Epiſt.* 4. 38.

6. If Pope *Leo* I. or any other ancient Pope, do ſeem to mean farther, we may reaſonably except againſt their Opinion, as being ſingular, and proceeding from partial affection to their See; ſuch affection having influence on the mind of the wiſeſt men; according to that certain maxim of *Ariſtotle, Every man is a bad judge in his own caſe.*

7. The Ancients, when their ſubject doth allure them, do adorn other Apoſtles with the like Titles, equalling thoſe of St. *Peter*, and not well conſiſtent with

with them, according to that rigour of ſenſe, which our Adverſaries affix to the commendations of St. *Peter*.

The Epiſtle of *Clemens Rom*. to St *James* (an apocryphal, but ancient Writing) calleth St. *James* our Lord's Brother, *The Biſhop of Biſhops*; the *Clementine Recognitions* call him *The Prince of Biſhops*; *Ruffinus*, in his tranſlation of *Euſebius*, *The Biſhop of the Apoſtles**; St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith of him, that he *did preſide over all the Jewiſh believers*; *Heſychius* Presbyter of *Jeruſalem*, calleth him *the chief Captain of the new* Jeruſalem, *the Captain of Prieſts, the Prince of the Apoſtles, the top among the Heads*, &c.

Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ —— ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ.
Jacobum Epiſcoporum Principem Sacerdotum Princeps orabat. Clem. *Rec.* 1. 68.
Apoſtolorum Epiſcopus. Ruf. Euſeb. 2. 1.
* It is likely that *Ruffinus* did call him ſo, by miſtaking that in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions,
Γνὲ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβῳ. *Apoſt. Conſt.* 8. 10.
Τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προεστήκει πάντων. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.
Τὸν τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρχιστράτηγον, τὸν ἱερέων ἡγεμόνα, τὸν Ἀποστόλων τὸν ἔξαρχον, τὸν ἐν κεφαλαῖς κορυφὴν, &c. Heſych. *Presb. apud* Phot. *Cod.* 275. (p. 1525.)

The ſame *Heſychius* calleth St. *Andrew*, *the firſt-born of the Apoſtolical Choir, the firſt ſettled pillar of the Church*, the Peter *before* Peter, *the foundation of the foundation, the firſt-fruits of the beginning*, &c.

St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith of St. *John*, that he was *a pillar of the Churches through the world, he that had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, &c.

Ὁ τῷ χορῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύλος, ὁ περὶ Πέτρου Πέτρος, ὁ τῷ θεμελίῳ θεμέλιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ —— Heſych. *apud.* Phot. *Cod.* 269.
Ὁ σύλος τῆς ἐν οἰκουμένῃ ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 1. 1.

But as occaſion of ſpeaking about St. *Paul* was more frequent, ſo the elogies of him are more copious, and indeed ſo high as not to yield to thoſe of St. *Peter*.

He was (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *the ring-leader and guardian of the Choir of all the Saints.*

Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χορῶν κορυφαῖος, καὶ προστάτης. Chryſ. *in* Rom. 16. 24.
Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. 9. 2.

He was the Tongue, the Teacher, the Apoſtle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon Earth.

Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ σύλος, καὶ ἐρείσμα τῆς ἀληθείας.
Τῷ οἰκουμένῳ ἅπαντι ἐγκεχειρισμένος —— He had the whole habitable World committed to his charge.
Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ὢν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ οἰκεῖσθαι ἅπαντας ἐπίστευτο.
He was the Teacher of the World, and had all the inhabitants of the Earth committed to his truſt.

He was the light of the Churches, the foundation of Faith, the pillar and ground of Truth.

He had the patronage of the World committed into his hands.

Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. *in* Jud. Or. 6. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιδέξασθαι. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 22.
Οὐ τῷ οἰκουμένῳ ἅπαντι εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ φέρων ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός; *Tom.* 7. *p.* 2.
Did not God put into his hands the whole World?
Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κεκλήκας, *in* 2 Tim. 2. 1. He had the charge of the whole world.

He was better than all men, greater than the Apoſtles, and ſurpaſſing them all.

Πάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττων. *de Sacerd.* 4. Τίς οὖν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμείνων; τίς ἕτερος, ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος — εἰ τοίνυν μείζονα τῶν Ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στέφανον, οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἴσος ἀνδρὶ γέγονεν, οὐδὲ ἕν κείνων μείζων, δῆλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσει τιμῆς καὶ περιωπῆς. *Tom.* 5. Or. 33.
Who then was better than all other men? who elſe but that Tent-maker, the Teacher of the world? —— If therefore he receive a greater Crown than the Apoſtles, and none, was equal to the Apoſtles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifeſt that he ſhall enjoy the higheſt honour and preeminence.

Nothing was more bright, nothing more illuſtrious than he.

None was greater than he, yea none equal to him.

Παύλου λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον. *Tom.* 5. Or. 47.
Οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐκείνου μείζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ὤφθη. *Tom.* 6. Or. 9. Οὐδεὶς Παύλου ἴσος ἦν. 2 Tim. 3. 15.
Ὁ πάντων, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἅπασιν ἀρχιτέκτων. Theod. *Ep.* 146.
The moſt wiſe, and beſt Architect, or chief Builder of the Churches.
Ὁ μακάριος Ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ. Juſt. M. *reſp. ad Orthod. Qu.* 119.
The bleſſed Apoſtle, the Father of the Fathers.

Caput effectus eſt Nationum; quia obtinuit totius Eccleſiæ principatum. Pope *Gregory* I. ſaith of St *Paul*, that he *was made head of the Nations, becauſe he obtained the principate of the whole Church.*
Greg. M. *in* 1 Reg. *lib.* 4. *Videſis:* Paulus Apoſtolorum Princeps. *Ep.* Spalat. *in* Lat. *Syn Sub P. Jul. II. Seſſ.* 1. *p.* 25.

These Characters of St. *Paul* I leave them to interpret, and reconcile with thoſe of St. *Peter*.

8. That the *Fathers* by calling St. *Peter* Prince, Chieftain, &c. of the Apoſtles, do not mean Authority over them, may be argued from their joyning St. *Paul*

St. *Paul* with him in the ſame appellations; who yet ſurely could have no Juriſdiction over them; and his having any would deſtroy the pretended Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy.

St. *Cyril* calleth them together *Patrons, or Preſidents of the Church.*

Πέτρ☩ καὶ Παύλ☩, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται. Cyril. Cat. 6.

St. *Auſtin* (or St. *Ambr.* or *Max.*) calleth them *Princes of the Churches.*

Eccleſiarum Principes. Aug. *de Sanct.* 27.

The Popes *Agatho* and *Adrian* (in their General Synods) call them *the ring-leading Apoſtles.*

Κορυφαῖοι Ἀποστόλων. P. Agatho *in* 6 *Syn. Act.* 4. *p.* 35. P. Adrian *in* 7 *Syn. Act.* 2. *p.* 554.

The Popes *Nicholas* I. and *Gregory* VII. *&c.* call them *Princes of the Apoſtles.*

Nicol. I. *Ep.* 7. Plat. *in* Greg. VII. *&c.*

St. *Ambroſe*, or St. *Auſtin*, or St. *Maximus Taur.* (chuſe you which) doth thus ſpeak of them; *Bleſſed* Peter *and* Paul *are moſt eminent among all the Apoſtles, excelling the reſt by a kind of peculiar prerogative: but whether of the two be preferred before the other is uncertain; for I count them to be equal in merit, becauſe they are equal in ſuffering,* &c.

Beati Petrus & Paulus eminent inter univerſos Apoſtolos, & peculiari quadam prærogativâ præcellunt; verùm inter ipſos quis cui præponatur incertum eſt, puto enim illos æquales eſſe meritis quia æquales ſunt paſſione, &c. Ambr. *Serm.* 66. Aug. *de Sanct.* 27. Max. Taur. *Serm.* 54.

To all this diſcourſe I ſhall only add, that if any of the Apoſtles, or Apoſtolical men, might claim a preſidency or authoritative Headſhip over the reſt, St. *James* ſeemeth to have the beſt title thereto; for *Jeruſalem was the Mother of all Churches*, the Fountain of the Chriſtian Law and Doctrine, the *See* of our Lord himſelf, the chief Paſtor.

Hæ voces Eccleſiæ ex qua habuit omnis Eccleſia initium. Iren. 3. 12.

Theſe are the words of the Church, from whence every Church had its beginning.

Iſa. 2. 3. Luke 14. 47. *Eccleſia in Hierusalem fundata totius orbis Eccleſias ſeminavit.* Hieron. *in* Iſa. 2. The Church founded in *Jeruſalem* was the Seminary of the Churches throughout the whole world.

He therefore, who (as the *Fathers* tell us) was by our Lord himſelf conſtituted Biſhop of that City, and the *firſt* of all Biſhops, might beſt pretend to be in ſpecial manner our Lord's Vicar or Succeſſor. *He* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *did firſt receive the Epiſcopal Chair, and to him our Lord firſt did entruſt his own Throne upon Earth.*

Ἕτερα δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβου, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 11.

After that he was ſeen of *James*. I ſuppoſe his Brother; for he is ſaid to have ordained him, and made him the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

Πρῶτ☩ οὖν ἄλλης ἦρξε καθέδρας τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύρι☩ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ. Epiph. *har.* 78.

He accordingly did firſt exerciſe the Authority of preſiding and moderating in the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Synod, as St. *Chryſoſtom* in his Notes thereon doth remark.

He therefore probably by St. *Paul* is firſt named in his report concerning the paſſages at *Jeruſalem*; and to his orders it ſeemeth that St. *Peter* himſelf did conform; for 'tis ſaid there, that *before certain came from St.* James, *he did eat with the Gentiles, but when they were come he withdrew.*

Gal. 2. 9.

Gal. 2. 12.

Hence in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, in the Prayer preſcribed for the Church, and for all the Governors of it, the Biſhops of the principal Churches being ſpecified by name, St. *James* is put in the firſt place, before the Biſhops of *Rome* and of *Antioch*; *Let us pray for the whole Epiſcopacy under Heaven of thoſe who rightly diſpenſe the word of thy Truth; and let us pray for our Biſhop* James *with all his Pariſhes; let us pray for our Biſhop* Clemens *and all his Pariſhes: let us pray for* Evodius *and all his Pariſhes* —

Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐγκόσμιον τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας διενδώμων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτῆς διενδώμων· ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μοῦ Κλήμεντος, &c. *Conſt. Ap.* 8. 10.

Hereto conſenteth the Tradition of thoſe ancient Writers aforeſaid, who call St. *James*, *the Biſhop of Biſhops*, *the Biſhop of the Apoſtles*, &c.

SUPPOSITION II.

I proceed to examine the next *Suppoſition* of the Church Monarchiſts, which is, *That St.* Peter's *Primacy, with its Rights and Prerogatives, was not perſonal, but derivable to his Succeſſors.*

AGainſt which *Suppoſition* I do aſſert, that admitting a Primacy of St. *Peter*, of what kind or to what purpoſe ſoever, we yet have reaſon to deem it meerly perſonal, and not (according to its grounds and its deſign) communicable to any Succeſſors, nor indeed in effect conveyed to any ſuch.

Privilegium perſonale Perſonam ſequitur, & cum Perſona extinguitur. Reg. Juris, 7. *in Sexto.*

It is a rule in the Canon Law, That *a perſonal Privilege doth follow the Perſon, and is extinguiſhed with the Perſon*; and ſuch we affirm that of St. *Peter*; for,

1. His Primacy was grounded upon perſonal acts, (ſuch as his chearful following of *Chriſt*, his faithful confeſſing of *Chriſt*, his reſolute adherence to *Chriſt*, his embracing ſpecial Revelations from God) or upon perſonal graces, (his great Faith, his ſpecial Love to our Lord, his ſingular Zeal for *Chriſt*'s Service) or upon perſonal gifts and endowments, (his courage, reſolution, activity, forwardneſs in apprehenſion, and in ſpeech) the which advantages are not tranſient, and conſequently a pre-eminency built on them is not in its nature ſuch.

2. All the pretence of Primacy granted to St. *Peter*, is grounded upon words directed to St. *Peter*'s Perſon, characterized by moſt perſonal adjuncts,

Matt. 16. 17. as name, parentage, and which exactly were accompliſhed in St. *Peter*'s perſonal actings, which therefore it is unreaſonable to extend farther.

Joh. 21. 15, 16. 17.

Matt. 16. 17. Our Lord promiſed to *Simon Son of Jona*, to build his Church on him; accordingly in eminent manner the Church was founded upon his Miniſtry, or by his firſt preaching, teſtimony, performances.

Our Lord promiſed to give him the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom; this Power St. *Peter* ſignally did execute in converting Chriſtians, and receiving them by Baptiſm into the Church, by conferring the Holy Ghoſt, and the like adminiſtrations.

Joh. 21. 15. Our Lord charged *Simon Son of Jonas* to feed his Sheep; this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding and governing Chriſtians, as he found opportunity; wherefore if any thing was couched under thoſe promiſes or orders, ſingularly pertinent to St. *Peter*; for the ſame reaſon that they were ſingular, they were perſonal; for,

Theſe things being, in a conſpicuous manner, accompliſhed in St. *Peter*'s Perſon, the ſenſe of thoſe words is exhauſted; there may not, with any probability, there cannot with any aſſurance be any more grounded on them; whatever more is inferred, muſt be by precarious aſſumption; and juſtly we may caſt at thoſe who ſhall infer it that expoſtulation of *Tertullian, What art thou, who doſt overturn and change the manifeſt intention of our Lord, perſonally conferring this on* Peter?

Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifeſtam Domini intentionem perſonaliter hoc Petro conferentem? Tertul. *de pud.* 21.

3. Particularly the grand promiſe to St. *Peter*, of founding the Church on him, cannot reach beyond his perſon; becauſe there can be no other foundations of a Society, than ſuch as are firſt laid; the Succeſſors of thoſe, who firſt did erect a Society, and eſtabliſh it, are themſelves but ſuperſtructures.

4. The Apoſtolical Office, as ſuch, was perſonal and temporary; and therefore according to its nature and deſign not ſucceſſive or communicable to others in perpetual deſcendence from them.

It was, as ſuch, in all reſpects extraordinary, conferred in a ſpecial manner, deſigned for ſpecial purpoſes, diſcharged by ſpecial aids, endowed with ſpecial privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Chriſtianity, and founding of Churches.

To that Office it was requiſite, that the Perſon ſhould have an immediate deſignation and commiſſion from God; ſuch as St. *Paul*, ſo often doth inſiſt upon

upon for asserting his title to the Office; *Paul an Apostle, not from men, or by man —— not by men*, saith St. *Chrysostom, this is a property of the Apostles.*

Gal. 1. 1: Τὸ γὰρ ἐ δι' ἀνθρώπων ἴδιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Chrys. *Ibid.*

It was requisite that an Apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's Resurrection or Ascension, either immediately as the twelve, or by evident consequence as St. *Paul.* Thus St *Peter* implied, at the choice of *Matthias, Wherefore of those men, which have companied with us —— must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the Resurrection*; and, *Am I not* (saith St. *Paul*) *an Apostle, have I not seen the Lord?* according to that of *Ananias, The God of our Fathers, hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that just one, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.*

Act. 1. 21. 1 Cor. 9. 1. 15 8. Act. 22. 14—

It was needful also that an Apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his Authority, and to execute his Office; wherefore St. *Paul* calleth these, *the marks of an Apostle*, the *which were wrought by him among the* Corinthians *in all patience* (or persevering) *in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

2 Cor. 12. 12. Rom. 15. 18.

It was also, in St. *Chrysostom*'s opinion, proper to an Apostle, that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart Spiritual Gifts; as St. *Peter* and St. *John* did at *Samaria*; which to do, according to that *Father*, was *the peculiar gift and privilege of the Apostles.*

Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα—τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἰδίωμα. Chrys. *in* Act. 8. 18. *De solis Apostolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent Episcopi, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum S. dabant.* P. Eugenius *IV. Instit. Arm.*

'Tis recorded of the Apostles alone, in whose room the Bishops succeed, that they gave the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

It was also a privilege of an Apostle, by vertue of his commission from *Christ, to instruct all Nations* in the Doctrine and Law of *Christ*; He had right and warrant to exercise his function every where, *His charge was universal and indefinite*; *the whole world was his Province*; He was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; He was (as St *Cyril* calleth him) *an Oecumenical Judge*, and *an Instructor of all the Subcelestial World.*

Ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλον ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἔσεσθαι. Chrys. *in* Joh. 21.

Κεῖται οἰκουμενικοὶ, καὶ ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καὶ ὑπηκόοις. Cyril. γλαφ. *in* Gen. 7.

Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion appeal, and affirm, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.* Whence their Writings have passed for inspired, and therefore Canonical, or certain Rules of Faith and Practice.

Act. 15. 28.

It did belong to them to found Churches, to constitute Pastors, to settle orders, to correct offences, to perform all such Acts of Sovereign, Spiritual Power, in vertue of the same Divine assistance, *according to the Authority which the Lord had given them for edification*; as we see practised by St. *Paul.*

In fine, the *Apostleship was* (as St. *Chrysostom* telleth us) *a business fraught with ten thousand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them.*

Τὴν Ἀποστολὴν, πεπληρωμένην ἀγαθῶν γέμων, καὶ χαρισμάτων ἁπάντων κρείττονα καὶ μείζονα καὶ περιεκτικόν. Chrys. *in* Rom. 1. Or. 1. *Tom.* 8. 114.

Now such an Office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the Church, and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages, which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself.

Neither did the Apostles pretend to communicate it; they did indeed appoint standing Pastors and Teachers in each Church; they did assume Fellow-labourers and Assistants in the work of Preaching and Governance, but they did not constitute Apostles, equal to themselves in Authority, Privileges or Gifts. For *who knoweth not* (saith St. *Austin*) *that principate of Apostleship to be preferred before any Episcopacy?* and *the Bishops* (saith *Bellarmine*) *have no part of the true Apostolical Authority.* *

Quis nescit illum Apostolatûs principatum cuilibet Episcopatui præferendum? Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 1. *Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ apostolicæ Auctoritatis.* Bell. 4. 25.

*The Apostles themselves do make the Apostulate a distinct Office from Pastors and Teachers, which are the standing Offices of the Church. *Eph.* 4. 11. 1 *Cor.* 12. 28.

Wherefore St. *Peter*, who had no other Office mentioned in Scripture, or known to Antiquity, beſide that of an Apoſtle, could not have properly and adequately any Succeſſor to his Office; but it naturally did expire with his Perſon, as did that of the other Apoſtles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other Apoſtles, as ſuch, had no Succeſſors, the Apoſtolical Office not being propagated; the Primacy of St. *Peter* (whatever it were, whether of Order or Juriſdiction, in regard to his Brethren) did ceaſe with him; for when there were no *Apoſtles* extant, there could be *no Head*, or *Prince of the Apoſtles*, in any ſenſe.

6. If ſome privileges of St. *Peter* were derived to Popes, why were not all? why was not Pope *Alexander* VI. as holy as St. *Peter?* why was not Pope *Honorius* as ſound in his private judgment? why is not every Pope inſpired? why is not every Papal Epiſtle to be reputed Canonical? why are not all Popes endowed with power of doing Miracles? why did not the Pope by a Sermon convert thouſands? (why indeed do Popes never preach?) why doth not he cure men by his ſhadow? (he is, ſay they, himſelf his ſhadow:) what ground is there of diſtinguiſhing the privileges, ſo that he ſhall have ſome, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected, that the *Fathers* commonly do call Biſhops Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; to aſſoil that objection we may conſider, that whereas the Apoſtolical Office vertually did contain the functions of teaching, and ruling God's people, the which for preſervation of Chriſtian doctrine, and edification of the Church, were requiſite to be continued perpetually in ordinary ſtanding Offices, theſe indeed were derived from the Apoſtles, but not properly in way of ſucceſſion, as by univocal propagation; but by Ordination, imparting all the power needful for ſuch Offices; which therefore were exerciſed by perſons during the Apoſtles Lives concurrently, or in ſubordination to them; even as a Dictator at *Rome* might create inferior Magiſtrates, who derived from him, but not as his Succeſſors; for (as *Bellarmine* himſelf telleth us) *there can be no proper ſucceſſion but in reſpect of one preceding, but Apoſtles and Biſhops were together in the Church.*

Non ſucceditur propriè niſi præcedenti, at ſimul fuerunt in Eccleſia Apoſtoli & Epiſcopi. Bell. *de Pont.* R. 4. 25.

The *Fathers* therefore ſo in a large ſenſe call all Biſhops Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, not meaning that any of them did ſucceed into the whole Apoſtolical Office; but that each did receive his power from ſome one (immediately or mediately) whom ſome Apoſtle did conſtitute Biſhop, veſting him with Authority to feed the particular Flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge; according to the ſayings of that Apoſtolical perſon *Clem. Rom. The Apoſtles preaching in Regions and Cities, did conſtitute their firſt Converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for Biſhops and Deacons of thoſe who ſhould afterward believe*; and *having conſtituted the foreſaid* (Biſhops and Deacons) *they withal gave them farther charge, that if they ſhould die, other approved men ſucceſſively ſhould receive their Office.* Thus did the Biſhops ſupply the room of the Apoſtles, *each in guiding his particular charge*, all of them together by mutual aid conſpiring to govern the whole Body of the Church.

Καὶ ἀγρὸς καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες κατίσανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ Διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Clem. *ad* Corinth. 1. 54.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ παραυτίκα καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν ἐπιδεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibid.* p. 57.

Singulis paſtoribus portio gregis aſcripta eſt, quam regat unuſquiſque & gubernet—— Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

8. In which regard it may be ſaid, that not one ſingle Biſhop, but all Biſhops together through the whole Church, do ſucceed St. *Peter*, or any other Apoſtle; for that all of them in union together have an univerſal ſovereign Authority, commenſurate to an Apoſtle.

9. This is the notion, which St. *Cyprian* doth ſo much inſiſt upon, affirming that the Biſhops do ſucceed St. *Peter*, and the other Apoſtles, *by vicarious ordinations*; that *the Biſhops are Apoſtles*; that there is but *one chair by the Lord's word built upon one* Peter; *One undivided Biſhoprick, diffuſed in the peaceful numeroſity of many Biſhops, whereof each Biſhop doth hold his ſhare*; *One Flock whom the Apoſtles by unanimous agreement did feed*, and *which afterward the Biſhops do*

Præpoſitos, qui Apoſtolis vicariâ ordinatione ſuccedunt—— Ep. 69. 42. 75.

Apoſtolos, id eſt, Epiſcopos & præpoſitos Dominus elegit. Ep. 65.

Cathedra unâ ſuper Petrum Dominî voce fundata... Ep. 40. & Ep. 73. & *de unit. Eccl.*

Epiſcopatus unus. Epiſcoporum multorum concordi numeroſitate diffuſus. Ep. 52.

Epiſcopatus unus, cujus à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur. *De unit. Eccl.*

do feed; having *a portion thereof allotted to each, which he ſhould govern.*

Et Paſtores ſunt omnes, ſed grex unus oſtenditur, qui ab Apoſtolis omnibus unanimi conſenſione paſcatur. De unit. Eccl.

Nam etſi Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen gregem paſcimus, & oves univerſas &c. Epiſt. 67.
For though we are many Paſtors, yet we feed one flock, and all the ſheep, &c.

So the Synod of *Carthage* with St. *Cyprian.*

Manifeſta eſt ſententia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Apoſtolos ſuos mittentis, & ipſis ſolis poteſtatem à Patre ſibi datam permittentis, quibus nos ſucceſſimus, eâdem poteſtate Eccleſiam Domini gubernantes.
The mind and meaning of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is manifeſt in ſeoding his Apoſtles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whoſe Succeſſors we are, governing the Church of God by the ſame power.

So alſo St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, that *the Sheep of Chriſt were committed by him to* Peter, *and to thoſe after him*, that is, in his meaning, to all Biſhops.

Τὰ πρόβατα —— ἐ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. Chryſ. *de Sacerd.* 1.

10. Such, and no other power, St. *Peter* might devolve on any Biſhop ordained by him in any Church, which he did conſtitute or inſpect, as in that of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, of *Babylon*, of *Rome.*

The like did the other Apoſtles communicate, who had the ſame power with St. *Peter* in founding and ſettling Churches; whoſe Succeſſors of this kind were equal to thoſe of the ſame kind, whom St. *Peter* did conſtitute; enjoying in their ſeveral precincts an equal part of the Apoſtolical power, as St. *Cyprian* often doth aſſert.

Hier. *ad* Evagr.

11. It is in conſequence obſervable, that in thoſe Churches, whereof the Apoſtles themſelves were never accounted Biſhops, yet the Biſhops are called Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; which cannot otherwiſe be underſtood, than according to the ſenſe which we have propoſed; that is, becauſe they ſucceeded thoſe, who were conſtituted by the Apoſtles; according to thoſe ſayings of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*; *We can number thoſe, who were inſtituted Biſhops by the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors*; and, *All the Churches do ſhew thoſe, whom being by the Apoſtles conſtituted in the Epiſcopal Office, they have as Continuers of the Apoſtolical ſeed.*

Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi, & Succeſſores eorum uſque ad nos —— Iren. 3. 3.

Proinde utique & cætera exhibent, quos ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos Apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent. Tert. *de Præſcr.* 32.

So although St. *Peter* was never reckoned Biſhop of *Alexandria*, yet becauſe it is reported that he placed St. *Mark* there, the Biſhop of *Alexandria* is ſaid to ſucceed the Apoſtles.

Τέταρτος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν κληρῶ Πεῖμος. Euſeb. *hiſt.* 4. 1. *Primus* is the fourth from the Apoſtles who was the Biſhop of that place, or obtained the miniſtry there.

And becauſe St. *John* did abide at *Epheſus*, inſpecting that Church, and *appointing Biſhops there*, the Biſhops of that See did *refer their Origin to him.*

Ὅτε μὲν Ἐπισκόπους καθίστων, ὅτε δὲ πάσας Ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων. &c. Clem. Alex. *apud* Euſeb. 3. 23. *Ordo Epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem.* Tert. *in* Marc. 4. 5. Tert. *de Præſcr.* 32.

So many Biſhops did claim from St. *Paul.*

So St. *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* do aſſert themſelves *Succeſſors of the Apoſtles*, who yet perhaps never were at *Carthage* or *Cæſarea.*

Uſitatem à Domino & per Apoſtolos nobis ſucceſſoribus traditam. Cypr. Ep 42.

Adverſarii noſtri qui Apoſtolis ſucceſſimus, Firmil. *in* Cypr. Ep 75.

So the Church of *Conſtantinople* is often in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called *this great Apoſtolick Church*, being ſuch Churches as thoſe of whom *Tertullian* ſaith, that *although they do not produce any of the Apoſtles, or Apoſtolical men for their Author, yet conſpiring in the ſame faith, are no leſs, for the conſanguinity of doctrine, Apoſtolical.*

—— *ab illis Eccleſiis, quas licèt nullum ex Apoſtolis vel Apoſtolicis auctorem ſuum proferant, aut multo poſteriores, quæ denique quotidie inſtituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conſpirantes, non minùs Apoſtolicæ deputantur, pro conſanguinitate doctrinæ.* Tert. *de Præſcr.* 32.

ence St. *Hierom* doth aſſert a parity of merit and dignity Sacerdotal to ſhops; becauſe (ſaith he) *all of them are Succeſſors to the Apoſtles*; ha- Hier. *ad* Evagr. all alike power by their ordination conferred on them.

Whereas our Adverſaries do pretend, that indeed the other Apoſtles Bell. 4. 25 &c. extraordinary charge as Legates of *Chriſt*, which had no ſucceſſion, extinct in their perſons; but that St. *Peter* had a peculiar charge, as Paſtor of the whole Church, which ſurviveth.

it is enough to rejoin, that it is a meer figment, deviſed for a ſhift, ed precariouſly; having no ground either in Holy Scripture, or in dition; there being no ſuch diſtinction in the Sacred or Eccleſia-

ſtical

ſtical Writings; no mention occuring there of any Office which he did aſſume, or which was attributed to him, diſtinct from that extraordinary one of an Apoſtle; and all the paſtoral charge imaginable being aſcribed by the Ancients to all the Apoſtles in regard to the whole Church, as hath been ſufficiently declared.

13. In fine, if any ſuch conveyance of power, (of power ſo great, ſo momentous, ſo mightily concerning the perpetual ſtate of the Church, and of each perſon therein) had been made; it had been (for general direction and ſatisfaction, for voiding all doubt and debate about it, for ſtifling theſe pretended Hereſies and Schiſms) very requiſite, that it ſhould have been expreſſed in ſome authentick Record, that a particular Law ſhould have been extant concerning it, that all poſterity ſhould be warned to yield the ſubmiſſion grounded thereon.

Indeed a matter of ſo great conſequence to the being and welfare of the Church, could ſcarce have ſcaped from being clearly mentioned ſomewhere or other in Scripture, wherein ſo much is ſpoken touching Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; it could ſcarce have avoided the Pen of the firſt Fathers, (*Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the *Apoſtolical Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, *Tertullian*, *&c.*) who alſo ſo much treat concerning the Function and Authority of Chriſtian Governors.

Nothing can be more ſtrange, than that in the *Statute book* of the *New Jeruſalem*, and in all the Original Monuments concerning it, there ſhould be ſuch a dead ſilence concerning the ſucceſſion of its chief Magiſtrate.

Wherefore no ſuch thing appearing, we may reaſonably conclude no ſuch thing to have been, and that our Adverſaries aſſertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary and groundleſs.

14. I might add, as a very convincing Argument, that if ſuch a ſucceſſion had been deſigned, and known in old times, it is morally impoſſible, that none of the Fathers, (*Origen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Auguſtine*, *Cyril*, *Hierom*, *Theodoret*, *&c.*) in their expoſition of the places alledged by the *Romaniſts* for the Primacy of St. *Peter*, ſhould declare that Primacy to have been derived and ſettled on St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor; a point of that moment, if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a moſt uſeful application, and direction for duty.

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, *That St.* Peter *was Biſhop of* Rome.

COncerning which Aſſertion we ſay, that it may with great reaſon be denied, and that it cannot any-wiſe be aſſured; as will appear by the following Conſiderations.

1. St. *Peter*'s being Biſhop of *Rome* would confound the Offices, which God made diſtinct; for *God did appoint firſt Apoſtles, then Prophets, then Paſtors and Teachers*; wherefore St. *Peter* after he was an Apoſtle, could not well become a Biſhop; it would be ſuch an irregularity, as if a Biſhop ſhould be made a Deacon.

1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11.

2. The Offices of an Apoſtle, and of a Biſhop, are not in their nature well conſiſtent; for the Apoſtleſhip is an extraordinary Office, charged with the direction and government of the whole world, and calling to anſwerable care (*the Apoſtles being Rulers*, as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *ordained by God*; *Rulers not taking ſpecial Nations and Cities, but all of them in common entruſted the whole world*;) but Epiſcopacy is an ordinary charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a ſpecial attendance there; being Paſtors, who (as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith) *do ſit employed in one place*. Now he that hath ſuch a care, can hardly diſcharge ſuch a particular Office that is fixed to ſuch particular attendance, can hardly look well after a charge: Either of thoſe Offices alone would ſuffice to take up a

Ἄρχοντες οὖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεως διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῆ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἅπαντος ἐπιτραπέντες. Chryſ. Tom. 8. p. 115.

Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι. Chryſ. in Eph. 4. 11.

as thoſe tell us, who have conſidered the burthen incumbent on the meaneſt of them; the which we may ſee deſcribed in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Diſcourſes concerning the Prieſthood.

Baronius ſaith of St. *Peter*, that *it was his Office, not to ſtay in one place, but as much as it was poſſible for one man, to travel over the whole world, and to bring thoſe who did not yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to eſtabliſh believers*; if ſo, how could he be Biſhop of *Rome*, which was an Office inconſiſtent with ſuch vagrancy?

Non erat ejus Officii in uno loco conſiſtere, ſed quantum homini licuiſſet univerſum peragrare orbem, & nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes verò in fide penitus ſtabilire. Baron. *Anno* 58. §. 51.

3. It would not have beſeemed St. *Peter*, the prime Apoſtle, to aſſume the charge of a particular Biſhop; it had been a degradation of himſelf, and a diſparagement to the Apoſtolical Majeſty, for him to take upon him the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; as if the *King* ſhould become *Mayor* of *London*; as if the *Biſhop* of *London* ſhould be *Vicar* of *Pancras*.

4. Wherefore it is not likely, that St. *Peter*, being ſenſible of that ſuperior charge belonging to him, which did exact a more extenſive care, would vouchſafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive, that St. *Peter* did affect the Name of a Biſhop, as now men do, allured by the habits of wealth and power, which then were none: if he did affect the Title, why did he not in either of his Epiſtles (one of which, as they would perſwade us, was written from *Rome*) inſcribe himſelf Biſhop of *Rome*?

Eſpecially conſidering, that being an Apoſtle, he did not need any particular Authority, that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrations: there was no reaſon that an Apoſtle (or Univerſal Biſhop) ſhould become a particular Biſhop.

5. Alſo St. *Peter*'s general charge of converting and inſpecting the *Jews*, diſperſed over the World, (*his Apoſtleſhip*, as St. *Paul* calleth it, *of the Circumciſion*) which required much travel, and his preſence in divers places, doth not well agree to his aſſuming the Epiſcopal Office at *Rome*. Gal. 2. 8. Ἀποστολὴν περιτομῆς.

Eſpecially at that time, when they firſt make him to aſſume it; which was in the time of *Claudius*, who (as St. *Luke*, and other Hiſtories do report) did baniſh all the *Jews* from *Rome*, as *Tiberius* alſo had done before him: He was too skilful a Fiſherman to caſt his Net there, where there was no Fiſh. Act. 18. 2. Sueton. *in* Claud. 25. *in* Tib. 36.

6. If we conſider St. *Peter*'s life, we may well deem him uncapable of this Office; which he could not conveniently diſcharge; for it, as Hiſtory doth repreſent it, and may be collected from divers circumſtances of it, was very unſettled; he went much about the World, and therefore could ſeldom reſide at *Rome*.

Many have argued him to have never been at *Rome*; which opinion I ſhall not avow, as bearing a more civil reſpect to ancient Teſtimonies and Traditions; although many falſe and fabulous relations of that kind having crept into Hiſtory and common vogue; many doubtful reports having paſſed concerning him; many notorious forgeries having been vented about his travels and acts, (all that is reported of him out of Scripture having a ſmack of the Legend) would tempt a man to ſuſpect any thing touching him, which is grounded only upon human Tradition; ſo that the forger of his Epiſtle to St. *James* might well induce him ſaying, *If while I do yet ſurvive, men dare to feign ſuch things of me, how much more will they dare to do ſo after my deceaſe?* Euſeb. 3. 3. Εἰ δ' ἐμοῦ ἔτι ζῶντος τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν κατ' ἐμοῦ διδάσκειν, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ τοιοῦτοι μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσι; Petr. *ad* Jacob.

But at leaſt the diſcourſes of thoſe men have evinced, that it is hard to aſſign the time when he was at *Rome*; and that he could never long abide there. For,

The time which old Tradition aſſigneth of his going to *Rome*, is rejected by divers learned men, even of the *Roman* Party. Scal. *in* Euſeb. p. 189. Onuph. *apud* Bell. 2. 6. Valeſ. *in* Euſeb. 2. 14.

He was often in other places; ſometimes at *Jeruſalem*, ſometimes at *Antioch*, ſometimes at *Babylon*, ſometimes at *Corinth*, ſometimes probably at each of thoſe places unto which he directeth his Catholick Epiſtles; among which *Epiphanius* ſaith, that *Peter did often viſit* Pontus *and* Bithynia. Act. 11. 2. 15. 7. Gal. 1. 18. 2. 9. Gal. 2. 11. 1 Pet. 5. 13. 1 Cor. 1. 12. 2 Pet. 3. 2. 1 Pet. 1. 1. Πέτρος πολλάκις Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας ἐπεσκέψατο. Epiph. *hær.* 27.

And

And that he ſeldom was at *Rome*, may well be collected from St. *Paul's* Writings; for he writing at different times one Epiſtle to *Rome*, and divers Epiſtles from *Rome*, (that to the *Galatians*, that to the *Epheſians*, that to the *Philippians*, that to the *Coloſſians*, and the *Second* to *Timothy*) doth never mention him, ſending any ſalutation to him, or from him.

Col. 4. 11. Particularly St. *Peter* was not there, when St. *Paul* mentioning *Tychicus*, *Oneſimus*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Marcus* and *Juſtus*, addeth, *theſe alone my fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.*

2 Tim. 4. 16. He was not there when St. *Paul* ſaid, *at my firſt defence no man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me.*

2 Tim. 4. 6. He was not there immediately before St. *Paul's* death, (when *the time of his*
2 Tim. 4. 21. *departure was at hand*) when he telleth *Timothy*, that *all the brethren did ſalute him*, and naming divers of them, he omitteth *Peter*.

Which things being conſidered, it is not probable that St. *Peter* would aſſume the Epiſcopal Chair of *Rome*, he being little capable to reſide there, and for that other needful affairs would have forced him to leave ſo great a Church deſtitute of their Paſtor.

7. It was needleſs that he ſhould be Biſhop, for that by vertue of his Apoſtleſhip (involving all the power of inferior degrees) he might, whenever he ſhould be at *Rome*, exerciſe Epiſcopal functions and Authority. What need a Sovereign Prince be made a Juſtice of Peace ——

Conc. Nic. *Can.* 16. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* 3. *Conc.* Sard. *Can.* 11, 12. *Conc.* Trul. *Conc* 80. 8. Had he done ſo, he muſt have given a bad example of Non-reſidence, a Practice that would have been very ill reliſhed in the Primitive Church, as we may ſee by ſeveral Canons interdicting offences of kin to it, (it being I think then not ſo known as nominally to be cenſured) and culpable upon the ſame ground; and by the ſayings of Fathers condemning practices approaching to it.

Οἶδας ἀναγνὺς τὰς γραφὰς, ἡλίκον δεῖ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν Ἐπίσκοπον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίαν. Athan. *Apol.* 1.

Having read the Scriptures, you know how great an offence it is for a Biſhop to forſake his Church, and to neglect the Flocks of God.

Oportet enim Epiſcopos curis ſecularibus expeditos curam ſuorum agere populorum, nec Eccleſiis ſuis abeſſe diutiùs. P. Paſchal. *III. Ep.* 22.

For Biſhops ought to be diſentangled from ſecular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long abſent from their Churches.

Even later Synods in more corrupt times, and in the declenſion of good Order, yet did prohibit this practice.

Præcipimus ne conductitiis miniſtris Eccleſiæ committantur, & unaquæque Eccleſia, cui facultas ſuppetit, proprium habeat Sacerdotem. *Conc.* Lat. 2. (*ſub* Innoc. *II.*) *Can.* 10.

We injoin that Churches be not committed to hired Miniſters, but that every Church, that is of Ability, have its proper Prieſt.

Cùm igitur Eccleſia vel Eccleſiaſticum miniſterium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc perſona quæratur, quæ reſidere in loco, & curam ejus per ſeipſum valet exercere; quòd ſi aliter fuerit actum, & qui receperit, quod contra Sanctos Canones accepit, amittat. *Conc.* Lat. 3. (*ſub* Alexandro *III.*) *cap.* 13.

Therefore when a Church or the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry is to be committed to any man, let ſuch a perſon be found out for this purpoſe, who can reſide upon the place, and diſcharge the cure by himſelf: but if it prove otherwiſe, then let him who has received, loſe that which he has taken contrary to the holy Canons.

Παλαὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἠδύνατο ἔτι πλείονας τῶν τοῦ Ἀποστόλων φημὶ δὴ τοῦ τε Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, Ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τί ποτὲ Ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας παιδείας τε πορείας ἔστελλεν, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς Χριστοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι δὴ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ Ἐπισκόπου εἶναι. Epiph. *her.* 27.

Epiphanius therefore did well infer, that it was needful the Apoſtles ſhould conſtitute Biſhops reſident at *Rome*; *It was* (ſaith he) *poſſible that the Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul *yet ſurviving other Biſhops, ſhould be conſtituted, becauſe the Apoſtles often did take journeys into other Countries, for preaching Chriſt, but the City of* Rome *could not be without a Biſhop.*

9. If St. *Peter* were Biſhop of *Rome*, he thereby did offend againſt divers other good Eccleſiaſtical Rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at leaſt the reaſon of them was always good, upon which the Church did afterward enact them; ſo that either he did ill in thwarting them, or the Church had done it in eſtabliſhing them, ſo as to condemn his practice.

Apoſt. *Can.* 14. 10. It was againſt Rule, that any Biſhop ſhould deſert one Church, and transfer himſelf to another; and indeed againſt Reaſon, ſuch a relation and endearment being contracted between a Biſhop and his Church, which cannot well be diſſolved.

Τὰ μεγάλα Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλόπολις ἔχει. Theodor. *Ep.* 86.

The great City of the *Antiochians* hath the throne of the great Saint *Peter*.

But St. *Peter* is by Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians reported (and by *Romaniſts* admitted) to have been Biſhop of *Antioch* for ſeven years together.

He therefore did ill to relinquiſh that Church, *that moſt ancient and truly Apoſtolick Church of* Antioch, (as the *Conſtantinopolitan* Fathers call'd it) and to place his See at *Rome.*

Τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Theod. 5. 6.

This practice was eſteemed bad, and of very miſchievous conſequence; earneſtly reproved as heinouſly criminal by great *Fathers*, ſeverely condemned by divers *Synods*.

Particularly a tranſmigration from a leſſer and poorer to a greater and more wealthy Biſhoprick, (which is the preſent caſe) was checked by them as rankly ſavouring of ſelfiſh ambition or avarice.

The *Synod* of *Alexandria* (in *Athanaſius*) in its Epiſtle to all Catholick Biſhops, doth ſay, that *Euſebius* by paſſing from *Berytus* to *Nicomedia had annulled his Epiſcopacy*, making it *an adultery*, worſe than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce: *Euſebius* (ſay they) *did not conſider the Apoſtle's admonition, Art thou bound to a wife? do not ſeek to be looſed; for if it be ſaid of a woman, how much more of a Church; of the ſame Biſhoprick; to which one being tyed, ought not to ſeek another, that he may not be found alſo an adulterer, according to the Holy Scripture?* Surely when they ſaid this, they did forget, what St. *Peter* was ſaid to have done in that kind; as did alſo the *Sardican* Fathers in their Synodical Letter extant in the ſame Apology of *Athanaſius*, condemning *tranſlations from leſſer Cities and greater Dioceſes.*

Ἀκυρώσας αὐτὸν. Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 726.

Οὐ σωσῶν τὸ ἀπάγγελμα, δέδεσαι γυναικὶ; μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τοῦτον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, ἣ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν, ἵνα μὴ κὴ μοιχὸς εὑρεθῇ θέλων εὐρεθῆναι γεγραμμένος. Syn. Alex. *apud* Athan. *p.* 727.

Τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παροικίας. *Ibid. p.* 765.

The ſame practice is forbidden by the Synods of *Nice* I. of *Chalcedon*, of *Antioch*, of *Sardica*, of *Arles* I. *&c.*

Syn. Nic. *Can.* 15. *Syn.* Chalc. *Can.* 5. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 21. *Syn.* Sard. *Can.* 1. *Syn.* Arel. *Can.* 22. Grat. *Cauſ.* 8. *qu.* 1. *cap.* 4.

In the Synod under *Mennas*, it was laid to the charge of *Anthimus*, that having been Biſhop of *Trebiſond*, he had *adulterouſly ſnatched the See of* Conſtantinople, *againſt all Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Canons.*

——ἁρπάσαντα μοιχικῶς τὴν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ὑφαρπάσαντα θρόνον ἀφ' ἑτέρας τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ κανόνας. Conc. *ſub* Menn. *p.* 9.

Yea great Popes of *Rome*, (little conſidering how peccant therein their Predeceſſor Pope *Peter* was) Pope *Julius* and Pope *Damaſus*, did greatly tax this practice; whereof the latter in his Synod at *Rome* did excommunicate all thoſe, who ſhould commit it.

P. Jul. I. *apud* Athan. *in Apol.* 2. *p.* 744.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἑτέρας Ἐκκλησίας μεταβάντας ἔχει τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν, ἄχρι ἂν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπανέλθωσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήθησαν. Theod. 5. 11.

Thoſe that paſs from their own Churches to other Churches, we eſteem ſo long excommunicate (or ſtrangers from our communion) till ſuch time as they return to the ſame Cities where they were firſt ordained.

In like manner Pope *Leo* I.

Si quis Epiſcopus, mediocritate Civitatis ſuæ deſpectâ, adminiſtrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, & ad majorem ſe plebem quacunque occaſione tranſtulerit, non ſolùm à Cathedra quidem pellatur alienâ, ſed carebit & propriâ, &c. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 84. *c.* 4.

If a Biſhop, deſpiſing the meanneſs of his City, ſeeks for the adminiſtration of a more eminent place, and upon any occaſion whatſoever tranſfers himſelf to a greater people, he ſhall not only be driven out of another's See, but alſo loſe his own.

Theſe Laws were ſo indiſpenſable, that in reſpect to them *Conſtantine M.* who much loved and honoured *Euſebius* (acknowledging him in the common judgment of the world deſerving to be Biſhop of the whole Church) did not like, that he ſhould accept the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, to which he was invited: and commended his waving it, as an act not only *conſonant to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons*, but *acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apoſtolical Tradition*; ſo little aware was the good Emperor, of St. *Peter* being tranſlated from *Antioch* to *Rome.*

Euſeb. *de Vit. Conſt.* 3. 61.

In regard to the ſame Law, *Gregory Nazianzene* (a perſon of ſo great worth, and who had deſerved ſo highly of the Church at *Conſtantinople*) could not be permitted to retain his Biſhoprick of that Church, to which he had been call'd from that ſmall one of *Saſima*: *The Synod* (ſaith *Sozomen*) *obſerving the Ancient Laws, and the Eccleſiaſtical Rule, did receive his Biſhoprick, from him being willingly offered, no-wiſe regarding the merits of the perſon*; the which Synod ſurely would have excluded St. *Peter* from the Biſhop-

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ σύνοδος τοὺς πάλαι νόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάττουσα, ὁ δίδωσι παρ' ἑκόντος ἀπείληφε, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεῖσα τὰ τῆς ἀνδρὸς πλεονεκτήματα. Sozom. 7. 7.

rick of *Rome:* and it is obſervable that Pope *Damaſus* did approve and exhort thoſe Fathers to that proceeding ——

Illud praterea commoneo dilectionem veſtram, ne patiamini aliquem contra Statuta majorum noſtrorum de Civitate alia ad aliam transduci, & deſerere plebem ſibi commiſſam, &c. P. Damaſ. *Epiſt. apud* Holſten. *p.* 41. & R. Marc. 5. 21.

Moreover this I adviſe you, that out of your charity you would not ſuffer any one, againſt the Decrees of our Anceſtors, to be removed from one City to another, and to forſake the people committed to his charge, &c.

We may indeed obſerve, that Pope *Pelagius* II. did excuſe the tranſlation of Biſhops by the example of St. *Peter*; for *whoever dareth to ſay* (argueth he) *that St.* Peter *the Prince of the Apoſtles did not act well, when he changed his See from* Antioch *to* Rome?

Quis enim unquam audet dicere S. Petrum Apoſtolorum Principem non bene egiſſe, quando mutavit ſedem de Antiochia in Romam? Pelag. II. *Ep.* 1.

But I think it more adviſable to excuſe St. *Peter* from being Author of a practice, judged ſo irregular, by denying the matter of Fact laid to his charge.

II. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, *contrary* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *to the Eccleſiaſtical diſpoſition, contrary to the Evangelical Law, contrary to the unity of Catholick Inſtitution; a Symbol* (ſaith another ancient Writer) *of diſſenſion, and diſagreeable to Eccleſiaſtical Law*; which therefore was condemned by the Synod of *Nice*, by Pope *Cornelius*, by Pope *Innocent* I. and others, that two Biſhops ſhould preſide together in one City.

Contra Eccleſiaſticam diſpoſitionem, contra Evangelicam legem, contra Inſtitutionis Catholica unitatem —— Cypr. *Ep.* 44. (*ut & Ep.* 46. 52. 55. 58.)

Ὁ διχονοίας σύμβολον ὃτι ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ θεσμῷ ἀκόλουτον. Soz. 4. 15.

Syn. Nic. Can. 8.

Cornelius *apud* Euſeb. 6. 43.

Cypr. *Ep.* 46. P. Innocentius *apud* Sozom. 8. 26. Opt. I. *Cathedra una.*

This was condemned with good reaſon; for this on the Churches part would be a kind of ſpiritual Polygamy; this would render a Church a monſter with two heads; this would deſtroy the end of Epiſcopacy, which is unity and *prevention of Schiſms.*

In remedium Scciſmatis. Hier.

But if St. *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*, this irregularity was committed; for the ſame Authority upon which St. *Peter's* Epiſcopacy of *Rome* is built, doth alſo reckon St. *Paul* Biſhop of the ſame; the ſame Writers do make both Founders and Planters of the *Roman* Church, and the ſame call both Biſhops of it; wherefore if Epiſcopacy be taken in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe, agreeable to this Controverſy, that rule muſt needs be infringed thereby.

Irenæus ſaith, *that the Roman Church was founded and conſtituted by the two moſt glorious Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul; *Dionyſius* of *Corinth* calleth it *the plantation of* Peter *and* Paul; *Epiphanius* ſaith, that Peter *and* Paul *were firſt at* Rome *both Apoſtles and Biſhops*; ſo *Euſebius* implieth, ſaying, that P. *Alexander derived a ſucceſſion in the fifth place from* Peter *and* Paul.

—— *à glorioſiſſimis duobus Apoſtolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundata & conſtituta Eccleſia.* Iren. 3. 3. 1.

Τῶν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν —— Dionyſ. Corinth. *apud* Euſeb. 2. 25.

Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἐπίσκοποι. Epiph. *Hær.* 27.

Πέμπτῳ ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κλήρων διαδοχήν. Euſeb. 4. 1.

Wherefore both of them were *Roman* Biſhops, or neither of them: In reaſon and rule neither of them may be called ſo in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe; but in a larger and improper ſenſe both might be ſo ſtyled.

Indeed that St. *Paul* was in ſome acceptation Biſhop of *Rome*, (that is, had a Supreme ſuperintendence or inſpection of it) is reaſonable to affirm; becauſe he did for a good time reſide there, and during that reſidence could not but have the chief place, could be ſubject to no other; *He* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *did abide two whole years in his own hired houſe, and received all that entred in unto him, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt with all confidence, no man forbidding him.*

Acts 28. 30.

It may be enquired, if St. *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*, how he did become ſuch? did our Lord appoint him ſuch? did the Apoſtles all or any conſtitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himſelf into it? of none of theſe things there is any appearance, nor any probability. *Non conſtat.*

SUPPO-

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, *That St.* Peter *did continue Biſhop of* Rome *after his tranſlation, and was ſo at his deceaſe.*

AGainſt which Aſſertions we may conſider,

1. Eccleſiaſtical Writers do affirm, that St. *Peter* (either alone, or together with St. *Paul*) did conſtitute other Biſhops; wherefore St. *Peter* was never Biſhop, or did not continue Biſhop there.

Irenæus ſaith, that *the Apoſtles founding and rearing that Church, delivered the Epiſcopal Office into the hands of* Linus; if ſo, how did they retain it in their own hands or perſons? could they give, and have?

Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τῆν Ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ Ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Iren. *apud* Euſeb. 5. 6.

Tertullian ſaith, that St. *Peter* did ordain *Clement*.

Romanorum Eccleſiæ Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit. Tert. *de Præſcr.* 32.

In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, (a very ancient Book, and ſetting forth the moſt ancient Traditions of the Church) the Apoſtles ordering Prayers to be made for all Biſhops, and naming the principal, do reckon, not St. *Peter*, but *Clement*, *Let us pray for our Biſhop* James, *for our Biſhop* Clemens, *for our Biſhop* Evodius, &c.

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum, Hâc Cathedrâ, Petrus quâ ſederat ipſe, locatum Maxima Roma Linum primum conſidere juſſit. Tert. *in* Marc. 3. 9.

Theſe reports are conſiſtent, and reconciled by that which the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions affirm, that Linus *was firſt ordained Biſhop of the Roman Church by* Paul; *but* Clemens, *after the death of* Linus, *by* Peter *in the ſecond place.*

Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας Λῖνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 7. 46.

Others between *Linus* and *Clemens* do interpoſe *Cletus* or *Anacletus*, (ſome taking theſe for one, others for two perſons) which doth not alter the caſe.

Euſeb. 3. 4. 13. Aug. *Ep.* 165. Epiph. *Hær.* 27. Opt. 2. Tertull. *poem. in* Marc. 3. 9. Phot. *Cod.* 112. (*p.* 290.)

N. Euſebius (3. 2.) ſaith, that *Linus* did ſit Biſhop *after the Martyrdom of Saint Peter*, but this is not ſo probable, as that which the Author of the Conſtitutions doth affirm, which reconcileth the diſſonancies of Writers.

Now hence we may infer, both that St. *Peter* never was Biſhop; and upon ſuppoſition that he was, that he did not continue ſo. For,

2. If he had ever been Biſhop, he could not well lay down his Office, or ſubrogate another, either to preſide with him, or to ſucceed him; according to the ancient Rules of Diſcipline, and that which paſſed for right in the Primitive Church.

This practice Pope *Innocent* I. condemned, as irregular, and never known before his time; *We* (ſaith he in his Epiſtle to the Clergy and People of *Conſtantinople*) *never have known theſe things to have been adventured by our Fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for that none hath power given him to ordain another in the place of one living:* He did not (it ſeems) conſider, that St. *Peter* had uſed ſuch a power.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοιούτοις τολμᾶται τοιαῦτα τολμᾶσθαι ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κεκωλῦσθαι, τοῦ μηδένα εἰς τόπον ζῶντος χειροτονεῖσθαι ἄλλον δεδόσθαι ἡγούμενοι. P. Inn. I. *apud* Soz. 8. 26.

Accordingly the Synod of *Antioch* (to ſecure the tradition and practice of the Church, which began by ſome to be infringed) did make this Sanction, that *it ſhould not be lawful for any Biſhop to conſtitute another in his room to ſucceed him, although it were at the point of death.*

Ἐπισκόπῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀνδ' ἑαυτοῦ καθίσαντα ἕτερον, κἂν ἐκ τῆ τελευτῆ τῷ βίῳ τυγχάνῃ. Syn. Ant. Can. 23.

3. But ſuppoſing St. *Peter* were Biſhop once, yet by conſtituting *Linus*, or *Clemens* in his place, he ceaſed to be ſo, and diveſted himſelf of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue Biſhop together with another.

That being, in St. *Cyprian*'s judgment, the Ordination of *Linus* had been void and null; for *ſeeing* (ſaith that *H. Martyr*) *there cannot after the firſt be any ſecond, whoever is after one, who ought to be ſole Biſhop, he is not now ſecond, but none.*

Cùm poſt primum ſecundus eſſe non poſſit, quiſquis poſt unum, qui ſolus eſſe debeat, non jam ſecundus ille, ſed nullus eſt. Cypr. Ep. 52.

Upon this ground, when the Emperor *Conſtantius* would have procured *Felix* to ſit Biſhop of *Rome* together with Pope *Liberius*, at his return from Baniſhment, (after his compliance with the *Arians*) the people of *Rome* would not admit

admit it, exclaiming *One God, one Chriſt, one Biſhop*; and whereas *Felix* ſoon after that died, the Hiſtorian remarketh it as *a ſpecial providence of God, that* Peter's *Throne might not ſuffer infamy; being governed under two Prelates*; he never conſidered, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, St. *Peter* and *Linus* had thus governed that ſame Church.

Theod. *hiſt.* 2. 17. Τάυτη τη τ θεᾶ διοικήσαι]Θ. ὥσε τ Πέτρε θεῖον μὴ ἀδοξεῖν ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰδιωτεύοντα.

Upon this account St. *Auſtin* being aſſumed by *Valerius* with him to be Biſhop of *Hippo*, did afterward diſcern and acknowledge his error.

Adhuc in corpore poſito beatæ memoriæ patre, & Epiſcopo meo ſene Valerio Epiſcopus ordinatus ſum, & ſedi cum illo, quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuiſſe neſciebam, nec ipſe ſciebat. Aug. *Ep.* 110.

While my Father and Biſhop of bleſſed memory, old *Valerius*, was yet living, I was ordained Biſhop, and held the See with him: which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the Council of *Nice*.

In fine, to obviate this practice, ſo many Canons of Councils (both general and particular) were made, which we before did mention.

4. In ſum, when St. *Peter* did ordain others, (as ſtory doth accord in affirming) either he did retain the Epiſcopacy, and then (beſide need, reaſon and rule) there were concurrently divers Biſhops of *Rome* at one time; or he did quite relinquiſh and finally divorce himſelf from the Office, ſo that he did not die Biſhop of *Rome*, the which overturneth the main ground of the Romiſh pretence. Or will they ſay, that St. *Peter*, having laid aſide the Office for a time, did afterward before his death reſume it? then what became of *Linus*, of *Cletus*, of *Clemens?* were they diſpoſſeſſed of their place, or depoſed from their function; would St. *Peter ſucceed them in it?* this in *Bellarmin*'s own judgment *had been plainly intolerable.*

Ipſe ſublimavit Sedem, in qua etiam quieſcere, & præſentem vitam finire dignatus eſt. Greg. *I.* Ep. 6. 37. Innoc. *I.* Ep. 21. P. Nic. *I.* Ep 9. p. 509. Grat. *cauſ* 8 *q.* 1. *cap.* 1.

He advanced that See, wherein he vouchſafed both to ſet up his reſt, and alſo to end this preſent life.

Bell. 2. 12. §. *At verò*—— *Petrum Apoſtolum ſucceſſiſſe in Epiſcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex diſcipulis, quod eſt planè intolerandum.* Bell. 2. 6.

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the caſe, and perplexities in ſtory, it is reaſonable to underſtand thoſe of the Ancients, who call *Peter* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Rome* the Place, the Chair, the See of *Peter*, as meaning that he was Biſhop or Superintendent of that Church, in a large ſenſe; becauſe he did found the Church, by converting men to the Chriſtian Faith; becauſe he did erect the Chair by ordaining the firſt Biſhops; becauſe he did in vertue both of his Apoſtolical Office, and his ſpecial Parental relation to that Church, maintain a particular inſpection over it, when he was there: which notion is not new, for of old *Ruffinus* affirmeth, that he had it, not from his own invention, but from Tradition of others; *Some* (ſaith he) *inquire how, ſeeing* Linus *and* Cletus *were Biſhops in the City of* Rome *before* Clement, Clement *himſelf writing to* James, *could ſay that the See was delivered to him by* Peter: *whereof this reaſon has been given us*, viz. *that* Linus *and* Cletus *were indeed Biſhops of* Rome *before* Clement, *but* Peter *being yet living*, viz. *that they might take the Epiſcopal charge, but he fulfill'd the Office of the Apoſtleſhip.*

Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus & Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint Epiſcopi, ipſe Clemens ad Jacobum ſcribens, ſibi dicat à Petro docendi Cathedram traditam, cujus rei hanc accepimus eſſe rationem, quòd Linus & Cletus fuerint quidem ante Clementem Epiſcopi in urbe Roma, ſed ſuperſtite Petro, videlicet ut illi Epiſcopatûs curam gererent, ipſe verò Apoſtolatûs impleret Officium. Ruffin. *in præf. ad* Clem. *Recogn.*

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers obſervations.

Conſt. Apoſt. 7. 46. Iren. 3. 3. Tertull.

It is obſervable that the moſt ancient Writers, living neareſt the fountains of Tradition, do not expreſly ſtyle St. *Peter* Biſhop of *Rome*, but only ſay, that he did found that Church, inſtituting and ordaining Biſhops there; as the other Apoſtles did in the Churches which they ſettled; ſo that the Biſhops there in a large ſenſe did ſucceed him, deriving their power from his ordination, and ſupplying his room in the inſtruction and governance of that great Church. Yea their words, if we well mark them, do exclude the Apoſtles from the Epiſcopacy. Which words the later Writers (who did not foreſee the conſequence, nor what an exorbitant ſuperſtructure would be raiſed on that ſlender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the *Roman* Biſhops, affecting by all means to reckon St. *Peter* for their predeceſſor) did eaſily catch, and not well diſtinguiſhing did call him Biſhop, and St. *Paul* alſo, ſo making two Heads of one Church.

Fundantes igitur, & inſtruentes beati Apoſtoli Eccleſiam Lino Epiſcopatum adminiſtrandæ Eccleſiæ tradiderunt. Iren. 9. 3.

The bleſſed Apoſtles therefore founding and inſtructing the Church, delivered the Epiſcopal powes of ordering and governing the Church to *Linus*.

7. It is alſo obſervable, that in the recenſions of the *Roman* Biſhops, ſometimes the Apoſtles are reckoned in, ſometimes excluded.

So

So *Euſebius* calleth *Clemens the third Biſhop of Rome*, yet before him he reckoneth *Linus* and *Anacletus*. Euſeb. 3. 4, 13, 15. Iren. 3. 3.

And of *Alexander* he ſaith, that *he deduced his Succeſſion in the fifth place from* Peter *and* Paul, that is, excluding the Apoſtles. Πέμπτῳ ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν. Euſeb. 4. 1.

And *Hyginus* is thus accounted ſometime the eighth, ſometime the ninth Biſhop of *Rome*. Iren. 1. 28. 3. 3. 4. Euſeb. 4. 10.

The ſame difference in reckoning may be obſerved in other Churches; for inſtance, although St. *Peter* is called no leſs Biſhop of *Antioch* than of *Rome*, by the Ancients, yet *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Evodius was firſt Biſhop of* Antioch; and another *bids the Antiocheans remember* Evodius, *who was firſt entruſted with the Preſidency over them by the Apoſtles*. Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας πρώτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Εὐόδιον ἐχειροτόνησε. Euſeb. *Chron.* p. 7. *Hiſt.* 3. 22. Μνημονεύετε Εὐοδίου, ὃς πρῶτος εἰς χειροτονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐμετέχθη πρεσβυτερίαν. Pſeud. Ignat. *ad Ant.*

Euſeb. counteth *Amianus* the firſt Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Other inſtances may be ſeen in the Notes of *Cotelerius* upon the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, where he maketh this general Obſervation.

'Tis an uſual cuſtom with the Apoſtles, according to their Power ordinary or extraordinary, Epiſcopal or Apoſtolical, to prefix, &c. but it was needleſs to ſuppoſe theſe two Powers, when one was ſufficient, it virtually containing the other. *Celebris mos eſt Apoſtolos pro poteſtate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, Epiſcopali vel Apoſtolica, Indiculis Antiſtitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere.* Cotel. *Not.* p. 299.

This is an Argument that the Ancients were not aſſured in opinion, that the Apoſtles were Biſhops; or that they did not eſteem them Biſhops in the ſame notion with others.

8. It is obſervable, that divers Churches did take denomination from the Apoſtles, and were called *Apoſtolical Thrones, or Chairs*, not becauſe the Apoſtles themſelves did ſit Biſhops there, but becauſe they did exerciſe their Apoſtleſhip, in teaching; and *in conſtituting Biſhops there*, who (as *Tertullian* ſaith) *did propagate the Apoſtolical ſeed*. *Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ.* Tert. *de Præſcr.* 32. Ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι. Soz. 1. 17. 2 Tim. 1. 6. *In Canonicis autem Scripturis*

Eccleſiarum Catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem ſequatur, inter quas ſanè illæ ſunt, quæ Apoſtolicas ſedes habere, & Epiſtolas accipere meruerunt. Aug. *de doctr. Ch.* 2. 8.

Let him follow the Authority of thoſe many Catholick Churches in the Canonical Scriptures, among which ſurely are thoſe which had the honour to have Apoſtolical Sees, and to receive Epiſtles from the Apoſtles.

Proinde utique & cætera exhibent quos ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos Apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent. Tertull. *de Præſcr.* 32.

So was *Epheſus* eſteemed, becauſe St. *Paul* did found it, or ordained *Timothy* there; and becauſe St. *John* did govern and appoint Biſhops there. *Sed & quæ eſt Epheſi Eccleſia à Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos uſque ad Trajani tempora, &c.* Iren. 3. 3.

And alſo the Church of *Epheſus* which was founded by Saint *Paul*, Saint *John* continuing with them till the time of *Trajan*, &c. *Ordo Epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Johannem ſtabit auctorem.* Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

Τῆς δὲ Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεον μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννην δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου. *Apoſt. Conſt.* 7. 46.

So was *Smyrna* accounted, becauſe *Polycarpus was ſettled there by the Apoſtles*, or *by St.* John. *Ab Apoſtolis in ea quæ eſt Smyrnæ Eccleſia conſtitutus Epiſcopus.* Iren. 3. 3. *Smyrnæorum Eccleſia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne collocatum.* Tertull. *de Præſcr.* 32. Euſeb 3. 36.

Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῷ αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένου. Euſeb. 3. 36.

So *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *had a controverſy about metropolitical Rights with* Acacius *Biſhop of* Cæſarea, *as preſiding in an Apoſtolical See.* Περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων ἀμφισβητήσαντος πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς Ἀποστολικῆς θρόνου ἡγουμένου. Sozom. 4. 25.

So *Alexandria* was deemed, becauſe St. *Mark* was ſuppoſed by the appointment of St. *Peter* to ſit there.

So were *Corinth*, *Theſſalonica*, *Philippi* called by *Tertullian*, becauſe St. *Paul* did found them, and furniſh them with Paſtors; in which reſpect peculiarly the Biſhops of thoſe places were called Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. Tertull. *de Præſcr.* 36.

So *Conſtantinople* did aſſume the title of an Apoſtolical Church, probably becauſe, according to tradition, St. *Andrew* did found that Church, although Pope *Leo* I. would not allow it that appellation. Ἀποστολικὴν τὴν θρόνον καλέσαντες. Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 10. p. 379. p. 284. Thou deſpiſeſt this Apoſtolical Throne—— Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν θεῖον Στάχυν καθίστησας, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἣν ἔκτισε πρῶτος ὁ ἀνδρέας. Niceph. 2. 9.

Foraſmuch as having appointed holy *Stachys* the firſt Biſhop in the Church which he firſt ſettled there.

Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam Apoſtolicam non poteſt facere ſedem —— P. Leo I. *Ep.* 54.

Let him not diſdain the Royal City, which he cannot make an Apoſtolick See.

Upon

Upon the ſame account might *Rome* at firſt be called an Apoſtolical See; although afterward the *Roman* Biſhops did rather pretend to that denomination, upon account of St. *Peter* being Biſhop there; and the like may be ſaid of *Antioch.*

Memento quia Apoſtolicam ſedem regis —— Greg. M. *Ep.* 4. 37. Remember you rule an Apoſtolick See.

Conſt. Apoſt. 7. 46.

9. It is obſervable, that the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, reciting the firſt Biſhops conſtituted in ſeveral Churches, doth not reckon any of the Apoſtles; particularly not *Peter*, or *Paul*, or *John.*

10. Again, any Apoſtle where-ever he did reſide, by vertue of his Apoſtolical Office, without any other deſignation or aſſumption of a more ſpecial Power, was qualified to preſide there, exerciſing a Superintendency comprehenſive of all Epiſcopal functions; ſo that it was needleſs, that he ſhould take upon himſelf the character or ſtyle of a Biſhop.

This (beſide the tenor of ancient Doctrine) doth appear from the demeanor of St. *John*, who never was reckoned *Biſhop of* Epheſus; nor could be, without diſplacing *Timothy*, who by St. *Paul* was conſtituted Biſhop there, or ſucceeding in his room; yet he abiding at *Epheſus*, did there diſcharge the Office of a Metropolitan; *governing the Churches, and in the adjacent Churches here conſtituting Biſhops, there forming whole Churches, otherwhere allotting to the Clergy Perſons deſigned by the Spirit.*

Ἀπὸ τῦ ἁγίυ Τιμοθέυ μέχρι νῦν κζ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονηθέντες Syn. Chal. *Act.* 11. 2 Tim. 1. 6. From holy *Timothy* till now there have been ſeven and twenty Biſhops, and all ordained at *Epheſus.*

Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c. Iren 3. 3.

Τὰς αὐτὸς διέταξεν Ἐκκλησίας —— ὅπου δὲ ἐπισκόπες καθίστησιν, ὅπου δ' ὅλας Ἐκκλησίας ἀφιδρύσατο, ὅπου κλῆρον ἐνέγραψε τινὰς κληρώσεων ἢ ὑπὸ τῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Euſeb. *hiſt.* 3. 23.

Such Functions might St. *Peter* execute in the parts of *Rome* or *Antioch*, without being a Biſhop; and as the Biſhops of *Aſia* did (ſaith *Tertullian*) *refer their original to St.* John, ſo might the Biſhops of *Italy*, upon the like ground, *refer their original to St.* Peter.

Ordo Epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem. Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

An. Ch. 39. Baron. §. 8. *Act.* 9. 32. *Act.* 11. 20: *Denique primum Epiſcopum Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ Petrum fuiſſe accepimus, & Romam exinde tranſlatum, quod Lucas penitus omiſit.* Hier. *in* Gal. 2.

It is obſervable, that whereas St. *Peter* is affirmed to have been Biſhop of *Antioch* ſeven years before his acceſs to *Rome*, that is, within the compaſs of St. *Luke*'s Story; yet he paſſeth over a matter of ſo great moment, as St. *Hierom* obſerveth.

Laſtly, we have received by tradition that *Peter* was the firſt Biſhop of *Antioch*, and from thence tranſlated to *Rome:* which *Luke* has altogether omitted.

I cannot grant, that if St. *Luke* had thought *Peter* Sovereign of the Church, and his Epiſcopacy of a place a matter of ſuch conſequence, he would have ſlipped it over, being ſo obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his Story.

'Tis the diſtinction of a Pope. *Rex Etruriæ. & Rex in Etruria.*

He therefore, I conceive, was no Biſhop of *Antioch*, although a Biſhop at *Antioch.*

11. If in objection to ſome of theſe diſcourſes, it be alledged, that St. *James* our Lord's near Kinſman, although he was an Apoſtle, was made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; and that for the like reaſon St. *Peter* might aſſume the Biſhoprick of *Rome*;

I anſwer,

1. It is not certain, that St. *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was an Apoſtle (meaning an Apoſtle of the primary rank) for *Euſebius* (the greateſt Antiquary of old times) doth reckon him *one of the* 70 *Diſciples.*

Εἷς ἦν καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφὸς λέγεται. Euſeb. 1. 12.

Apoſt. Conſt. 6. 12. 6. 14. 2. 55. 7. 46. &c. Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ —— 6. 12. We the twelve Apoſtles together with *James.*

So doth the Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions in divers places ſuppoſe.

Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφόθεος Κυρίυ Ἰακώβος. Euſeb. 2. 23.

Hegeſippus (that moſt ancient Hiſtorian) was of the ſame mind, who ſaith, that *there were many of this name*, and that this *James did undertake the Church with the Apoſtles.*

Epiph. *Her.* 78.

Of the ſame opinion was *Epiphanius*, who ſaith, that St. *James* was the Son of *Joſeph* by another Wife.

The whole *Greek* Church doth ſuppoſe the ſame, keeping three diſtinct ſolemnities for him, and the two Apoſtles of the ſame name.

Gregory

Gregory Nyſſene, St. *Hierom*, and divers other ancient Writers do concur herein, whom we may ſee alledged by *Grotius*, Dr. *Hammond*, (who themſelves did embrace the ſame opinion) *Valeſius*, *Blondel*, &c.

Grot. *in* Jac. 1. 1.
Hamm. *diſſert.* Ignat. 4. 3.
Valeſ. *in* Euſeb. 1. 12.
Blondel. *in Epiſt.* Clem. *ad* Jacob.

Salmaſius (after his confident manner) ſaith, *it is certain that he was not one of the twelve*; I may at leaſt ſay, it is not certain that he was, and conſequently the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

Certum eſt non fuiſſe unum ex duodecim. Wal. *Meſſ.* p. 20.

2. Granting that St. *James* was one of the Apoſtles, (as ſome of the Ancients ſeem to think, calling him an Apoſtle; and as divers modern Divines conceive, grounding chiefly upon theſe words of St. *Paul*, *But other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave* James *the Lord's Brother*, and taking Apoſtles there in the ſtricteſt ſenſe) I anſwer,

Hieroſolymitanam, quam primus Apoſtolus Jacobus Epiſcopatu ſuo rexit. Aug. c. Creſc. 2. 37.
The Church of *Jeruſalem*, which *James* the Apoſtle firſt governed by his Epiſcopal power.
Gal. 1. 19.

That the caſe was peculiar, and there doth appear a ſpecial reaſon, why one of the Apoſtles ſhould be deſigned to make a conſtant reſidence at *Jeruſalem*, and conſequently to preſide there like a Biſhop. For *Jeruſalem* was the *Metropolis*, the Fountain, the Centre of the Chriſtian Religion, where it had birth, where was greateſt matter and occaſion of propagating the Goſpel, moſt people diſpoſed to embrace it reſorting thither; where the Church was very numerous, conſiſting, as St. *Luke* (or St. *James* in him) doth intimate, *of divers myriads of believing Jews*; whence it might ſeem expedient, that a perſon of greateſt Authority ſhould be fixed there for the confirming and improving that Church, together with the propagation of Religion among the people, which reſorted thither; the which might induce the Apoſtles to ſettle St. *James* there, both for diſcharging the Office of an Apoſtle, and the ſupplying the room of a Biſhop there.

Act. 21. 20.

Accordingly to him (ſaith *Euſebius*) *the Epiſcopal Throne was committed by the Apoſtles*; or *our Lord* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *did entruſt him with his own Throne.*

Ὁ πρὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς κεχειρισμένος θρόνος. Euſeb. 2. 23.
Ὁ παρὰ Κυρίου τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. Epiph. *Her.* 78.

But there was no need of fixing an Apoſtle at other places; nor doth it appear that any was ſo fixed; eſpecially St. *Peter* was uncapable of ſuch an employment, requiring ſettlement and conſtant attendance, who beſide his general Apoſtleſhip, had a peculiar Apoſtleſhip of the diſperſed *Jews* committed to him; who therefore was much engaged in travel for propagation of the Faith, and edifying his Converts every where.

3. The greater conſent of the moſt ancient Writers making St. *James* not to have been one of the twelve Apoſtles, it is thence accountable, why (as we before noted) St. *James* was called by ſome ancient Writers, *the Biſhop of Biſhops*, *the Prince of Biſhops*, &c. becauſe he was the firſt Biſhop, of the *firſt See*, the Mother Church; the Apoſtles being excluded from the compariſon.

Upon theſe conſiderations we have great reaſon to refuſe the aſſertion or ſcandal caſt on St. *Peter*, that he took on him to be Biſhop of *Rome*, in a ſtrict ſenſe, as it is underſtood in this controverſy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A farther Aſſertion is this, ſuperſtructed by conſequence on the former, *That the Biſhops of* Rome, (*according to God's Inſtitution, and by original Right derived thence*) *ſhould have an Univerſal Supremacy and Juriſdiction*, (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly deſcribed) *over the Chriſtian Church.*

THIS Aſſertion to be very uncertain, yea to be moſt falſe, I ſhall by divers conſiderations evince.

1. If any of the former *Suppoſitions* be uncertain, or falſe, this Aſſertion, ſtanding on thoſe legs, muſt partake of thoſe defects, and anſwerably be dubious or falſe. If either *Peter* was not Monarch of the Apoſtles, or if his privileges

vileges were not ſucceſſive, or if he were not properly Biſhop of *Rome* at his deceaſe, then farewel the *Romiſh* claim; if any of thoſe things be dubious, it doth totter; if any of them doth prove falſe, then down it falleth.

But that each of them is falſe, hath, I conceive, been ſufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain, hath at leaſt been made evident.

The Structure therefore cannot be firm, which relieth on ſuch Props.

2. Even admitting all thoſe *Suppoſitions*, the inference from them is not aſſuredly valid. For St. *Peter* might have an Univerſal Juriſdiction, he might derive it by Succeſſion, he might be Biſhop of *Rome*; yet no ſuch Authority might hence accrue to the *Roman* Biſhop, his Succeſſor in that See.

For that Univerſal Juriſdiction might be derived into another Channel; and the Biſhop of *Rome*, might in other reſpects be Succeſſor to him, without being ſo in this.

As for inſtance, in the *Roman* Empire, before any Rule of Succeſſion was eſtabliſhed therein, the Emperor was Sovereign Governor, and he might die *Conſul* of *Rome*, having aſſumed that place to himſelf; yet when he died, the Supreme Authority did not lapſe into the hands of the Conſul, who ſucceeded him, but into the hands of the Senate and People; his Conſular Authority only going to his Succeſſor in that Office. So might St. *Peter*'s Univerſal Power be transferred unto the Eccleſiaſtical College of Biſhops, and of the Church; his Epiſcopal inferior Authority over the ſingle παροικία, or Province of *Rome*, being tranſmitted to his Followers in that Chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the Authority of St. *Peter*, and of all other Apoſtles, was devolved to the Church, and to the repreſentative Body thereof, the Fathers did ſuppoſe; affirming the Church to have received from our Lord a Sovereign Power.

Hæc eſt una quæ tenet & poſſidet omnem ſponſi ſui & Domini poteſtatem. in hac præſidemus, pro honore ejus & unitate pugnamus— Cypr. Ep. 73.

This (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *is that One Church, which holdeth and poſſeſſeth all the power of its Spouſe and Lord; in this we preſide, for the honour and unity of this we fight*— ſaith he in his Epiſtle to *Jubaianus*, wherein he doth impugn the proceedings of Pope *Stephanus*; the which Sentence St. *Auſtin* appropriateth to himſelf, ſpeaking it abſolutely, without citing St. *Cyprian*. To this Authority of the Church, St. *Baſil* would have all that confeſs the faith of *Chriſt* to ſubmit; *To which end we exceedingly need your aſſiſtance, that they who confeſs the Apoſtolick faith, would renounce the Schiſms which they have deviſed, and ſubmit themſelves henceforth to the Authority of the Church.*

Aug. de Bapt. c. Don. 4. 1.

Διὸ ἅπερ κεφάλαια τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν χρὴ ζητεῖν βοηθείας, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀποστολικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, ἅπερ ἐπενόησε, χρίσμασι διαλυθῆναι, ὑποταγῆναι τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Bas. Epiſt. 69.

1 Tim. 3. 5 15. Act. 20. 28. Eph. 4. 12.

They (after the Holy Scripture, which ſaith, that *each Biſhop hath a care of God's Church*, and is *obliged to feed the Church of God* —— and *is appointed to edify the body of Chriſt*) do ſuppoſe the adminiſtration of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs concerning the publick ſtate of the Church, the defence of the common Faith, the maintenance of Order, Peace and Unity jointly to belong unto the whole body of Paſtors; according to that of St. *Cyprian* to Pope *Stephanus* himſelf, *Therefore, moſt dear brother, the body of Prieſts is copious, being joined together by the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity, that if any of our College ſhould attempt to make hereſy, and to tear or waſte the flock of Chriſt, the reſt may come to ſuccour; and like uſeful and merciful ſhepherds may recollect the ſheep into the flock.* And again, *Which thing it concerns us to look after and redreſs, moſt dear brother, who bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the ſcales of the Church government,* &c.

Collegium Sacerdotum. Cypr. Ep. 67. 52 — Ὑπὲρ πάσης Ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ζῶσα ἡ ἀγαθή. Apoſt. Conſt. 8. 10.

Idcirco enim frater chariſſime, copioſum corpus eſt Sacerdotum, concordia mutua glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut ſiquis ex Collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, & gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri, & quaſi Paſtores utiles & miſericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant. Cypr. Ep. 67.

Cui rei noſtrum eſt conſulere, & ſubvenire, frater chariſſime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes & gubernanda Eccleſia libram tenentes, &c. Ibid.

Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſque provincia membra digeſta ſunt, excubare. Cler. Rom. apud Cypr. Ep. 30.

Ad Trinitatis inſtar, cujus una eſt atque individua poteſtas, unum eſſe per diverſas Antiſtites Sacerdotem. P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.

So

So in the Apostolical Constitutions, the Apostles tell the Bishops, that *an universal Episcopacy is entrusted to them.*

Εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, φησὶ, καθέλκω Ἐπισκοπὴ περὶς ὅλου. Const. Apost. 6. 14.

So the Council of *Carthage* with St *Cyprian* —— *Clear and manifest is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending his Apostles, and affording to them alone the power given him of the Father; in whose room we succeeded governing the Church of God with the same power.*

Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eâdem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. (Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. p 405.)

Christ our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his Spouse to us.

Christus Dominus & Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens, sponsam suam nobis commendavit —— Ibid. p 404.

A very ancient Instance of which administration is the proceeding against *Paulus Samosatenus*; when *the Pastors of the Churches, some from one place, some from another, did assemble together against him as a pest of Christ's flock, all of them hasting to* Antioch; where they deposed, exterminated and deprived him of communion, warning the whole Church to reject and disavow him.

Οἱ λοιποὶ τ' Ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἀλλοι ἀλλοθεν ὡς ὄπ λυμεῶνα τ τῆς χειρὸς ποίμνης συιλεγ, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τ' Ἀντιόχειαν συνῆσαν. Euseb. 7. 27.

Seeing the Pastoral charge is common to us all, who bear the Episcopal Office, although thou sittest in a higher and more eminent place.

Cùm communis sit omnibus nobis, qui fungimur Episcopatûs officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis —— Aug. ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag. 2. 1.

Therefore for this cause the Holy Church is committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be slack in yielding help and assistance to all.

Hujus ergo rei gratiâ vobis & nobis sancta commissa est Ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, & cunctis opem ferre non negligamus —— P. Joh. 1. Ep. 1 (ad Zachar.) apud Bin. Tom. 3. p. 512.

Hence St. *Chrysostom* said of *Eustathius* his Bishop; *For he was well instructed and taught by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a President or Bishop of a Church ought not to take care of that Church alone, wherewith he is intrusted by the Holy Ghost, but also of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδαγωγημένος καλῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα οὐκ αὐτῆς μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης. Chrys. Tom. 5. Or. 93.

They consequently did repute Schism, or Ecclesiastical Rebellion, to consist in *a departure from the consent of the body of the Priesthood*, as St. *Cyprian* in divers places doth express it, in his Epistles to Pope *Stephen*, and others.

A corpore nostro, & Sacerdotii consensione discesserit —— Cypr. Ep. 67.

Qui se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo, atque à Sacerdotum Collegio separat. Cypr. Ep. 52.

They deem all Bishops to partake of the Apostolical Authority, according to that of St. *Basil* to St. *Ambrose*; *the Lord himself hath translated thee from the Judges of the Earth unto the Prelacy of the Apostles.*

Αὐτὸς σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τ κριτῶν τ γῆς ἐπὶ τ προεδρίαν τ Ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν. Basil. Ep. 56.

They took themselves all to be Vicars of *Christ*, and Judges in his stead; according to that of St. *Cyprian*: *For Heresies are sprung up, and Schisms grown from no other ground nor root but this, because God's Priest was not obeyed, nor was there one Priest or Bishop for a time in the Church, nor a Judge thought on for a time to supply the room of Christ.* Where that by Church is meant any particular Church, and by Priest a Bishop of such Church, any one not bewitched with prejudice, by the tenour of St. *Cyprian*'s discourse will easily discern.

Neque enim aliunde Hæreses obortæ sunt, aut natæ sunt Schismata, quàm inde quòd Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur. Cypr. Ep. 55.

Episcopus personam habet Christi, & Vicarius Domini ——— Ambr. in 1 Cor. 11. The Bishop sustains the Person of Christ, and is the Vicar of our Lord.

They conceive that our Saviour did promise to Saint *Peter* the Keys in behalf of the Church, and as representing it. Cypr. Ep. 27.

They suppose the combination of Bishops in peaceable consent and mutual aid, to be the rock on which the Church is built.

They alledge the Authority granted to Saint *Peter*, as a ground of claim to the same in all Bishops jointly, and in each Bishop singly, according to his *rata pars*, or allotted proportion.

Which may easily be understood by the words of our Lord, when he says to blessed Peter, *whose place the Bishops supply, Whatsoever*, &c.

Quod ex verbis Domini facilè intelligi potest, quibus B. Petro, cujus vicem Episcopi gerunt ait, Quodcunque &c.

Capit. Caroli M. lib. 5. cap. 163.

I have the sword of Constantine *in my hands, you of* Peter, said our great King *Edgar*.

Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus.

They do therefore in this regard take themſelves to be Succeſſors to Saint *Peter*, that his power is derived to them all, and that the whole Epiſcopal Order *is the Chair by the Lord's voice founded on Saint* Peter; thus St. *Cyprian* in divers places (before touched) diſcourſeth; and thus *Firmilian* from the Keys granted to Saint *Peter* inferreth, diſputing againſt the *Roman* Biſhop; *Therefore* (ſaith he) *the power of remitting ſins is given to the Apoſtles, and to the Churches, which they being ſent from Chriſt did conſtitute, and to the Biſhops, which do ſucceed them by vicarious ordination.*

Poteſtas ergò remittendorum peccatorum Apoſtolis data eſt, & Eccleſiis quas illi à Chriſto miſſi conſtituerunt & Epiſcopis qui eis ordinatione vicariâ ſuccedunt. Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

4. The Biſhops of any other Churches founded by the Apoſtles, in the Fathers ſtyle are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, in the ſame ſenſe, and to the ſame intent as the Biſhop of *Rome* is by them accounted Succeſſor of Saint *Peter*; the Apoſtolical power, which in extent was univerſal, being in ſome ſenſe, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but tranſmitted by ſucceſſion; yet the Biſhops of Apoſtolical Churches did never claim, nor allowedly exerciſe Apoſtolical Juriſdiction, beyond their own precincts; according to thoſe words of St. *Hierom*, *Tell me, what doth* Paleſtine *belong to the Biſhop of* Alexandria?

Reſpunde mihi ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Paleſtina quid pertinet? Hier. *ad* Pammach. *Ep.* 61. 15.

This ſheweth the inconſequence of their diſcourſe; for in like manner the Pope might be Succeſſor to Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Peter*'s univerſal power might be ſucceſſive, yet the Pope have no ſingular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular Church.

5. So again, for inſtance, Saint *James* (whom the *Roman* Church, in her Liturgies, doth avow for an Apoſtle,) was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* more unqueſtionably, that Saint *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*; *Jeruſalem* alſo was the root, and *the mother of all Churches*, (as the Fathers of the Second General Synod, in their Letter to Pope *Damaſus* himſelf, and the Occidental Biſhops did call it, forgetting the ſingular pretence of *Rome* to that Title.) Yet the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem*, Succeſſors of Saint *James*, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extenſive Juriſdiction; yea notwithſtanding their Succeſſion, they did not ſo much as obtain a metropolitical Authority in *Paleſtine*, which did belong to *Cæſarea* (having been aſſigned thereto, in conformity to the Civil Government) and was by ſpecial proviſion *reſerved thereto* in the Synod of *Nice*; whence St. *Jerom* did not ſtick to affirm, that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was ſubject to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*; for ſpeaking to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who for compurgation of himſelf from errors imputed to him, had appealed to *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he ſaith, *Thou hadſt rather cauſe moleſtation to ears poſſeſſed, than render honour to thy Metropolitan*, that is, to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

Τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀξιοῦσθαι. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 7.
Ibi decernitur, ut Paleſtinæ metropolis Cæſarea ſit. Hier. *Ep.* 61. 15.
'Tis there decreed that *Cæſarea* ſhould be the metropolis of *Paleſtine*.

Maluiſti occupatis auribus moleſtias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere. Hier. *ad* Pammach. *Ep.* 61. 15.

By which inſtance we may diſcern, what little conſideration ſometimes was had of perſonal or topical ſucceſſion to the Apoſtles in determining the extent of Juriſdiction, and why ſhould the *Roman* Biſhop upon that ſcore pretend more validity than others?

6. Saint *Peter* probably e'er that he came at *Rome*, did found divers other Churches, whereof he was paramount Biſhop, or did retain a ſpecial ſuperintendency over them; particularly *Antioch was anciently called his See*, and he is acknowledged to have ſat there ſeven years, before he was Biſhop of *Rome*.

Hier. *ad* Galat. 2. *& P. Pelag. II. Ep.* 1.

——Θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον. *Syn.* Chalced. *Act.* 7. *p.* 264.

Why therefore may not the Biſhop of *Antioch* pretend to ſucceed Saint *Peter* in his univerſal Paſtorſhip, as well as his younger brother of *Rome*? why ſhould *Evodius* ordained by Saint *Peter* at *Antioch*, yield to *Clemens* afterwards by him ordained at *Rome*.

Act. 11. 26.

Antioch was the firſt-born of Gentile Churches, where the name of Chriſtians was firſt heard; *Antioch* was (as the *Conſtantinopolitan* Fathers called it) *the moſt ancient and truly Apoſtolical Church.*

Πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἄντως Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Theod. 5. 9.

An-

Antioch, by vertue of St *Peter*'s ſitting there, or peculiar relation to it, was (according to their own conceits) the principal See.

Ubi Imperator, ibi Roma. Where the Emperor is, there is *Rome*.

Why therefore ſhould St. *Peter* be ſo unkind to it, as not only to relinquiſh it, but to debaſe it; not only transferring his See from it, but diveſting it of the privilege which it had got?

Why ſhould he prefer before it the City of *Rome*, the myſtical *Babylon*, *the mother of abominations of the earth*, the Throne of Satan's Empire, the place which did then moſt perſecute the Chriſtian Faith; and *was drunk with the blood of the Saints?*

Apoc. 17. 5.

Apoc. 17. 6.

Sic & Babylon apud Joannem noſtrum Romana Urbis figura eſt, proinde & magna & regno ſuperba, & ſanctorum debellatricis. Tertull. *adv. Jud. cap.* 9.

So alſo *Babylon* in our Saint *John* is a type of the City of *Rome*, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud City, and a ſubduer of the Saints.

7. The ground of this preference was, ſay they, St. *Peter*'s Will; and they have reaſon to ſay ſo, for otherwiſe if Saint *Peter* had died inteſtate, the Elder Son of *Antioch* would have had the beſt right to all his goods and dignities.

Bell. 2. 12. *Potuiſſet Petrus nullam ſedem particularem ſibi unquam eligere, ſicut fecit primis quinque annis* —— *Ibid.* *Peter* might have choſen to himſelf no particular City, as he did the firſt five years.

But how doth that Will appear? in what Tables was it written? in what Regiſters is it extant? in whoſe preſence did he nuncupate it? it is no where to be ſeen or heard of.

Neither do they otherwiſe know of it, than by reaſoning it out; and in effect they ſay only that it was fit he ſhould will it, but they may be miſtaken in their divinations; and perhaps notwithſtanding them, Saint *Peter* might Will as well to his former See of *Antioch*, as to his latter of *Rome*.

8. Indeed *Bellarmine* ſometimes poſitively and briskly enough doth affirm, that *God did command Saint* Peter *to fix his See at* Rome; but his proofs of it are ſo ridiculouſly fond and weak, that I grudge the trouble of reciting them; and he himſelf ſufficiently confuteth them, by ſaying otherwhere, *It is not improbable, that our Lord gave an expreſs command, that* Peter *ſhould ſo fix his See at* Rome, *that the Biſhop of* Rome *ſhould abſolutely ſucceed him.*

Jubente Domino, 2. 1. *Deus ipſe juſſit Romæ ſigi Apoſtolicam Petri ſedem*, 4. 4.

Non eſt improbabile Dominum etiam aperte juſſiſſe, ut ſedem ſuam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus Epiſcopus abſolutè ei ſuccederet. Bell. 2. 12. §. *Et quoniam.*

He ſaith it is not improbable; if it be no more than ſo, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not-improbable that if God had commanded it, there would have been ſome aſſurance of a command ſo very important.

9. *Antioch* hath at leaſt a fair plea for a ſhare in Saint *Peter*'s Prerogatives; for it did ever hold the repute of an Apoſtolical Church, and upon that ſcore ſome deference was paid to it; why ſo, if Saint *Peter* did carry his See with all its Prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his Prerogative, leaving ſome part behind at *Antioch*, how much then I pray did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave leſs than half? if perchance he did leave half, the Biſhop of *Antioch* is equal to him of *Rome*.

10. Other perſons alſo may be found, who according to equal judgment might have a better title to the ſucceſſion of *Peter* in his Univerſal Authority than the Pope; having a nearer relation to him than he, (although his Succeſſor in one charge) or upon other equitable grounds.

For inſtance, Saint *John*, or any other Apoſtle, who did ſurvive Saint *Peter*; for if Saint *Peter* was the Father of Chriſtians, (which Title yet our Saviour forbiddeth any one to aſſume) Saint *John* might well claim to be his eldeſt Son; and it had been a very hard caſe for him to have been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion; it had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his ſpecial affection, a diſparagement of the Apoſtolical Office, for him to be ſubjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* might with much reaſon have put in his claim thereto, as being Succeſſor of our Lord himſelf, who unqueſtionably was the High Prieſt of our Profeſſion, and Archbiſhop of all our Souls; whoſe See was the Mother of all Churches; wherein Saint *Peter* himſelf did at firſt reſide,

exerciſing his Vicarſhip: If our Lord, upon ſpecial accounts, out of courſe had put the Sovereignty into Saint *Peter*'s hands, yet after his deceaſe it might be fit, that it ſhould return into its proper channel.

This may ſeem to have been the judgment of the times, when the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* did write, who reporteth the Apoſtles to have ordered Prayers to be made firſt for *James*, then for *Clement*, then for *Evodius*.

12. Equity would rather have required, that one ſhould by common conſent and election of the whole Church be placed in Saint *Peter*'s room, than that the Biſhop of *Rome*, by election of a few Perſons there, ſhould ſucceed into it.

As the whole body of Paſtors was highly concerned in that Succeſſion, ſo it was reaſonable that all of them ſhould concur in deſignation of a Perſon thereto; it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that either God would inſtitute, or Saint *Peter* by will ſhould deviſe a courſe of proceeding in ſuch a caſe, ſo unequal and unſatisfactory.

If therefore the Church, conſidering this equity of the caſe, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, ſhould undertake to chuſe for its ſelf another Monarch, (the Biſhop of another See, who ſhould ſeem fitter for the place) to ſucceed into the prerogatives of Saint *Peter*, that Perſon would have a fairer title to that Office than the Pope; for ſuch a Perſon would have a real title, grounded on ſome reaſon of the caſe; whenas the Pope's pretence doth only ſtand upon a poſitive Inſtitution, whereof he cannot exhibit any Certificate: This was the mind of a great man among themſelves; who ſaith, that *if poſſibly, the Biſhop of* Triers *ſhould be choſen for Head of the Church. For the Church has free power to provide it ſelf a Head.*

Quòd ſi per poſſibile, Trevirenſis eligeretur pro Capite Eccleſia. Habet enim Eccleſia poteſtatem liberam ſibi de Capite providendi---- Card. Cuſ. de Conc Cath. 2. 13.——

Bellarmine himſelf confeſſeth, that *if Saint* Peter (as he might have done if he had pleaſed) *ſhould have choſen no particular See, as he did not for the firſt five years, then after* Peter's *death, neither the Biſhop of* Rome, *nor of* Antioch *had ſucceeded, but he whom the Church ſhould have choſen for it ſelf.* Now if the Church upon that ſuppoſition would have had ſuch a right, it is not probable, that St. *Peter by his fact* would have deprived it thereof, or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it; there being apparently ſo much equity, that the Church ſhould have a ſtroke in deſignation of its Paſtor.

Nam potuiſſet Petrus nullam ſedem particularem ſibi unquam eligere ſicut fecit primis quinque annis, & tunc moriente Petro, non Epiſcopus Romanus, neque Antiochenus ſucceſſiſſet ſed is quem Eccleſia ſibi elegiſſet. Bell. 2. 12.

In ancient times there was not any ſmall Church, which had not a ſuffrage in the choice of its Paſtor; and was it fitting that all the Church ſhould have one impoſed on it without its conſent?

Nulla ratio ſenit, ut inter Epiſcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis ſunt electi, nec à plebibus expetiti, nec à comprovincialibus Epiſcopis cum Metropolitani judicio conſecrati. P. Leo I. Ep. 92.
No reaſon will admit, that they ſhould be eſteemed Biſhops, who are neither choſen by the Clergy, nor deſir'd by the People, nor conſecrated by the Biſhops of the ſame Province, with the conſent of the Metropolitan.

Nullus invitis detur Epiſcopus: Cleri, plebis, & ordinis conſenſus requiratur.—— P. Celeſt. I. Ep. 2. Grat. *diſt.* 61. *cap.* 13.
Let there be no Biſhop impoſed on any againſt their wills: Let the conſent of the Clergy and People, and his own Order be required.

If we conſider the manner in ancient time of electing and conſtituting the *Roman* Biſhop, we may thence diſcern not only the improbability, but iniquity of this pretence: how was he then choſen? was it by a General Synod of Biſhops, or by Delegates from all parts of Chriſtendom, whereby the common intereſt in him might appear; and whereby the World might be ſatisfied that one was elected fit for that high Office? No; he was choſen, as uſually then other particular Biſhops were, by the Clergy and People of *Rome*; none of the World being conſcious of the proceeding, or bearing any ſhare therein.

Now, was it equal, that ſuch a power of impoſing a Sovereign on all the grave Biſhops, and on all the good People of the Chriſtian world, ſhould be granted to one City?

Was it fitting, that ſuch a charge, importing advancement above all Paſtors, and being entruſted with the welfare of all Souls in *Chriſtendom*, ſhould be the reſult of an election liable to ſo many defects and corruptions? which aſſuredly often, if not almoſt conſtantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery or partiality, would be managed by popular faction and tumults.

It

It was obſerved generally of ſuch Elections by *Nazianzen*, that *Prelacies were not rather by virtue than by naughtineſs; and that Epiſcopal Thrones did not rather belong to the more worthy, than to the more powerful.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ κακοηθείας ἡ περιουσία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυναστικωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι. Naz. Or. 20. p. 335.

And declaring his mind or wiſh that Elections of Biſhops ſhould *reſt only or chiefly in the beſt men, not in the wealthieſt and mightieſt; or in the impetuouſneſs and unreaſonableneſs of the people, and among them in thoſe who are moſt eaſily bought and bribed*; whereby he intimateth the common practice, and ſubjoineth, *but now I can hardly avoid thinking, that the popular (or civil) governances are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them.*

Ἐφ' οἷς ἔδει τὰς τοιαύτας περιουσίας κεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα —— ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυναστικωτάτοις φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὖθις μάλιστα τοῖς εὐωνητοτάτοις· νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐλαβεῖσθαι θαυμάζων τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπαρωμίζεσθαι. Greg. Naz. Or. 19. p. 211.

And that the *Roman* Elections in that time were come into that courſe, we may ſee by the relation and reflections of an honeſt *Pagan* Hiſtorian concerning the Election of Pope *Damaſus* (contemporary of *Gregory Nazianzen*) *Damaſus* (ſaith he) *and* Urſinus, *above humane meaſure burning with deſire to ſnatch the Epiſcopal See, did with divided parties moſt fiercely conflict*; in which conflict upon one day in the very Church 130 Perſons were ſlain; ſo did that great Pope get into the Chair; thus (as the Hiſtorian reflecteth) the *wealth and pomp of the place naturally did provoke ambition* by all means to ſeek it, and did cauſe fierce contentions to ariſe in the choice; whence commonly, wiſe and modeſt perſons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man, who had the art or the luck to pleaſe the multitude, would by violence obtain it; which was a goodly way of conſtituting a Sovereign to the Church.

Damaſus & Urſinus ſupra humanum modum ad rapiendam Epiſcopalem ſedem ardentes ſciſſis ſtudiis acerrimè conflictabantur —— Am. Marcell. *lib.* 27.

Sozom. 6. 23.

Neque ego ab uno oſtentationem rerum conſiderans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos, &c. Id. ibid.

Thus it went within three ages after our Lord; and afterwards in the declenſions of Chriſtian ſimplicity and integrity matters were not like to be mended, but did indeed rather grow worſe; as beſide the reports and complaints of Hiſtorians, how that commonly by ambitious prenſations, by ſimoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of ſiniſter ways, men crept into the place, doth appear by thoſe many diſmal Schiſms, which gave the Church many pretended Heads, but not one certain one; as alſo by the reſult of them, being the choice of perſons very unworthy and horribly flagitious.

Damaſus II. —— *Pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo Cleri populique conſenſu; Adiò enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambitioſo liceret Petri ſedem invadere.* Plat. (*p.* 314)

Damaſus II. invades the Popedom by force, without any conſent of the Clergy and People; For ſo was it now grown into cuſtom, that any ambitious man might invade *Peter's* See.

Eò enim tunc Pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione & ambitione non dico ſanctitate vitæ & doctrinâ valeret, is tantumodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppreſſis & rejectis obtineret; quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuiſſent noſtra tempora. Plat. *in* Silv

For the buſineſs of the Papacy was come to that paſs, that whoever by bribery and ambition, I ſay not, by holineſs of life and learning, got the ſtart of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the mean being depreſſed and rejected; which cuſtom I would to God our times had not retained.

Cùm jam eò deveniſſent Eccleſiaſtici, ut non coacti ut antea, ſed ſponte & largitionibus Pontificium munus obirent. Plat. *in* Steph. 6. Baron. *Anno* 112. §. 8.

Whenas now Eccleſiaſtical perſons are come to that paſs, that they execute the Papal Office, not being compelled unto it, as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it.

Videbat enim Imperator eò licentiæ factioſum quemque & potentem, quamvis ignobilem deveniſſe, ut corruptis ſuffragiis tantam dignitatem conſequeretur, &c. Plat. *in* Clem. 2. (*p.* 313)

For the Emperor ſaw, that every factious and powerful perſon, though baſe and ignoble, was grown to that height of licenciouſneſs, that he obtained ſo great Dignity by corruption and buying of Suffrages.

Omne Papale negotium munera agunt: quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in Papam receperit, pretio ſeu ſpe pretii non interveniente? Bern. *de Conſid.* 4. 2.

The whole buſineſs of making a Pope is managed by gifts: whom can you ſhew me in all this great City, who took you into the Papacy, without being bribed or corrupted with reward, or at leaſt with hope of it?

If it be ſaid, that the Election of a Pope in old times was wont to be approved by the conſent of all Biſhops in the World, according to the teſtimony of St. *Cyprian*, who ſaith of *Cornelius*, that *he was known by the teſtimony of his Fellow-biſhops, whoſe whole number through all the World did with peaceful unanimity conſent:*

—— *eo Epiſcoporum teſtimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate conſentit* —— Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

Cùm Fabiani locus, id eſt cùm locus Petri, & gradus Cathedræ ſacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium noſtrum conſenſione —— *Ibid.*

When *Fabianus's* place, (*i. e.*) when the place of *Peter*, and the degree of the Sacerdotal Chair was vacant; which being obtained by the will of God, and all our conſents——

I anſwer, that this conſent was not in the Election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by Letters or Meſſages declaring the Election, according to that of St. *Cyprian*; that it was not any wiſe peculiar to the *Roman* Biſhop, but ſuch as was yielded to all Catholick Biſhops, each of whom *was to be approved*, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *by the teſtimony and judgment of the Collegues*; that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correſpondence, ſignifying that ſuch a Biſhop was duly elected by his Clergy and People, was rightly ordained by his neighbour Biſhops, did profeſs the Catholick Faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his Brethren, ſuch a conſent to the election of any Biſhop of old was given, (eſpecially upon occaſion, and when any queſtion concerning the right of a Biſhop did intervene) whereof now in the Election of a Pope no footſtep doth remain.

Satis erat ut tu te Epiſcopum factum Literis nunciares, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 42. It was enough that you declared by Letters that you were made Biſhop.

Epiſcopo ſemel facto, & Collegarum ac plebis teſtimonio & judicio comprobato—— Cypr. *Ep.* 41.

Euſeb. We may alſo note, that the Election of *Cornelius* being conteſted, he did more ſolemnly acquaint all the Biſhops of the World with his caſe, and ſo did obtain their approbation, in a way more than ordinary.

13. If God had deſigned this derivation of Univerſal Sovereignty, it is probable, that he would have preſcribed ſome certain, ſtanding, immutable way of Election; and imparted the right to certain Perſons, and not left it at ſuch Uncertainty to the chances of time, ſo that the manner of Election hath often changed, and the power of it toſſed into divers hands.

Et licèt diverſis temporibus diverſi modi ſuper Electione Romanorum Pontificum obſervati ſunt, prout neceſſitas, & utilitas Eccleſiæ expoſcebat—— *Conc.* Baſ. *Seſſ.* 37. *p.* 98. *Vide* Grat. *diſt.* 63. *per tot.*

And though in ſeveral times there have been obſerved ſeveral ways as to the Election of the Roman *Pontiffs, according as the neceſſity and expediency of the Church required:*

Of old it was (as other Elections) managed by nomination of the Clergy, and ſuffrage of the People.

Afterwards the Emperours did aſſume to themſelves the nomination or approbation of them.

Nil enim tum à clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat, niſi ejus Electionem Imperator approbâſſet. Plat. *in* Pelag. II.

For then nothing was done by the Clergy in the choice of the Pope, unleſs the Emperor had approved his Election.

Is autem, cùm Principis conſenſus requireretur, nuncios cum Literis miſerat, qui Mauritium obſecrarent, ne pateretur electionem Cleri & Populi Romani ea in re valere. Plat. *in* Greg. M. *Vid.* Grat. *diſt.* 63——

But he, ſeeing the Prince's conſent was required, ſent Meſſengers with Letters, to intreat Mauritius, *that he would not ſuffer the Election made by the Clergy and People of* Rome *in that caſe to be valid.*

Conc. Tom. 7. *p.* 182. Leo VIII.— *Romanorum inconſtantiam pertæſus, Auctoritatem omnem eligendi Pontificis à Clero, Populoque Romano ad Imperatorem tranſtulit.* Plat. *in* Leo VIII. (*p.* 291.)

Leo VIII. *being tired with the inconſtancy of the* Romans, *transferred the whole power and authority of chuſing the Pope from the Clergy and People of* Rome, *to the Emperour.*

Nuſquam Cleri eligentis, vel poſtea conſentientis aliqua mentio. Baron. *Anno* 112. §. 8. *Anno* 131. §. 1. There was no where any mention of the Clergy electing, or afterward conſenting.

At ſome times the Clergy had no hand in the Election; but Popes were intruded by powerful Men or Women at their pleaſure.

Grat. *diſt.* 23. *cap.* 1. Plat. *in* Nic. II.

Afterwards the Cardinals (that is, ſome of the chief *Roman* Clergy) did appropriate the Election to themſelves; by the Decree of Pope *Nicholas* II. in his *Lateran* Synod.

Sometimes, out of courſe, general Synods did aſſume the Choice to themſelves: as at *Conſtance*, *Piſa*, and *Baſil.*

14. From the Premiſes to conclude the Pope's Title to Saint *Peter's* Authority, it is requiſite to ſhew the Power demiſed by him to be according to God's inſtitution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for Power built upon the like, but far more certain principles, hath in courſe of times, and by worldly changes, been quite loſt, or conveyed into other Channels, than thoſe wherein they were firſt put; and that irrecoverably, ſo that it cannot any-wiſe be retrieved, or reduced into the firſt order.

For

For inſtance, *Adam* was by God conſtituted Univerſal Sovereign of Mankind; and into that Power his eldeſt Son of right did ſucceed; and ſo it of right ſhould have been continually propagated.

Yet ſoon did that Power fail, or was diverted into other courſes; the World being cantonized into ſeveral Dominions; ſo that the *Heir at Law* among all the deſcendents of *Adam* cannot ſo eaſily be found, as *a Needle in a bottle of Hay:* he probably is a Subject, and perhaps is a Peaſant.

So might Saint *Peter* be Monarch of the Church, and the Pope might ſucceed him, yet by revolutions of things, by ſeveral defaults and incapacities in himſelf, by divers obſtructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other mens rights, according to that *Maxim* of a great Pope, *He loſeth his own, who coveteth more than his due,* his Power might be clipped, might be tranſplanted, might utterly decay and fail; to ſuch fatalities other Powers are ſubject; nor can that of the Pope be exempt from them, as otherwhere we ſhall more largely declare.

Propria perdit qui indebita concupiſcit. P. Leo I. Ep. 54.

15. Indeed that God did intend his Church ſhould perpetually ſubſiſt united in any one political frame of Government, is a principle which they do aſſume, and build upon, but can no-wiſe prove. Nor indeed is it true; for,

If the Unity of the Church deſigned and inſtituted by God were only an Unity of Faith, of Charity, of Peace, of fraternal Communion and Correſpondence between particular Societies and Paſtors, then in vain it is to ſeek for the Subject and Seat of Univerſal Juriſdiction; now that God did not intend any other Unity, than ſuch as thoſe ſpecified, we have good reaſon to judge, and ſhall, we hope, otherwhere ſufficiently prove.

16. We may conſider, that really the Sovereign Power (ſuch as it is pretended) hath often failed, there having been for long ſpaces of time no *Roman* Biſhops at all, upon ſeveral accounts; which is a ſign that the Church may ſubſiſt without it.

As, 1. when *Rome* was deſolated by the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Lombards*.

2. In times, when the *Romans* would not ſuffer Popes to live with them. *Vide* Bern. *Ep.* 242. 243. Bell. 4. 4.

3. In caſe of diſcontinuance from *Rome*, when the Popes (ſo calling themſelves) did for above ſeventy years abide in *France*; when they indeed, not being choſen by the *Roman* People, nor exerciſing Paſtoral care over them, were only titular, not real Biſhops of *Rome*, (They were Popes of *Avignion*, not of *Rome*; and Succeſſors of God knows who, not of St. *Peter*) no more than one continually living in *England* can be Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

4. In times of many long Schiſms (22 Schiſms) when either there was no true Pope, or which in effect was the ſame, no certain one. —*Iuopem vim copia fecit* Baron. *ad Annum* 112. §. 8.

5. When Popes were intruded by violence, whom *Baronius* himſelf poſitively affirmeth to have been no Popes; how then could a Succeſſion of true Popes be continued from them, by the Clergy, which they in vertue of their Papal Authority did pretend to create?

6. When Elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical, and ſo null.

7. When Popes were Simoniacally choſen; who by their own Rules and Laws are no true Popes, being Hereticks, Hereſiarchs. *P. Greg. VII. Ep.* 3. 7. *P. Jul. in* Conc. Lat. *Seſſ.* 5. *p.* 57. *Non ſolùm hujuſmodi Electio vel aſſumptio eo ipſo nulla exiſtat —— &c. Vide ſup.* §. 12. Such an Election or Aſſumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null.

The which was done for long courſes of time very commonly, and in a manner conſtantly. *Vide quaſo quantum iſti degenerarint à majoribus ſuis; Illi enim utpote viri Sanctiſſimi Dignitatem ultrò oblatam contemnebant, orationi & Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ vacantes; hi verò largitione & ambitione Pontificatum quærentes, & adepti, poſthabito divino cultu, &c.* Plat. *in* Serg. 3. (*p* 179) *Vid.* —— *in* Bened. *IV.* 177. See, I beſeech you, how much they have degenerated from their Anceſtours; For they, as being very holy Men, did contemn that Dignity when freely offered, giving themſelves wholly to Prayer and the Doctrine of Chriſt; but theſe by Bribery and Ambition ſeek and obtain the Papacy.

8. When Popes have been depoſed; (as ſome by the Emperors, others by General Councils) in which caſe, according to Papal Principles, the Succeſſors were illegal; for the Pope being Soveraign, he could not be judged or depoſed; and his Succeſſor is an Uſurper.

9. When Popes were Heretical, that is (ſay they) no Popes.

10. When Atheiſts, Sorcerers ——

Elections

Elections in ſome of theſe caſes being null, and therefore the Acts conſequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to poſterity.

Plat. in Joh. 10. (275.) *Pontifices ipſi à Petri veſtigiis diſceſſerant.*

The Popes have ſwerv'd from the Example of *Peter*. *Poſſeſſor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præſcribit.* Reg. Jur. 2. *in Sexto.* He that has no right to the thing he poſſeſſes, cannot preſcribe or plead any length of time to make his poſſeſſion lawful.

And probably therefore there is now no true Pope.

For (upon violent intruſion, or ſimoniacal choice, or any uſurpation) the Cardinals, Biſhops, *&c.* which the Pope createth, are not truly ſuch, and conſequently their Votes not good in the choice of another Pope; and ſo ſucceſſively.

Theſe conſiderations may ſuffice to declare the inconſequence of their Diſcourſes, even admitting their Aſſertions, which yet are ſo falſe, or ſo apparently uncertain.

I ſhall in the next place level ſome Arguments directly againſt their main Concluſion it ſelf.

I. My firſt Argument againſt this pretence ſhall be, that it is deſtitute of any good warrant, either from Divine or Humane teſtimony; and ſo is groundleſs. As will appear by the following Conſiderations.

1. If God had deſigned the Biſhop of *Rome* to be for the perpetual courſe of times Sovereign Monarch of his Church, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that he would expreſly have declared his mind in the caſe; it being a point of greateſt importance of all that concern the adminiſtration of his Kingdom in the World. Princes do not uſe to ſend their Vice-Roys unfurniſhed with Patents clearly ſignifying their Commiſſion, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excuſably may refuſe compliance; and in all equity promulgation is requiſite to the eſtabliſhment of any Law, or exacting obedience. But in all the Pandects of Divine Revelation the Biſhop of *Rome* is not ſo much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by probable intimation; they cannot hook him in otherwiſe than by ſtraining hard, and framing a long Chain of Conſequences; each of which is too ſubtile for to conſtrain any man's perſuaſion: They have indeed found the Pope in the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*; for (if we believe Pope *Innocent* III.) he is one of the *two great Luminaries* there; and he is as plainly there, as any where elſe in the Bible.

Non vero ſimile ſit, ut rem tam neceſſariam ad Eccleſiæ unitatem continendam Chriſtus Dominus Apoſtolis ſuis non revelârit. Melch. Can. 6. 8.

Neither is it likely that our Lord Chriſt would not have revealed to his Apoſtles a thing ſo neceſſary for preſerving the Unity of the Church.

Ad Firmamentum igitur Cœli, hoc eſt Univerſalis Eccleſiæ, fecit Deus duo magna Luminaria id eſt duas inſtituit Dignitates, quæ ſunt Pontificalis auctoritas, & Regalis poteſtas, ſed illa quæ præeſt diebus, id eſt, Spiritualibus, major eſt; quæ verò Carnalibus, minor, &c. Innoc. III. *in* Decret. Greg. *l.* 33. 6.

For the Firmament therefore of Heaven, (*i. e.*) of the Univerſal Church, God made two great Lights, (*i. e.*) he ordained two Dignities or Powers, which are the Pontifical Authority, and the Regal Power; but that which rules the days, (*i. e.*) Spiritual matters, is the greater, but that which governs Carnal things, is the leſſer, *&c.*

Wherefore if upon this account we ſhould reject this pretence, we might do it juſtly; and for ſo doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of Doctrine, or rule of Manners, which is not in expreſs words, or in terms equivalent, contained in Holy Scripture; or which at leaſt might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference; this their manner of diſputing with Hereticks and heterodox People doth ſhew; this appeareth by their way of defining and ſettling Doctrines of Faith; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our caſe; for, *If* (ſaith St. *Auſtin*) *about Chriſt, or about his Church, or about any other thing; which concerneth our Faith and Life, I will not ſay We, who are no wiſe comparable to him, who ſaid Although we; but even as he going on did add, If an Angel from Heaven ſhould tell you beſide what you have received in the Legal and Evangelical Scriptures, let him be anathema*; in which words we have St. *Auſtin*'s warrant not only to refuſe, but to deteſt this Doctrine, which being no-where extant in Law or Goſpel, is yet obtruded on us as nearly relating both to *Chriſt* and his Church, as greatly concerning both our Faith and Practice.

Prolude ſive de Chriſto, ſive de ejus Eccleſia, ſive de quacunque alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque noſtram non dicam Nos, neguaquam comparandi ei qui dixit. licet ſi nos, *ſed omnino quod ſequutus adjecit,* ſi Angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit, *præterquam quod in Scripturis Legalibus ac Evangelicis accepiſtis, anathema ſit.* Aug. *contr.* Petil. 3. 6.

2. To

2. To enforce this Argument, we may conſider, that the Evangeliſts do ſpeak about the propagation, ſettlement, and continuance of our Lord's Kingdom; that the Apoſtles do often treat about the ſtate of the Church, and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the diſtinction of its Officers and Members, about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges of ſpiritual Governors and Guides; about prevention and remedy of Hereſies, Schiſms, Diſorders; upon any of which occaſions how is it poſſible that the mention of ſuch a Spiritual Monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of thoſe particulars) ſhould wholly eſcape them, if they had known ſuch an one inſtituted by God.

In the Levitical Law, all things concerning the High-Prieſt; not only his Deſignation, Succeſſion, Conſecration, Duty, Power, Maintenance, Privileges; but even his Garments, Marriage, Mourning, *&c.* are punctually determined and deſcribed; and is it not wonderful that in the many deſcriptions of the New Law, no mention ſhould be made concerning any Duty, or Privilege of its High-Prieſt? whereby he might be directed in the adminiſtration of his Office, and know what obſervance to require? Exod. 28. 1. Exod. 28 4. Levit. 21.

3. Whereas alſo the Scripture doth inculcate duties of all ſorts, and doth not forget frequently to preſs duties of reſpect and obedience toward particular Governors of the Church; is it not ſtrange that it never ſhould beſtow one precept, whereby we might be inſtructed and admoniſhed to pay our duty to the Univerſal Paſtor? eſpecially conſidering, that God who directed the Pens of the Apoſtles, and who intended that their Writings ſhould continue for the perpetual inſtruction of Chriſtians, did foreſee, how requiſite ſuch a precept would be to ſecure that duty; for if but one ſuch precept did appear, it would do the buſineſs, and void all conteſtation about it.

4. They who carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal Sovereignty, how come they ſo wholly to wave urging the no leſs needful obligations to obey the Spiritual Monarch? while they are ſo mindful of the Emperor, why are they ſo neglectful of the Pope? inſomuch, that divers Popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow thoſe precepts, which command obedience to Princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themſelves? P. Nic. I. Ep. 10. P. Leo IX. Ep. 1. P. Greg. VII. Ep 1. 22.

5. Particularly St. *Peter*, one would think, who doth ſo earneſtly injoin to obey *the King as Supreme*, and *to honour him*, ſhould not have been unmindful of his Succeſſors; or quite have forborn to warn Chriſtians of the reſpect due to them: ſurely the Popes afterward do not follow him in this reſervedneſs; for in their *Decretal Epiſtles* they urge nothing ſo much as obedience to the Apoſtolical See. 1 Pet. 2. 13---17.

6. One might have expected ſomething of that nature from St. *Paul* himſelf, who did write ſo largely to the *Romans*, and ſo often from *Rome*; that at leaſt ſome word, or ſome intimation ſhould have dropped from him concerning theſe huge Rights and Privileges of this *See*, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he profeſſedly doth enumerate the Offices, inſtituted by God, for ſtanding uſe and perpetual duration; *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt; till we all come in the Unity of Faith*, &c. Eph. 3. 11. 12. 13. 1 Cor. 12. 28.

Quarum laudum & gloriæ degenerem fuiſſe maximum crimen eſt. Cl. Rom. *ad* Cypr. *Ep.* 31.
To degenerate from which praiſe and glory, is an exceeding great crime.

He commendeth them for their Faith, which *was ſpoken of through the whole world*; yet *giving them no advantage above others*; as St. *Chryſoſtom* obſerveth on thoſe words; *for obedience to the Faith among all Nations, among whom alſo are ye*; *this* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *he ſaith to depreſs their conceit, to void their haughtineſs of mind, and to teach them to deem others equal in Dignity with them.* Rom. 1. 8.

Οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι παρὰ λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

Τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

When he writeth to that Church (* which was ſome time after St. *Peter* had ſettled the Popedom) he doth only ſtile them κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, (*called Saints*) and ἀγαπητοὶ θεοῦ, (*beloved of God*) which are common adjuncts of all Chriſtians; He ſaith their Faith was ſpoken of generally, but of the ſame of their (* *Vid.* Chryſ. Theod. Hier.) Baron. *Anno* 58. § 46. *&c.* Rom. 1. 7. 8.

Rom. 16. 19. Authority being ſo ſpread he taketh no notice; that *their obedience had come abroad to all men*, but their commands had not (it ſeemeth) come any where.

He wrote divers *Epiſtles* from *Rome*, wherein he reſolveth many caſes debated, yet never doth urge the Authority of the *Roman* Church for any point, which now is ſo ponderous an Argument.

7. But however ſeeing the Scripture is ſo ſtrangely reſerved, how cometh it to paſs that Tradition is alſo ſo defective, and ſtaunch in ſo grand a caſe? We have in divers of the Fathers, (particularly in *Tertullian*, in St. *Baſil*, in St. *Hierom*) Catalogues of Traditional Doctrines and Obſervances, which they recite to aſſert Tradition in ſome caſes ſupplemental to Scripture; in which their purpoſe did require, that they ſhould ſet down thoſe of principal moment; and they are ſo punctual as to inſert many of ſmall conſideration; how then came they to neglect this, concerning the Papal Authority over the whole Church, which had been moſt pertinent to their deſign, and in conſequence did vaſtly ſurpaſs all the reſt, which they do name?

Terrull. *de Cor. Mil.* 3. Baſil. *de Sp. S.* 27. Hier. *adverſ.* Lucif. 4.

8. The deſignation of the *Roman* Biſhop by ſucceſſion to obtain ſo high a degree in the Church, being, above all others, a moſt remarkable and noble piece of Hiſtory, which it had been a horrible fault in an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory to ſlip over, without careful reporting, and reflecting upon it; yet *Euſebius*, that moſt diligent Compiler of all paſſages relating to the original Conſtitution of the Church, and to all tranſactions therein, hath not one word about it; who yet ſtudiouſly doth report the Succeſſions of the *Roman* Biſhops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this Doctrine is pretended to be a Point of Faith, of vaſt conſequence to the ſubſiſtence of the Church, and to the Salvation of men, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that it ſhould not be inſerted into any one ancient Summary of things to be believed, (of which Summaries divers remain, ſome compoſed by publick conſent, others by perſons of Eminency in the Church) nor by fair and forcible conſequence ſhould be deduced from any Article in them; eſpecially conſidering that ſuch Summaries were framed upon occaſion of Hereſies ſpringing up, which diſregarded the Pope's Authority, and which by aſſerting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to Pope *Innocent* III. and his *Lateran* Synod, for firſt ſynodically defining this Point together with other Points no leſs new and unheard of before. The *Creed* of Pope *Pius* IV. formed the other day, is the firſt, as I take it, which did contain this Article of Faith.

Conſt. Apoſt. 7. 41. (a full Creed, at Baptiſm)

Conc. Lat. 4. *cap.* 5. *Anno* 1215.

10. It is much that this point of Faith ſhould not be delivered in any of thoſe ancient Expoſitions of the *Creed* (made by St. *Auſtin*, *Ruffin*, *&c.*) which enlarge it to neceſſary points of Doctrine, connected with the Articles therein, eſpecially with that of the Catholick Church, to which the Pope's Authority hath ſo cloſe a connexion; that it ſhould not be touched in the Catechetical Diſcourſes of *Cyril*, *Ambroſe*, *&c.* that in the Syſtems of Divinity compoſed by St. *Auſtin*, *Lactantius*, *&c.* it ſhould not be treated on: The world is now changed, for the Catechiſm of *Trent* doth not overlook ſo material a Point; and it would paſs for a lame Body of Theology, which ſhould omit to treat on this Subject.

11. It is more wonderful, that this Point ſhould never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient Synod; it being ſo notoriouſly in thoſe old times oppoſed by divers, who diſſented in opinion, and diſcorded in practice from the Pope; it being alſo a Point of that conſequence, that ſuch a ſolemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular Errors and Schiſms, which were maintained then in oppoſition to the Church.

12. Indeed had this Point been allowed by the main Body of Orthodox Biſhops, the Pope could not have been ſo drowſy or ſtupid, as not to have ſolicited for ſuch a definition thereof; nor would the Biſhops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being, in our Adverſaries conceits, ſo compendious and effectual a way of ſuppreſſing all Hereſies, Schiſms and Diſorders; (although indeed later Experience hath ſhewed it no leſs available to ſtifle Truth,

Juſtice

Juſtice and Piety :) The Popes after *Luther* were better adviſed, and ſo were the Biſhops adhering to his Opinions.

13. Whereas alſo it is moſt apparent, that many perſons diſclaimed this Authority, not regarding either the Doctrines or Decrees of the Popes; it is wonderful, that ſuch men ſhould not be reckoned in the large Catalogues of Hereticks, wherein Errors of leſs obvious conſideration, and of far leſs importance did place men; If *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret*, *Leontius*, *&c.* were ſo negligent or unconcerned, yet St. *Auſtin*, *Philaſtrius*, —— Weſtern men, ſhould not have overlooked this ſort of deſperate Hereticks; *Aerius* for queſtioning the Dignity of Biſhops, is ſet among the Hereticks, but who got that name for diſavowing the Pope's Supremacy, among the many who did it? (It is but lately, that ſuch as we have been thruſt in among Hereticks.)

14. Whereas no Point avowed by Chriſtians could be ſo apt to raiſe offence and jealouſy in Pagans againſt our Religion as this, which ſetteth up a Power of ſo vaſt extent, and huge influence; whereas no novelty could be more ſurprizing or ſtartling, than the Erection of an Univerſal Empire over the Conſciences and religious Practices of men; whereas alſo this Doctrine could not but be very conſpicuous and glaring in ordinary practice; it is prodigious, that all Pagans ſhould not loudly exclaim againſt it.

It is ſtrange, that Pagan Hiſtorians (ſuch as *Marcellinus*, who often ſpeaketh of Popes, and blameth them for their luxurious way of living, and pompous garb: as *Zozimus*, who bore a great ſpight at Chriſtianity; as all the Writers of the Imperial Hiſtory before *Conſtantine*) ſhould not report it, as a very ſtrange pretence newly ſtarted up.

—— *procedantque vehiculis inſidentes circumſpectè veſtiti, epulas curantes profuſas, adeò ut eorum convivia Regales ſuperent menſas.* Marcell. *lib* 27. *p.* 338. They travel ſitting in Chariots, curiouſly apparelled, procuring profuſe dainties, inſomuch as their meals exceed the feaſts of Kings.

It is wonderful, that the eager Adverſaries of our Religion (ſuch as *Celſus*, *Porphyrie*, *Hierocles*, *Julian* himſelf) ſhould not particularly level their Diſcourſe againſt it, as a moſt ſcandalous poſition and dangerous pretence, threatning the Government of the Empire.

It is admirable, that the Emperors themſelves, enflamed with emulation and ſuſpicion of ſuch an Authority (the which hath been ſo terrible even to Chriſtian Princes) ſhould not in their Edicts expreſly decry and impugn it; that indeed every one of them ſhould not with extreameſt violence implacably ſtrive to extirpate it.

In conſequence of theſe things it may alſo ſeem ſtrange, that none of the Advocates of our Faith, (*Juſtin*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, *Cyril*, *Auſtin*) ſhould be put to defend it or ſo much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate Apologies for the Doctrines and Practices, which were reprehended by any ſort of Adverſaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them in their Apologies and Repreſentations concerning Chriſtianity, would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconſiderate; when they profeſs for their common belief aſſertions repugnant to that Doctrine; as when *Tertullian* ſaith, † *We reverence the Emperor as a man ſecond to God, and leſs only than God*; when * *Optatus* affirmeth, that *above the Emperor there is none beſide God who made the Emperor*; and that ‡ *Donatus by extolling himſelf* (as ſome now do) *above the Emperor, did in ſo doing as it were exceed the bounds of men, that he did eſteem himſelf as God, not as a man.* When St. *Chryſoſtom* aſſerteth *the Emperor to be the Crown and Head of all men upon earth*, and ſaith, that *even Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, any men whoever* are to be ſubject to the temporal Powers; when (*a*) St. *Cyril* calleth the Emperor *the ſupreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable differences*, &c. When even Popes talk at this rate; as Pope (*b*) *Gregory* I. calling the Emperor his *Lord, and Lord*

Sentiunt enim Deum eſſe ſolum, in cujus ſolius poteſtate ſunt, à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi, ante omnes & ſuper omnes Deos. Quidni? cùm ſuper omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, & mortuis antiſtant. Tert. *Apolog* c. 30.

For they think it is God alone in whoſe power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all Gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and ſurpaſs the dead.

† *Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & ſolo Deo minorem.* Tertull. *ad Scap.* 2.

* *Cùm ſuper Imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem.* Opt. *lib.* 3.

‡ —— *dum ſe Donatus ſuper Imperatorem extollit, jam quaſi hominum exceſſerat modum, ut ſe ut Deum, non hominem æſtimaret.* Id. *ibid.*

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων. Chryſ. *adv. Jud.* 2. *p.* 463.

Κἂν Ἀπόστολος ᾖ, κἂν Εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν Προφήτης, κἂν ὁτιοῦν, *&c.* Chryſ. *in* Rom. 13. 1.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ἀνώτερόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ —— Chryſ. *ſupra.*

For he that is thus wrong'd has not his equal upon earth, for he is King, *&c.*

(*a*) Τῷ μὲ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους ὑψηλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀφάσκειτοις διαφορεῖς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερκείμενον. ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλῆς, καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῶν ἐκλεκτὸς τε καὶ περιούσιον ἔθνος θεοῦ τῆς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων ὑπάρχοντος. Cyril. *ad Theod. in Conc. Eph. part* 1. *cap.* 3. *p.* 20.

(*b*) P. Greg. M. *Ep.* 2. 62.

Quia Sereniſſ. Domine ex illo jam tempore Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras.... Ego quidem juſſioni ſubjectus —— Ibid.

Ad hoc enim poteſtas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data eſt ſuper omnes homines, &c. Ibid. Ego indignus famulus veſter. Ibid.

Qui honori quoque Imperii veſtri ſe per privatum vocabulum ſuperponit P. Greg. I. Ep. 4. 32.

(c) Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. II. in Epiſt. 1. ad Leon. Iſaur. apud Bin. Tom 5. p. 502. As King and Head of Chriſtians.

of all, telling the Emperor, that his Competitor, by aſſuming the title of Univerſal Biſhop, *did ſet himſelf above the honour of his Imperial Majeſty*; which he ſuppoſeth a piece of great abſurdity and arrogance; and even Pope (c) *Gregory* II. doth call that Emperor (againſt whom he afterward rebelled) *the Head of Chriſtians*. Whereas indeed if the Pope be Monarch of the Church, endowed with the Regalities which they now aſcribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living, in real power and dignity: wherefore the modern Doctors of *Rome* are far more ſincere or conſiderate in their Heraldry, than were thoſe old Fathers of Chriſtendom; who now ſtick not downrightly to prefer the Pope before all Princes of the World; not only in Doctrine and Notion, but in the ſacred Offices of the Church; for in the very Canon of their Maſs, the Pope (together with the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, one of his Miniſters) is ſet before all Chriſtian Princes; every Chriſtian ſubject being thereby taught to deem the Pope ſuperior to his Prince. * Now we muſt believe (for one Pope hath written it, another hath put it in his Decretals, and it is current Law) that the Papal Authority doth no leſs ſurpaſs the Royal, than the Sun doth outſhine the Moon.

—— *una cum famulo tuo Papa noſtro* N. *& Antiſtite noſtro* N. *& Rege noſtro* N. *& omnibus Orthodoxis*, &c.

Together with thy Servant our Pope N. and our Biſhop N. and our King N. and all Orthodox &c.

* *Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate Regia poſt orationem factam pro Papa quia poteſtas ſuprema Sacerdotalis excedit Regiam antiquitate, dignitate & utilitate, &c.* Gab. Biel. *in Can. miſ.*

Let prayer be made for the King after prayer made for the Pope, becauſe the ſupreme Sacerdotal power exceeds the Kingly in antiquity, dignity and utility, &c.

Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus & pronunciamus omnino eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis. P. Bonif. VIII. *in Extrav. com. lib.* 1. *tit.* 38.

Now it is abundantly *declared* by Papal *definition*, *as a point neceſſary to Salvation*, that *every humane Creature* (neither King nor Cæſar excepted) *is ſubject to the Roman High prieſt.*

Now the myſtery is diſcovered, why Popes, when ſummoned by Emperors, declined to go in Perſon to General Synods; becauſe *it was not tolerable that the Emperor* (who ſometimes would be preſent in Synods) *ſhould ſit above the Pope*; as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit *Bellarmine* had of *Leo* I. and other Popes, that they did forbear coming at Synods out of their villainous pride and haughtineſs.)

At quamvis utcunque tolerabile ſit, ut Principes ſeculares in Concilio ſedeant ante alios Epiſcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipſum ſummum Pontificem, &c. Bell. *de Conc.* 1. 19.

15. One would admire, that *Conſtantine*, if he had ſmelt this Doctrine, or any thing like it in Chriſtianity, ſhould be ſo ready to embrace it; or that ſo many Emperors ſhould in thoſe times do ſo; ſome Princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any Superior to them.

It is at leaſt much, that Emperors ſhould with ſo much indulgence foſter and cheriſh Popes, being their ſo dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it ſhould be true, which Pope *Nicholas* doth affirm, that *the Emperors had extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits*; had done I know not how many things more for it: ſurely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent Competitor for Honour and Power, one who pretended to be a better man than themſelves. *Bellarmine* (in his Apology againſt King *James*) ſaith, that *the Pope was* (*vellet, nollet*) *conſtrained to be ſubject to the Emperors, becauſe his Power was not known to them*; it was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a Doctrine commonly avowed by Chriſtians? it is hard keeping ſo practical a Doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this conſideration.

Quapropter attendat clementia veſtra; quantus fuerit erga ſedis Apoſtolicæ reverentiam Antecſſorum veſtrorum, piorum dumtaxat Imperatorum —— amor, & ſtudium; qualiter eam diverſis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis ſuis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. *ad* Mich. Imp.

Apol. Bell. p. 202.

Farthermore, We have divers ancient Writings, the ſpecial nature, matter, ſcope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving atteſtation to this Power, if ſuch an one had been known and allowed in thoſe times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The

16. The *Apoſtolical Canons*, and the *Conſtitutions* of *Clement*, which deſcribe the ſtate of the Church, with its Laws, Cuſtoms and Practices current in the times of thoſe who compiled them (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the leſs ancient, the more it is to our purpoſe) wherein eſpecially the Ranks, Duties and Privileges of all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are declared, or preſcribed, do not yet touch the Prerogatives of this Univerſal Head, or the ſpecial reſpects due to him, nor mention any Laws or Conſtitutions framed by him: Which is no leſs ſtrange, than that there ſhould be a Body of Laws, or deſcription of the ſtate of any Kingdom, wherein nothing ſhould be ſaid concerning the King, or the Royal Authority: It is not ſo in our modern *Canon-Law*, wherein the Pope doth make *utramque paginam*; we read little beſide his Authority, and Decrees made by it. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8, 4, &c.

The *Apoſtolical Canons* particularly do preſcribe, that *the Biſhops of each Nation ſhould know him that is firſt among them, and ſhould eſteem him the Head, and ſhould do nothing conſiderable* (or extraordinary) *without his advice*; as alſo that *each one* (of thoſe Head-Biſhops) *ſhould only meddle with thoſe affairs which concerned his own precinct, and the places under it:* alſo, that *no ſuch Primate ſhould do any thing without the opinion of all; that ſo there may be concord.* Now what place could be more opportune to mention the Pope's Sovereign Power? how could the Canoniſt without ſtrange neglect paſs it over? doth he not indeed exclude it, aſſigning the ſupreme diſpoſal (without farther reſort) of all things to the arbitration of the whole body of Paſtors, and placing the maintenance of concord in that courſe?

Τὸς Ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστε ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι περίττον πρᾶτ-τειν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δ μόνα πρᾶτ-τειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῆ αὐτῆ παροι-κία ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώροις· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· ὅτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται. *Apoſt. Can.* 34.

17. So alſo the old Writer, under the name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, treating in ſeveral places about the degrees of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, was monſtrouſly overſeen in omitting the Sovereign thereof: In the fifth Chapter of his Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy he profeſſeth carefully to ſpeak of thoſe Orders, but hath not a word of this ſupereminent rank, but averreth *Epiſcopacy to be the firſt and higheſt of divine Orders, in which the Hierarchy is conſummated:* and in his Epiſtle to *Demophilus* there is a remarkable place, wherein he could hardly have avoided touching the Pope, had there been then one in ſuch vogue as now: for adviſing that Monk to gentleneſs and obſervance toward his Superiors, he thus ſpeaketh: *Let paſſion and reaſon be governed by you; but you by the holy Deacons, and theſe by the Prieſts, and the Prieſts by the Biſhops, and the Biſhops by the Apoſtles, or by their Succeſſors*; (that is, ſaith *Maximus*, thoſe which we *now call Patriarchs*) *and if perhaps any one of them ſhall fail of his duty, let him be corrected by thoſe holy perſons, who are co-ordinate to him*; why not in this caſe, let him be corrected by the Pope, his Superior? but he knew none of an Order ſuperior to the Apoſtles Succeſſors.

Ἡ θεία τῆ ἱερεργῶν τάξις πρώτη μὲν ἐστι τῆ θεολήπτων τάξεων, ἀνεξάτη δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτη ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτε-λεῖται καὶ ἀποπαύεται πᾶσα τῆς κατ' ἡμᾶς ἱερουργίας διακόσμησις. Dionyſ. *de Hier. Eccl. cap.* 5.

Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱεραρχικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀπο-πληρώσεις, ἀνωμάσις τε αὖ καὶ ἐνεργείας ἱερωτάτας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφικτὸν. *De Eccl. Hier. cap.* 5.

18. Likewiſe, *Ignatius* in many *Epiſtles* frequently deſcribeth the ſeveral Ranks of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, extolleth their Dignity and Authority to the higheſt pitch, mightily urgeth the reſpect due to them, yet never doth he ſo much as mention or touch this ſovereign degree, wherein the Majeſty of the Clergy did chiefly ſhine.

In his very *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* he doth not yield any deference to their Biſhop, nor indeed doth ſo much as take notice of him; is it not ſtrange he ſhould ſo little mind the Sovereign of the Church? or was it, for a fly reaſon, becauſe being Biſhop of *Antioch* he had a pique to his brother *Jacob*, who had ſupplanted him and got away his birth-right?

Αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐπιθυμία καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λό-γῳ τὰ καλ' ἀξίαν δρᾶζε. σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτυργοὶ· καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς ἱεραρ-χαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἱεραρχαις οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι· καὶ εἴτι τις καὶ ἐν ἑκείνοις τῆ προσηκον-τῆ σπουδαλῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ἁμάρτοιεν ἀγίαν ἐ-παναρθωθήσε. &c. Dionyſ. Ar. Ep. 8.

Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς νῦν Πατρι-άρχας ἀγνῶμαι δὲ. Max. Schol. *Ib.*

Οὔτε θεὸς τις κρείττων, ἢ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἐπίσκοπός τι μείζων. *Pſeud.* Ignat. *ad* Smyrn.

Τί γὰρ ἔστιν Ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ὑπέκκαυμα, &c. *Id. ad* Trall.

In his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* he doth not yield any deference to their Biſhop, nor indeed doth ſo much as take notice of him; is it not ſtrange he ſhould ſo little mind the Sovereign of the Church? or was it, for a fly reaſon, becauſe being Biſhop of *Antioch* he had a pique to his brother *Jacob*, who had ſupplanted him and got away his birth-right?

The counterfeiter therefore of *Ignatius* did well perſonate him, when he ſaith, that *in the Church there is nothing greater than a Biſhop*; and that *a Biſhop is beyond all rule and authority*; for in the time of *Ignatius* there was no domineering Pope over all Biſhops.

19. We

19. We have ſome Letters of Popes, (though not many; for Popes were then not very ſcribatious, or not ſo pragmatical; whence to ſupply that defect, leſt Popes ſhould ſeem not able to write, or to have ſlept almoſt 400 years, they have forged divers for them, and thoſe ſo wiſe ones, that we who love the memory of thoſe good Popes, diſdain to acknowledge them Authors of ſuch idle ſtuff; we have yet ſome Letters of) and to Popes, to and from divers eminent Perſons in the Church, wherein the former do not aſſume, nor the latter aſcribe any ſuch power; the Popes do not expreſs themſelves like Sovereigns, nor the Biſhops addreſs themſelves like Subjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way like brethren and equals. This is ſo true, that it is a good mark of a ſpurious Epiſtle (whereof we have good ſtore, deviſed by colloguing Knaves, and fathered on the firſt Popes) when any of them talketh in an imperious ſtrain, or arrogateth ſuch a Power to himſelf.

20. *Clemens* Biſhop of *Rome* in the Apoſtolical times unto the Church of *Corinth*, then engaged in diſcords and factions, wherein the Clergy was much affronted (divers Presbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themſelves, were ejected from their Office, in a ſeditious manner) did write a very large *Epiſtle*; wherein, like a good Biſhop, and charitable Chriſtian Brother, he doth earneſtly, by manifold inducements, perſwade them to charity and peace, but no-where doth he ſpeak imperiouſly like their Prince. In ſuch a caſe one would think, if ever, for quaſhing ſuch diſorders and quelling ſo *perverſe folks*, who ſpurned the Clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his Authority, and to ſpeak like himſelf, challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril. How would a modern Pope have ranted in ſuch a caſe? how thundering a Bull would he have diſpatched againſt ſuch outragious contemners of the Eccleſiaſtick Order? how often would he have ſpoken of the Apoſtolick See and its Authority? we ſhould infallibly have heard him ſwagger in his wonted ſtyle, *Whoever ſhall preſume to croſs our will, let him know that he ſhall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul: but our Popes, it ſeemeth, have more wit, or better mettle than Pope *Clement*; that good Pope did not know his own ſtrength, or had not the heart to uſe it.

Ὁρῶμεν δὲ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμῶν μεμηνυγέλε κυλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐν τῇ ἐμεμπτῳ αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. Clem. *ad* Corinth. *Ep.* 1. *p.* 58. *Jun.*

For we ſee that you have removed ſome who behaved themſelves well in their Office, out of their miniſtry blameleſly diſcharged by them.

Στασιάζειν περὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου Χριστοῦ.

Πείσωμεν τὴν ποιμένα τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. *p.* 2.

Si quis voluntati noſtræ contraria præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtoli ſe noverit incurſurum: in ſuch terms generally the Pope's Bulls do end.

Cyp. *Ep.* 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 69, 70.

21. Among the Epiſtles of St. *Cyprian*, there are divers Epiſtles of him to ſeveral Popes (to *Cornelius*, to *Lucius*, to *Stephanus*) in the which, although written with great kindneſs and reſpect, yet no impartial Eye can diſcern any ſpecial regard to them, as to his Superiors in Power, or Paſtors in Doctrine, or Judges of Practice; he reporteth matters to them, he conferreth about Points with all freedom; he ſpeaketh his ſenſe and giveth his advice without any reſtraint or awe; he ſpareth not upon occaſion to reprove their practices, and to reject their opinions; he in his Addreſſes to them, and Diſcourſes of them, ſtyleth them *Brethren* and *Collegues*; and he continually treateth them as ſuch, upon even terms: *When* (ſaith he to the Clergy of *Rome*) *deareſt Brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour concerning the deceaſe of the good man my Collegue*, Fabianus; upon which words *Rigaltius* had cauſe to remark, *How like an equal and fellow-citizen doth the Biſhop of* Carthage *mention the Biſhop of* Rome, *even to the Roman Clergy?* but would not any man now be deemed rude and ſawcy, who ſhould talk in that ſtyle of the Pope?

Et quamquam ſciam, frater chariſſime, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis, florentiſſimo illic clero rectum præſidenti, &c. Ep 55.

And although I know, moſt dear brother, out of the mutual love and reſpect which we owe and yield one to another, &c.

Cùm de exceſſu boni viri Collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus eſſet, Collegæ chariſſimi —— Cypr. *Ep.* 4.

Quàm ex æquo, & civilis mentio Epiſcopi Romani ab Epiſcopo Carthaginis apud Clerum? Rigalt. *Ibid.*

Cypr. *Ep.* 46, 48.

Pope *Cornelius* alſo to St. *Cyprian* hath ſome *Epiſtles*, wherein no glimpſe doth appear of any Superiority aſſumed by him. But of St. *Cyprian*'s judgment and demeanour toward Popes, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely, in a way more poſitively oppoſite to the *Roman* pretences.

Euſeb. 6. 43.

Euſebius citeth divers long paſſages out of an Epiſtle of *Cornelius* to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch* againſt *Novatus*; wherein no mark of this Supremacy doth appear; although the magnitude and flouriſhing State of the *Roman* Church is deſcribed, for aggravation of *Novatus* his Schiſm and Ambition.

Pope

Pope *Julius* hath a notable long *Epiſtle*, extant in one of *Athanaſius*'s Apologies, unto the Biſhops aſſembled at *Antioch*; wherein he had the faireſt occaſion that could be to aſſert and inſiſt upon the Sovereign Authority, they flatly denying, and impugning it; queſtioning his proceedings as ſingular, ſuppoſing him ſubject to the Laws of the Church no leſs than any other Biſhop; and downrightly affirming each of themſelves to be his equal; about which Point he thought good not to contend with them; but waving pretences to Superiority, he juſtifieth his actions by reaſons, grounded on the merit of the cauſe, ſuch as any other Biſhop might alledge: But this Epiſtle I ſhall have more particular occaſion to diſcuſs.

Pope *Liberius* hath an Epiſtle to St. *Athanaſius*, wherein he not only (for his direction and ſatisfaction) doth inquire his opinion about the Point; but profeſſeth, in complement perchance, that he ſhall obediently follow it; *Write*, ſaith he, *whether you do think as we do, and juſt ſo about the true faith; that I may be undoubtedly aſſured about what you think good to command me*; was not that ſpoken indeed like a courteous Sovereign, and an accompliſhed Judge in matters of Faith? The ſame Pope in the head of the Weſtern, doth write to a knot of Eaſtern Biſhops, whom they call *their beloved brethren and fellow Miniſters*; and in a brotherly ſtrain, not like an Emperour.

Γρά[φ]ον. εἰ ὅτω φρονεῖς καθὼς ἡμεῖς. ἡ τάδε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πίστει· ἵνα καλῶς πεπεισθεὶς ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ ἂν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι. Liber. ad Ath. Tom. 1. p. 143.

Socr. 4. 12.

In the time of *Damaſus*, Succeſſor to *Liberius*, St. *Baſil* hath divers Epiſtles to the Weſtern Biſhops, wherein having repreſented and bewailed the wretched ſtate of the Eaſtern Churches, then over-born with Hereſies, and unſettled by Factions, he craveth their Charity, their Prayers, *their ſympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid*; by affording to the Orthodox and ſound Party, the countenance of their Communion, by joining with them in contention for Truth and Peace; for that the Communion of ſo great Churches would be of a mighty weight to ſupport and ſtrengthen their Cauſe; giving credit thereto among the People, and inducing the Emperour to deal fairly with them, in reſpect to ſuch a multitude of adherents; eſpecially of thoſe which were at ſuch a diſtance, and not ſo immediately ſubject to the Eaſtern Emperour; for, *If*, ſaith he, *very many of you do concur unanimouſly in the ſame opinion, it is manifeſt, that the multitude of conſenters will make the Doctrine to be received without contradiction*; and, *I know*, ſaith he again, writing to *Athanaſius* about theſe matters, *but one way of redreſs to our Churches, the conſpiring with us of the Weſtern Biſhops*, the which being obtained, *would probably yield ſome advantage to the publick, the ſecular Power revering the credibility of the multitude, and the people all about following them without repugnance*; and, *You*, ſaith he to the Weſtern Biſhops, *the farther you dwell from them, the more credible you will be to the people.*

Ep. 61, 69, 70, 74, 182.

Τμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν συμπαθῆσαι ἡμῶν τ διαφόροις. Ep. 61.

Εἴτι ἐν Χριστῷ παράκλησις, εἴτις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴτινα σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, πληρώσατε πρὸς τ αὐτῶν. Ibid.

We beſeech you to have a fellow-feeling of our diſtractions.

If there be any comfort of love, any fellowſhip of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, be ye moved with pity and commiſeration to help us.

Δότε χεῖρα τοῖς ἐκ γόνυ κλιθεῖσι, συλλυπήθητε ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὰ ἀδελφικὰ ὑμῶν πλάσχνα, περιχυθήτω δάκρυα συμπαθείας. Ep. 69.

Ἐπιβοησάμεθα τῇ ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν. Ep. 70.

Ἐλθόντες τινὰς παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παράκλησιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ibid.

Vide Ep. 74. (ἐὰν μὲ διορθώσησθε, εἰ) κοινωνικὸς, &c.

Ἐὰν ἡ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὑμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, φήμην ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τ δογματισάντων ἀναπίπτειν πᾶσι τῷ παραδόχῳ καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι τὸ δόγμα. Ep. 74. (Ep. 293.)

—— μίαν ἐπιστὰς ἐλπὶν βοηθείας παρ' ὑμῶν Ἐκκλησίαις, τῇ καθ' ἑσπέραν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἐπισκόπων συμπνοίαις —— Ep. 48.

Τάχα ἂν τι γένοιτο τοῖς πράγμασι ὄφελος. εἰ τε καὶ μείζων τὸ ἀξίωσις τῆς πλήθους ὑποπτεύοιτο, καὶ τ ἐκκλησιῶν λαῶν ἀκολούθητον αὐτοῖς ἀναπίπτοντι. Ibid.

Τμεῖς δ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπῳκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτον πλέον καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς ἀξιόπιστοι ἔχετε. Ep. 74.

This indeed was according to the ancient Rule and Practice in ſuch caſes, that any Church being oppreſſed with Error, or diſtracted with Contentions, ſhould from the Biſhops of other Churches, receive aid to the removal of thoſe inconveniences. That it was the Rule, doth appear from what we have before ſpoken, and of the Practice there be many inſtances; for ſo did St. *Cyprian* ſend two of his Clergy to *Rome* to compoſe the Schiſm there, moved by *Novatian* againſt *Cornelius*; * ſo was St. *Chryſoſtome* called to *Epheſus* (although out of his Juriſdiction) to ſettle things there; ſo (to omit divers inſtances occurring in Hiſtory) St. *Baſil* himſelf was called by the Church of *Iconium to viſit it, and give it a Biſhop*; although it did not belong to his ordinary inſpection; and he

* *Quod ſervili Dei, & maximè Sacerdotibus juſtis & pacificis congruebat.*

frater chariſſime miſeramus nuper Collegas noſtros Caldonium & Fortunatium ut non tantùm perſuaſione literarum noſtrarum, ſed præſentia ſua, & conſilio omnium veſtrum eniterentur, quantum poſſent, & elaborarent, ut ad Catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitatem ſciſſi corporis membra componeret — Cypr. *Ep.* 42. *ad* Cornel. Pallad.

As it becomed the Servants of God, eſpecially righteous and peaceable Prieſts, moſt dear Brother, we lately ſent our Collegues *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, that they might, not only by the perſuation of our Letters, but alſo by their preſence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmoſt and ſtrive to reduce the members of that divided Body to the Unity of the Catholick Church.

Αὕτη καλὴ ἡ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὥστε αὐτὴ δᾶναι Ἐπίσκοπον, Bas. *Ep.* 8. † Gallo.
Ἀκίλυδον ἦν ὡς ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπης ἡ τ γνησίαν ἀποστολικῆς συμ[illegible]ς, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τ καταπεμφθῆναι. *Ep.* 77.

But now, how, I pray, cometh it to paſs, that in ſuch a caſe he ſhould not have a ſpecial recourſe to the Pope? but in ſo many addreſſes ſhould only wrap him up in a community? why ſhould he not humbly petition him to exert his Sovereign Authority for the Relief of the Eaſtern Churches, laying his charge, and inflicting cenſures on the diſſenters? why ſhould he lay all the ſtreſs of his hopes on the conſent of the Weſtern Biſhops? why doth he not ſay a word of the dominion reſident in them over all the Church? theſe things are unconceivable, if he did take the Pope to be the man our Adverſaries ſay he is.

Vid. Epiſt. 272, 273. 321, 325, 349.

But St. *Baſil* had other notions; for indeed, being ſo wiſe and good a man, if he had taken the Pope for his Sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he doth, and ſo complain of him; when ſpeaking of the Weſtern Biſhops (whereof the Pope was *the ringleader*, and moſt concerned) he hath theſe words (occaſioned, as I conceive, by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s rejecting that excellent perſon, *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*;) *What we ſhould write, or how to join with thoſe that write, I am in doubt — for I am apt to ſay that of* Diomedes, *You ought not to requeſt, for he is a haughty man; for in truth obſervance doth render men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwiſe they are. For if the Lord be propitious to us, what other addition do we need? but if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the Weſtern Supercilioufneſs? who in truth neither know, nor endure to learn; but being prepoſſeſſed with falſe ſuſpicions, do now do thoſe things, which they did before in the cauſe of* Marcellus; *affecting to contend with thoſe who report the Truth to them, and eſtabliſhing Hereſie by themſelves:* Would that excellent perſon, (the greateſt man of his time in reputation for Wiſdom and Piety) have thus, unbowelling his mind in an Epiſtle to a very eminent Biſhop, ſmartly reflected on the qualities and proceedings of the Weſtern Clergy, charging them with pride and haughtineſs, with a ſuſpicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance, and indiſpoſition to learn; if he had taken him, who was the leader in all theſe matters, to have been his Superior and Sovereign? would he have added the following words, immediately touching him; *I would in the common name have written to their ringleader, nothing indeed about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, except only to intimate, that they neither do know the truth of things with us, nor do admit the way by which they may underſtand it; but in general about their being bound not to ſet upon thoſe, who were humbled with afflictions; nor ſhould judge themſelves dignified by pride, a ſin which alone ſufficeth to make one God's enemy:* Surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners, than in ſuch rude terms to accoſt his Sovereign: nor would he have given him that character, which he doth otherwhere; where ſpeaking of his Brother St. *Gregory Nyſſene*, he ſaith he was an unfit Agent to *Rome*; becauſe *although his addreſs with a ſober man would find much reverence and eſteem; yet to a haughty and reſerved man ſitting I know not where above, and thence not able to hear thoſe below ſpeaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the publick from the converſe of ſuch a man, whoſe diſpoſition is averſe from illiberal flattery?* But theſe ſpeeches ſute with that conceit, which St. *Baſil* (as *Bar-*

Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ δεσποτικώτερα τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτῷ ὑφηγεῖται γένοιτο πρέπουσα. Bas. *Ep.* 10. *ad* Euſeb. Samoſ. *Ep.*

— Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυσικῆς ὀργῆς; οἱ τὸγε ἀληθεύειν ἰσασιν ἢ τε μαθεῖν ἀνεχόμενοι; ἢ φύσει ἢ ἐπιπολαίως περιελημμένοι; εἰ μὴ ποιεῖσι νῦν, ἃ πρὸ ἔτους ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς ἃ τοὺ τ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας οἰκειοποιήσαντες. τῷ δ' αὔξειν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. Ibid.

Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν τῷ κοινῷ χρήματος ἐκάλυμμα αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸ κορυφαῖον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ὑπομνήσαιμι, ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασιν ἡμῶν τ παρ' ἡμῖν τ ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὸν δρόμον δι' οὗ ἂν μάθοιεν καταδέχονται. καθόλου δὲ περὶ τ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ ἄξιόμα κεῖσθαι ὑφηγεῖσθαι, ἁμάρτημα, ἃ μόνον ἀρκεῖν ἔχθρον ποιεῖσθαι θεόν. Ibid.

Καὶ ἐυγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ εὐδόκιμον αὐτὸ ἂν πολλὴ ἀξίαν τῷ συνόντι, ὑψηλῷ δ' ἂν μετεώρῳ, ἄνω που καθημένῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεῖναι τ χαμαὶ θεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ἧς ἀλλότριον ἔγνω ἁπαίας ἀνελευθέρου τ ἤθους. Bas. *Ep.* 250.

nius I know not whence it ſporteth) expreſſed by ſaying, *I hate the pride of that Church*; which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of ſo-ſtering by too much obſequiouſneſs.

Anaſt. *ad* Joh. Hier. *apud* Hier.

St. *Chryſoſtome*, having by the practices of envious men combined againſt him, in a packed aſſembly of Biſhops, upon vain ſurmiſes, been ſentenced and driven from his See, did thereupon write an Epiſtle to Pope *Innocent* I. Biſhop of *Rome*, together with his Brethren the Biſhops of *Italy*; therein repreſenting his caſe, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocency, diſplaying the iniquity of the proceedings againſt him, together with the miſchievous conſequences of them toward the whole Church, then requiring his ſuccour for redreſs: yet (although the ſenſe of his caſe, and care of his intereſt were likely to ſuggeſt the greateſt deference that could be) neither the ſtyle, which is very reſpectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, do imply any acknowledgment of the Pope's Supremacy: He doth not addreſs to him as to a Governor of all, who could by his Authority command juſtice to be done, but as to a brother, and a friend of innocence, from whoſe endeavour he might procure relief; He had *recourſe* not to his ſovereign power, but *to his* brotherly *love*; he *informed his Charity*, not appealed to his Bar; he in ſhort did no more than implore his aſſiſtance in an Eccleſiaſtical way; that he would expreſs his reſentment of ſo irregular dealings, that he would avow communion with him, as with an Orthodox Biſhop innocent and abuſed, that he would procure his cauſe to be brought to a fair trial in a Synod of Biſhops, lawfully called and indifferently affected. Had the good man had any conceit of the Pope's Supremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his addreſs in other terms, and ſued for another courſe of proceeding in his behalf; but it is plain enough that he had no ſuch notion of things, nor had any ground for ſuch a one. For indeed Pope *Innocent* in his anſwer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another to his Clergy and People could only comfort them, declare his diſlike of the Adverſaries proceedings and grounds, ſignifie his intentions to procure a general Synod, with hopes of a redreſs thence; his ſovereign power, it ſeems, not availing to any ſuch purpoſes. *But what* (ſaith he) *can we do in ſuch caſes? a Synodical cognizance is neceſſary, which we heretofore did ſay ought to be called; the which alone can allay the motions of ſuch tempeſts.*

Τom. 7. Epiſt. 122.

Vid. Laun. Epiſt. 1, 3.

Πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον ἀναφεύγειν ἀγάπην.

Διδάξοιμι ὑμᾶς ἢ ἀγάπην.

—— Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺ μὴ ἀλλὰ ἵνα ἐλεγχομένους, ἢ κατακριθέντας ὑπομένοντας, τῶν γεγραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαύειν σωτηρίως, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν.

But as for us, we who are not condemned nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your Letters, and Love, and all other things as before.

Ἀλλὰ τί χρὴ τῶν τοιούτων γινῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαία ἡ διάγνωσις συνοδικὴ ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἔφημεν σωσθῆναι μόνη γὰρ ἔστιν, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τῶν τοιούτων καταστέλλειν καὶ καταγίδων. —— Soz. 8. 26.

It is true that the later Popes (*Siricius*, *Anaſtaſius*, *Innocent*, *Zoſimus*, *Boniſacius*, *Celeſtinus*, *&c.*) after the *Sardican* Council in their Epiſtles to the Weſtern Biſhops, over whom they had encroached, and who were over-powered by them, *&c.* do ſpeak in ſomewhat more lofty ſtrain; but are more modeſt toward thoſe of the Eaſt, who could not bear, *&c.*

22. Farther; It is moſt prodigious, that in the diſputes managed by the Fathers againſt Hereticks (the *Gnoſticks*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, *Montaniſts*, *Manichees*, *Paulianiſts*, *Arians*, *&c.*) they ſhould not, even in the firſt place, alledge and urge the ſentence of the Univerſal Paſtor and Judge, as a moſt evidently concluſive argument, as the moſt efficacious and compendious method of convincing and ſilencing them. Had this point been well proved and preſſed, then without any more concertations from Scripture, Tradition, Reaſon, all Hereticks had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more eaſily have been proved, if it had been true when the light of tradition did ſhine ſo brightly; nothing indeed had been to ſenſe more conſpicuous, than the continual exerciſe of ſuch an Authority.

We ſee now among thoſe, who admit ſuch an Authority, how ſurely when it may be had it is alledged, and what ſway it hath, to the determination of any controverſie; and ſo it would have been then, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas divers of the Fathers purpoſely do treat on methods of confuting Hereticks, it is ſtrange that they ſhould be ſo blind or dull, as not to hit on this moſt proper and obvious way of referring debates to the deciſion of him, to whoſe Office of Univerſal Paſtor and Judge it did belong: Particularly one would wonder at *Vincentius Lirinenſis*; that he on ſet purpoſe, with great care diſcourſing about the means of ſettling points of Faith, and of overthrowing Hereſies, ſhould not light upon this notable way, by having recourſe to the Pope's Magiſterial ſentence; yea, that indeed he ſhould exclude it; for he (*after moſt intent ſtudy, and diligent inquiry, conſulting the beſt and wiſeſt men*) could find but two ways of doing it: *I* (ſaith he) *did always and from almoſt every one receive this anſwer, That if either I or any other would find out the frauds, and avoid the ſnares of upſtart Hereticks, and continue ſound and upright in the true Faith, he ſhould ground and ſtrenghthen his Faith, God helping him, by theſe two means,* viz. *Firſt by the Authority of the Divine Law, and then by the Tradition of the Catholick Church.* And again, *We before have ſaid, that this hath always been, and is at preſent the Cuſtom of Catholicks, that they prove their Faith by theſe two ways, Firſt by the Authority of the Divine Canon, then by the Tradition of the Univerſal Church.*

Sæpe igitur magno ſtudio & ſummâ attentione perquirens à quamplurimis ſanctitate & doctrina præſtantibus viris, &c. p. 316. (in edit. Baluſ.)

Hujuſmodi ſemper reſponſum ab omnibus ferè retuli, quod ſive ego, ſive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueoſque vitare, & in fide ſana ſanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem ſuam Domino adjuvante deberet; Primo ſcilicet divinæ legis Authoritate, tum deinde Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Traditione, p. 317.

Diximus in ſuperioribus hanc fuiſſe ſemper & eſſe hodie Catholicorum conſuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; Primùm divini Canonis Authoritate, deinde Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Traditione p. 364.

Is it not ſtrange that he (eſpecially being a Weſtern man, living in thoſe parts, where the Pope had got much ſway, and who doth expreſs great reverence to the Apoſtolick See) ſhould omit that way of determining points, which of all (according to the modern conceits about the Pope) is moſt ready and moſt ſure?

24. In like manner *Tertullian* profeſſeth the Catholicks in his time to uſe ſuch compendious methods of confuting Hereticks: *We* (ſaith he) *when we would diſpatch againſt Hereticks for the Faith of the Goſpel, do commonly uſe theſe ſhort ways, which do maintain both the order of times preſcribing againſt the lateneſs of impoſtors, and the authority of the Churches patronizing Apoſtolical tradition*; * but why did he skip over a more compendious way, than any of thoſe, namely, ſtanding to the judgment of the *Roman* Biſhop?

His ferè compendiis utimur quum de Evangelii fide adverſus Hæreticos expedimur, defendentibus & temporum ordinem poſteritati falſariorum præſcribentem, & Auctoritatem Eccleſiarum traditioni Apoſtolorum patrocinantem. Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

* *Solemus hæreticis compendii gratiâ de poſteritate præſcribere.* Tertull. *contra* Hermog. *cap.* 1.

25. It is true that both he, and St. *Irenæus* before him, diſputing againſt the Hereticks of their times, who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own deviſing, when they alledge the general conſent of Churches (planted by the Apoſtles, and propagated by continual ſucceſſions of Biſhops from thoſe whom the Apoſtles did ordain) in doctrines and practices oppoſite to thoſe devices, as a good argument (and ſo indeed it then was, next to a demonſtration) againſt them, do produce the *Roman* Church, as a principal one among them, upon ſeveral obvious accounts; And this indeed argueth the *Roman* Church to have been then one competent witneſs, or credible retainer of tradition; as alſo were the other Apoſtolical Churches, to whoſe Teſtimony they likewiſe appeal; but what is this to the *Roman* Biſhop's judicial Power in ſuch caſes? why do they not urge that in plain terms? they would certainly have done ſo, if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

The like diſcourſe againſt Hereticks doth *Clemens Alex.* uſe. *Strom* 7. *p.* 549.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation; *When* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *we do again* (after allegation of Scripture) *appeal to that tradition, which is from the Apoſtles, which by ſucceſſions of Presbyters is preſerved in the Church*; and, *That* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *will appear to have been delivered by the Apoſtles, which hath been kept as holy in the Apoſtolical Churches: let us ſee what milk the* Corinthians *did draw from* Paul; *what the* Philippians, *the* Theſſalonians, *the* Epheſians *do read; what alſo the* Romans *our nearer neighbours do ſay, to whom both* Peter *and* Paul *did leave the Goſpel ſealed with their Blood; we have alſo the Churches nurſed*

Cùm autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis, quæ per ſucceſſores Presbyterorum in Eccleſiis cuſtoditur, provocamus —— Iren. 3. 2.

Conſtabit id eſſe ab Apoſtolis traditum quod apud Eccleſias Apoſtolicas fuerit ſacroſanctum; videamus quod lac à Paulo Corinthii hauſerint; quid legant Philippenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, Epheſii; quid etiam Romani de proximo ſonent; quibus Evangelium & Petrus & Paulus ſanguine quoque ſuo ſignatum reliquerunt; habemus & Johannis alumnas Eccleſias, &c. Adv. Marc. 4. 5.

by

by John, &c. Again, *It is therefore manifeſt* (ſaith he, in his *Preſcriptions againſt Heroticks*) *that every doctrine, which doth conſpire with thoſe Apoſtolical Churches, in which the Faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true; as undoubtedly holding that, which the Churches did receive from the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles from Chriſt, and Chriſt from God; but all other doctrine is to be prejudged falſe which doth think againſt the truth of the Churches, and of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſt, and of God*: their argumentation then in ſhort is plainly this, that the conſpiring of the Churches in doctrines contrary to thoſe, which the Hereticks vented, did irrefragably ſignifie thoſe doctrines to be Apoſtolical; which diſcourſe doth no-wiſe favour the *Roman* pretences, but indeed, if we do weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing, that Chriſtian Doctrines then in the canvaſſing of points and aſſuring tradition, had no peculiar regard to the *Roman* Church's teſtimonies, no deference at all to the *Roman* Biſhop's Authority; (not otherwiſe at leaſt than to the Authority of one ſingle Biſhop yielding atteſtation to tradition.)

Conſtat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Eccleſiis Apoſtolicis matricibus & originalibus fidei conſpiret veritati deputandam, id ſine dubio tenentem quod Eccleſiæ ab Apoſtolis, Apoſtoli à Chriſto Chriſtus à Deo ſuſcepit; reliquam vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam quæ ſapiat contra veritatem Eccleſiarum & Apoſtolorum, & Chriſti, & Dei. Tert. de præſcr. 21.

26. It is odd, that even old Popes themſelves in elaborate tracts diſputing againſt Hereticks, (as Pope *Celeſtine* againſt *Neſtorius* and *Pelagius*, Pope *Leo* againſt *Eutyches*——) do content themſelves to urge teſtimonies of Scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alledging their own definitive Authority, or uſing this perlous argumentation, *I, the Supreme Doctor of the Church, and Judge of Controverſies, do aſſert thus; and therefore you are obliged to ſubmit your aſſent.*

27. It is matter of amazement, if the Pope were ſuch as they would have him to be, that in ſo many bulky Volumes of ancient Fathers, living through many ages after *Chriſt*, in thoſe vaſt treaſuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all ſorts of truth are diſplayed, all ſorts of duty are preſſed; this momentous point of doctrine and practice ſhould no-where be expreſſed in clear and peremptory terms; (I ſpeak ſo, for that by wreſting words, by impertinent application, by ſtraining conſequences, the moſt ridiculous poſitions imaginable may be deduced from their Writings.)

It is ſtrange that ſomewhere or other, at leaſt incidentally, in their Commentaries upon the Scripture, wherein many places concerning the Church and its Hierarchy do invite to ſpeak of the Pope; in their Treatiſes about the Prieſthood, about the Unity and Peace of the Church, about Hereſie and Schiſm; in their Epiſtles concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; in their Hiſtorical Narrations about occurrences in the Church, in their concertations with heterodox Adverſaries, they ſhould not frequently touch it, they ſhould not ſometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that *Origen*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Hierome*, St. *Auſtin*, in their Commentaries and Tractates upon thoſe places of Scripture [*Tu es Petrus. Paſce oves.*] whereon they now build the Papal Authority, ſhould be ſo dull and drowſie as not to ſay a word concerning the Pope?

That St. *Auſtin* in his ſo many elaborate Tractates againſt the *Donatiſts*, (wherein he diſcourſeth ſo prolixly about the Church, its Unity, Communion, Diſcipline) ſhould never inſiſt upon the duty of Obedience to the Pope, or charge thoſe Schiſmaticks with their rebellion againſt him, or alledge his Authority againſt them?

If we conſider that the Pope was Biſhop of the Imperial City, the *Metropolis* of the World; that he thence was moſt eminent in rank, did abound in wealth, did live in great ſplendour and reputation; had many dependences, and great opportunities to gratify, and relieve many of the Clergy; that of the Fathers, whoſe Volumes we have, all well affected towards him, divers were perſonally obliged to him, for his ſupport in their diſtreſs (as *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*) or as to their Patrons and Benefactors (as St. *Hierome*) divers could not but highly reſpect him as Patron of the cauſe wherein they were engaged (as *Baſil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Gregory Nyſſene*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtin*:) ſome were his partizans in a common quarrel (as *Cyril*:) divers of them lived

in places and times wherein he had got much ſway, (as all the Weſtern Biſhops:) that he had then improved his Authority much beyond the old limits: that all the Biſhops of the Weſtern or Latine Churches had a peculiar dependence on him (eſpecially after that by advantage of his Station, by favour of the Court, by colour of the *Sardican* Canons, by voluntary deferences and ſubmiſſions, by ſeveral tricks he had wound himſelf to meddle in moſt of their chief Affairs:) that hence divers Biſhops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aſpiring Popes were apt to encourage the commenders of their Authority which they themſelves were apt to magnifie and inculcate; conſidering, I ſay, ſuch things, it is a wonder, that in ſo many voluminous diſcourſes ſo little ſhould be ſaid favouring this pretence, ſo nothing that proveth it, [ſo much that croſſeth it, ſo much indeed (as I hope to ſhew) that quite overthroweth it.]

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι περιελθούσης. Socr. 7. 11.

The Biſhoprick of *Rome* is like to that of *Alexandria*, having now long ago arrived to that height of Power above and beyond the Prieſthood.

If it be asked how we can prove this, I anſwer, that (beſide who carefully peruſeth thoſe old Books, will eaſily ſee it) we are beholden to our Adverſaries for proving it to us, when they leaſt intended us ſuch a favour; for that no clear and cogent paſſages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is ſufficiently evident from the very allegations, which after their moſt diligent raking in old Books they produce; the which are ſo few, and fall ſo very ſhort of their purpoſe, that without much ſtretching they ſignifie nothing.

28. It is monſtrous, that in the *Code* of the Catholick Church (conſiſting of the decrees of ſo many Synods, concerning Eccleſiaſtical order and diſcipline) there ſhould not be one Canon directly declaring his Authority; nor any mention made of him, except thrice accidentally; once upon occaſion of declaring the Authority of the *Alexandrine* Biſhop, the other upon occaſion of aſſigning to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* the *ſecond place of honour*, and *equal privileges* with him.

Conc. Nic. *Can.* 6. *Conc.* Conſt. *Can.* 2. *Conc.* Chalc. *Can.* 28.

If it be objected, that theſe Diſcourſes are negative, and therefore of ſmall force; I anſwer, that therefore they are moſt proper to aſſert ſuch a negative propoſition; for how can we otherwiſe better ſhew a thing not to be, than by ſhewing it to have no footſtep there, where it is ſuppoſed to ſtand? how can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the Laws grounding ſuch right; not taught by the Maſters, who profeſs to inſtruct in ſuch things; not teſtified in records concerning the exerciſe of it? ſuch arguments indeed in ſuch caſes are not merely negative, but rather privative; proving things not to be, becauſe not affirmed there, where in reaſon they ought to be affirmed; ſtanding therefore upon poſitive Suppoſitions, that holy Scripture, that general Tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their deſign; that ancient Writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could not conſpire in perpetual ſilence about things, of which they had often fair occaſion, and great reaſon to ſpeak: In fine, ſuch conſiderations, however they may be deluded by Sophiſtical Wits, will yet bear great ſway, and often will amount near to the force of demonſtration, with men of honeſt prudence. However we ſhall proceed to other diſcourſes more direct and poſitive againſt the Popiſh Doctrine.

II. Secondly, we ſhall ſhew, that this pretence, upon ſeveral accounts, is contrary to the Doctrine of Holy Scripture.

1. This pretence doth thwart the Holy Scripture, by aſſigning to another the Prerogatives and peculiar Titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The Scripture aſſerteth him to be our only Sovereign Lord and King: *To us* (ſaith it) *there is one Lord*; and, *One King ſhall be King over them*; who *ſhall reign over the houſe of* David *for ever*; *and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no end*; who is *the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*; the *One Law-giver, who is able to ſave and to deſtroy.*

1 Cor. 8. 6. 12. 5. Eph. 4. 5. Ez. 32. 22. Luk. 1. 33. 1 Tim. 6. 15. Jam. 4. 12.

The Scripture ſpeaketh of one *Arch Paſtor and great Shepherd of the Sheep*, excluſively to any other; for *I will* (ſaid God in the Prophet) *ſet up one Shepherd over them, and he ſhall feed the Sheep*; and *There* (ſaith our Lord himſelf) *ſhall be one Fold, and one Shepherd*; who that ſhall be, he expreſſeth, adding,

1 Pet. 5. 4. 2. 25. Heb. 13. 20. Ez. 34. 23. Joh. 10. 16. 11. 14.

ding, *I am the good Shepherd; the good Shepherd giveth his life for the Sheep* (by Pope *Boniface* his good leave, who maketh Saint *Peter* or himſelf this Shepherd.) Extrav. Com. lib. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.

The Scripture telleth us, that we have *one High Prieſt of our Profeſſion*, anſwerable to that *one* in the Jewiſh Church, his Type. Heb. 3. 1. Heb. 9. 7, 24.

The Scripture informeth us, that there is but one Supreme Doctor, Guide, Father of Chriſtians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for ſuch; *Ye are all Brethren; and call ye not any one Father upon Earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in Heaven; Neither be ye called Maſters, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt.* Good Pope *Gregory* (not the Seventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for, *What therefore, deareſt Brother*, (ſaid he to *John* of *Conſtantinople*) *wilt thou ſay in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who doſt affect to be called not only Father, but General Father in the World?* Matth. 23. 8, 9.

Quid ergo, frater chariſſime, in illo terribili examine venientis judicis dicturus es, qui non ſolum Pater, ſed etiam generalis Pater in Mundo vocari appetis? Greg. M. *Epiſt.* 4. 38.

The Scripture repreſenteth the Church as *a building, whereof Chriſt himſelf is the chief Corner-ſtone*; as a Family, whereof he being the *Pater-familias*, all others are fellow-ſervants; as *one Body*, having *one Head*; whom *God hath given to be head over all things to the Church, which is his Body.* Eph. 2. 20. 1 Pet. 2. 4. Heb. 3. 6. Matt. 10. 25. Eph. 4. 4. 2. 16. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 1. 22. 4. 15. 5. 23. Col. 1. 18. Hoſ. 1. 11. *One Head.*

He is the One Spouſe of the Church, which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord, there being no Vice-husbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that, as may be ſeen in the *Conſtit.* of Pope *Greg.* X. in one of their General Synods. Joh. 3. 29. Eph. 5. 23. 2 Cor. 11. 2. *Sext. Decret. lib. 1. tit. 6. cap. 3.*

It ſeemeth therefore a ſacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's Honour) for any man to aſſume or admit thoſe Titles of *Sovereign of the Church, Head of the Church, our Lord, Arch-Paſtor, Higheſt Prieſt, Chief Doctor, Maſter, Father, Judge of Chriſtians*, upon what pretence, or under what diſtinction ſoever: theſe *pompatick, fooliſh, proud, perverſe, wicked, profane words*; theſe *names of ſingularity, elation, vanity, blaſphemy*; (to borrow the Epithets with which Pope *Gregory* I. doth brand the Titles of *Univerſal Biſhop*, and *Oecumenical Patriarch*, no leſs modeſt in ſound, and far more innocent in meaning, than thoſe now aſcribed to the Pope) are therefore to be rejected; not only becauſe they are injurious to all other Paſtors, and to the People of God's heritage; but becauſe they do encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they do only belong; much more to uſurp the things, which they do naturally ſignify, is a horrible invaſion upon our Lord's Prerogative. Baron. *Ann.* 34. §. 208.

Vid. Greg. I. *Epiſt. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 32, 34. 36, 38, 39. *Lib.* 6. *Ep.* 24. 28. 30, 31. *Lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 70.

Thus hath that great Pope taught us to argue, in words expreſly condemning ſome, and conſequently all of them, together with the things which they ſignify: *What* (ſaith he, writing to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who had admitted the title of *Univerſal Biſhop* or *Patriarch*) *wilt thou ſay to Chriſt the Head of the Univerſal Church, in the trial of the laſt Judgment, who by the appellation of* UNIVERSAL *doſt endeavour to ſubject all his Members to thee? whom I pray doſt thou mean to imitate in ſo perverſe a word, but him who deſpiſing the Legions of Angels conſtituted in fellowſhip with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the top of Singularity, that he might both be ſubject to none, and alone be over all? who alſo ſaid, I will aſcend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the ſtars —— for what are thy brethren, all the Biſhops of the Univerſal Church, but the ſtars of heaven; to whom while by this haughty word thou deſireſt to prefer thy ſelf, and to trample on their name in compariſon to thee, what doſt thou ſay, but I will climb into heaven? ——*

Tu quid Chriſto Univerſalis Eccleſiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris Univerſalis appellatione ſupponere? quis rogo in hoc tam perverſo vocabulo niſi ille ad imitandum proponitur qui deſpectis Angelorum Legionibus ſecum ſocialiter conſtitutis, ad culmen conatus eſt ſingularitatis erumpere, ut & nulli ſubeſſe, & ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur? qui etiam dixit, In cœlum conſcendam, ſuper aſtra cœli exaltabo ſolium meum —— quid enim fratres tui omnes Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Epiſcopi, niſi aſtra cœli ſunt? quibus dum cupis temetipſum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare —— Greg. Ep. 4. 38.

And again, in another *Epiſtle* to the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, he taxeth the ſame Patriarch for *aſſuming to boaſt ſo, that he attempteth to aſcribe all things to himſelf,*

Jactantiam ſumpſit ita ut univerſa ſibi tantis adſcribere, & omnia quæ ſub uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Chriſto, per elationis pom-

patici ſermonis ejuſdem Chriſti ſibi ſtudent membra ſubjugare. Greg. M. *Ep* 4. 36.
The ſame words we have in the Epiſtle of P. *Pelagius* (Predeceſſor of St. *Gregory*) to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* (*P.* Pelagii *Epiſt.* 8)

himſelf, and ſtudieth by the elation of pompous ſpeech to ſubject to himſelf all the members of Chriſt, which do cohere to One Sole Head, namely, to Chriſt.

Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quiſquis ſe Univerſalem Sacerdotem vocat vel vocari deſiderat in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit, quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit. (Greg. *I. lib.* 6. *Ep.* 30) *Nec diſpari ſuperbiâ ad errorem ducitur; quia ſicut perverſus ille Deus videri vult ſuper omnes homines; ita quiſquis eſt, qui ſolus Sacerdos appellari appetit, ſuper cæteros Sacerdotes ſe extollit.* (ad Mauric. Aug.)

Again, *I confidently ſay, that whoever doth call himſelf* Univerſal Biſhop, *or deſireth to be ſo called, doth in his elation forerun Antichriſt, becauſe he pridingly doth ſet himſelf before all others.*

If theſe Argumentations be found, or ſignify any thing, what is the pretence of *Univerſal Sovereignty and Paſtorſhip*, but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance?* who can imagine, that even this Pope could approve, could aſſume, could exerciſe it? if he did, was he not monſtrouſly ſenſeleſs and above meaſure impudent to uſe ſuch diſcourſes, which ſo plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him? which are built upon ſuppoſitions that it is unlawful and wicked to aſſume Superiority over the Church, over all Biſhops, over all Chriſtians; the which indeed (ſeeing never Pope was of greater repute, or did write in any caſe more ſolemnly and ſeriouſly) have given to the pretences of his Succeſſors ſo deadly a wound, that no balm of ſophiſtical interpretation can be able to heal it.

Vid. P. Pelag. *Ep.* 3.

We ſee that, according to St. *Gregory M.* our Lord *Chriſt* is *the one only Head of the Church*; to whom for company let us adjoyn St. *Baſil M.* (that we may have both *Greek* and *Latin* for it,) who ſaith, that (according to Saint *Paul*) *we are the Body of Chriſt, and members one of another, becauſe it is manifeſt, that the one and ſole truly head, which is Chriſt, doth hold and connect each one to another unto concord.*

Κεφαλὴν δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ συναφῆσον τὸν ἕλλω θεὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἡ μία καὶ μόνη ἀληθῶς κεφαλὴ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Baſ. *M. de Jud. div. Tom.* 2. *p.* 261.

Totus Chriſtus Caput & Corpus eſt; Caput unigenitus Dei Filius, & corpus ejus Eccleſia, Sponſus & Sponſa, duo in carne una. Quicunque de ipſo Capite ab Scripturis Sanctis diſſentiunt, etiamſi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus Eccleſia deſignata eſt, non ſunt in Eccleſia, &c. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 4. *Vid. contra* Petil. 3. 42.

Whole Chriſt is the Head of the Body; the Head the only begotten Son of God, and his Body the Church, the Bridegroom and the Spouſe, two in one fleſh. Whoever diſagree about the Head it ſelf from the Holy Scriptures, though they are found in all places, in which the Church is deſigned, they are not in the Church. *&c.*

It was unhappily expreſſed by *Bellarmine* —— *Eccleſia ſeclusò etiam Chriſto unum Caput habere debet. De Pont.* R. 1. 9. §. *Ac ne fortè.* The Church, even Chriſt himſelf being ſet aſide, ought to have one Head.

To decline theſe allegations of Scripture, they have forged diſtinctions, of ſeveral kinds of Churches, and ſeveral ſorts of Heads; the which evaſions I ſhall not particularly diſcuſs, ſeeing it may ſuffice to obſerve in general, that no ſuch diſtinctions have any place or any ground in Scripture; nor can well conſiſt with it; which ſimply doth repreſent the Church as one Kingdom, *a Kingdom of Heaven, a Kingdom not of this world*; all the Subjects whereof have *their* πολίτευμα *in heaven*, or are conſidered as members of a City there; ſo that it is vain to ſeek for a Sovereign thereof in this world; the which alſo doth to the Catholik Church ſojourning on earth uſually impart the name and attributes properly appertaining to the Church moſt univerſal (comprehenſive of all Chriſtians in heaven and upon earth) becauſe that is a viſible repreſentative of this, and we by joyning in offices of piety with that, do communicate with this; whence that which is ſaid of one (concerning the Unity of its King, its Paſtor, its Prieſt) is to be underſtood of the other; eſpecially conſidering that our Lord, according to his promiſe, is ever preſent with the Church here, governing by the efficacy of his Spirit and Grace, ſo that no other corporeal or viſible Head of this Spiritual Body is needful.

Joh. 18. 36. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 12. 22. Act. 20. 28. Matt. 16. 18. 1 Cor. 12. 21. 25. 9. Gal. 1. 13. Matt. 28. 20.

Chriſtus arbitrio & nutu ac præſentiâ ſuâ & præpoſitos ipſos, & Eccleſiam cum præpoſitis gubernat. Cypr. *Ep.* 69. Chriſt by his own arbitrement, and power, and preſence, governs both the Biſhops themſelves, and the Church with the Biſhops.

It was to be ſure a viſible Headſhip, which St. *Gregory* did ſo eagerly impugn and exclaim againſt; for he could not apprehend the *Biſhop* of *Conſtantinople* ſo wild, as to affect a Juriſdiction over the Church myſtical or inviſible.

Joh. 18. 26.

2. Indeed upon this very account the *Romiſh* pretence doth not well accord with Holy Scripture, becauſe it transformeth the Church into another kind of

Body

Body, than it was conſtituted by God, according to the repreſentation of it in Scripture; for there it is repreſented as a ſpiritual and heavenly Society, compacted by the bands of *one faith, one hope, one Spirit* of Charity; but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the ſame bands of intereſt and deſign, managed in the ſame manner, by terrour and allurement, ſupported by the ſame props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and ſplendor, as all other ſecular Corporations are.

Eph. 4. 4, 5. 2 Cor. 10. 4.

Caput noſtram, quod Chriſtus eſt ad hoc ſua eſſe membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis & fidei unum nos in ſe corpus efficeret. Greg. M. Ep. 7. 111. Our Head, which is Chriſt, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith, he might make us to be one body.

You may call it what you pleaſe, but it is evident that in truth the Papal Monarchy is a temporal Dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; ſuch as our Lord did never mean to inſtitute; ſo that the Subjects thereof may with far more reaſon, than the People of *Conſtantinople* had, when their *Biſhop Neſtorius* did ſtop ſome of their Prieſts from contradicting him, ſay, * *We have a King, a Biſhop we have not*; ſo that upon every Pope we may charge that, whereof *Anthimus* was accuſed, in the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, under *Menas*; *that he did account the greatneſs and dignity of the Prieſthood to be, not a ſpiritual charge of ſouls, but as a kind of politick rule.*

* Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, Ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν. Conc. Eph. *part cap.* 30.

Τὸ δὲ ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα ὑπολαμβάνειν ψυχῶν ὑπεροψίαν ἢ λογισάμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. Conc. ſub. Men. Act. 1. p. 9.

This was that, which ſeeming to be affected by the *Biſhop* of *Antioch*, in encroachment upon the Church of *Cyprus*, the Fathers of the *Epheſine* Synod did endeavour to nip; enacting a Canon againſt all ſuch invaſions, *leſt under pretext of holy diſcipline the pride of worldly authority ſhould creep in*; * and what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which now the Popes do claim and exerciſe? Now, do I ſay, after that the Papal Empire hath ſwollen to ſuch a bulk; whereas ſo long ago, when it was but in its bud and ſtripling age, it was obſerved of it by a very honeſt Hiſtorian, *that the* Roman *Epiſcopacy had long ſince advanced into a high degree of power beyond the Prieſthood.*

Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερωσύναις προφάσει ἁγίας κοσμικῆς τύρ⟨ν⟩ παρεισδύῃ. Can. Eph. 1. *Can.* 8.

* This was that which, about the ſame time, the Fathers of the *African* Synod do requeſt P. *Celeſtine* to forbear; —— *nec permittere, ut fumoſum mundi faſtum Chriſti Eccleſia inducere videamur.* Conc. Afr. *ad P.* Celeſt. 1.

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέφυκε τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. 7. 11.

3. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture, by deſtroying that brotherly co-ordination and equality, which our Lord did appoint among the Biſhops and chief Paſtors of his Church: He did (as we before ſhewed) prohibit all his Apoſtles to aſſume any domination, or authoritative Superiority over one another; the which command, together with others concerning the Paſtoral function, we may well ſuppoſe to reach their Succeſſors; ſo did St. *Hierom* ſuppoſe, collecting thence that all Biſhops by original Inſtitution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's order may challenge Superiority over another; *Where-ever* (ſaith he) *a Biſhop is, whether at* Rome *or at* Eugubium, *at* Conſtantinople *or at* Rhegium, *at* Alexandria *or at* Thanis, *he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame Prieſthood; the power of wealth, or lowneſs of poverty, do not make a Biſhop higher or lower, but all are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles*; where, doth not he plainly deny the Biſhop of *Eugubium* to be inferior to him of *Rome*, as being no leſs a ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles than he? doth he not ſay theſe words, in way of proof, that the authority of the *Roman* Biſhop or Church was of no validity againſt the practice of other Biſhops and Churches? (upon occaſion of Deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as Cardinal Deacons do now) which excludeth ſuch diſtinctions, as Scholaſtical fancies have deviſed to ſhift off his Teſtimony; the which he uttered ſimply, never dreaming of ſuch diſtinctions.

Ubicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, ſive Rhegii ſive Alexandriæ, ſive Thanis, ejuſdem meriti, ejuſdem & Sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel ſublimiorem vel inferiorem Epiſcopum non facit; cæterum omnes Apoſtolorum Succeſſores ſunt. Hier. Ep. 85. (ad Evagr.)

Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major eſt urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

This conſequence St. *Gregory* did ſuppoſe, when he therefore did condemn the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, becauſe it did *imply an affectation of Superiority* and dignity in one Biſhop above others; of *abaſing the name of other Biſhops in compariſon of his own*, of extolling *himſelf above the reſt of Prieſts*, &c.

Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur. Gr. Ep. 4. 34.

Quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit Ep. 6. 38.

Super cæteros Sacerdotes ſe extollit. Ib.

Cupis Epiſcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare. Ep. 4. 38.

Cunctis ejus membris tibimet conaris ſuppoſere. Ib.

(*Invigiletur ergo ut omnibus co-Epiſcopis noſtris & fratribus innoteſcat.* P. Corn. *apud* Cypr. Ep. 48.)

This the ancient Popes did remember, when uſually in their compellation of any Biſhop, they did ſtyle them *Brethren, Collegues, fellow-Miniſters, fellow-Biſhops*, not intending thereby complement or mockery, but to declare their ſenſe of the original equality among Biſhops; notwithſtanding ſome differences in Order and Privileges, which their See had obtained. And that this was the general ſenſe of the Fathers we ſhall afterward ſhew.

Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (ſicut prædicas) quàm cum fidelibus cunctis ſanctum & Deo placitum habere conſortium. P. Gelaſ. I. Ep. 9. (*ad* Euphem. Ep. CP.)

Hence, when it was objected to them, that they did affect Superiority, they did ſometimes diſclaim it; ſo did Pope *Gelaſius* I. (a zealous man for the honour of his See.)

Here we do not ſo much deſire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a conſort holy and well-pleaſing to God.

—— Vobis ſubrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur. Greg. 7. 30. (*p.* 45.) What is yielded to another more than reaſon requires, is taken from you. Πρᾶγμα —— ἀ πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπλόμβρον. *Syn.* Eph. I. *Can.* 8. A thing that entrencheth upon the freedom of all others.

4. This pretence doth thwart the Holy Scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of Biſhops, (which, according to St. *Gregory*, doth imply great pride and preſumption) but as really infringing the Rights granted by our Lord to his Church, and the Governors of it.

Apoc. 2, & 3. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Matt. 18. 17. Ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ, &c. Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; 1 Cor. 5. 12. Καὶ ὑμεῖς——*Vid.* v. 4, 5. Apoc. 2. 20. 1 Cor. 14. 40. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Rom. 14. 19. 1 Cor. 6. 1.—

For to each Church our Lord hath impoſed a Duty, and imparted a Power of maintaining divine Truth, and ſo approving it ſelf *a pillar and ſupport of truth:* Of deciding Controverſies poſſible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately without farther reſort; for that he, who will not obey or acquieſce in its Deciſion, is to be *as a heathen or publican:* Of cenſuring and rejecting Offenders (in Doctrine, or Demeanor;) *Thoſe within* (ſaith St. *Paul* to the Church of *Corinth*) *do not ye judge? But them that are without God judgeth; wherefore put away from among your ſelves that wicked perſon:* Of preſerving Order and Decency; according to that Rule, preſcribed to the Church of *Corinth*, *let all things be done decently and in order:* Of promoting Edification: Of deciding Cauſes.

All which Rights and Privileges the *Roman* Biſhop doth bereave the Churches of, ſnatching them to himſelf; pretending that he is the Sovereign Doctor, Judge, Regulator of all Churches; over-ruling and voiding all that is done by them, according to his pleaſure.

Act. 20. 28. 1 Pet. 5. 2. Tit. 1. 7. Eph. 4. 11. Eph. 4. 12. Heb. 13. 17. Heb. 13. 17. 1 Tim. 3. 15. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Apoc. 2, &c.

The Scripture hath enjoined and empowered all Biſhops to feed, guide, and rule their reſpective Churches, as the *Miniſters, Stewards, Ambaſſadors, Angels of God; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt:* To whom God hath committed the care of their People, ſo that they are reſponſible for their Souls.

Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratiâ. Vid. poſt. Superbum nimis eſt & immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, & antiquitate calcatâ alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius creſcat dignitas, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 55.

'Tis too proud and unreaſonable a thing for one to ſtretch himſelf beyond his bounds, and maugre all antiquity to ſnatch away other mens right, and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppoſe the primacies of ſo many Metropolitans.

All which Rights and Privileges of the Epiſcopal Office the Pope hath invaded, doth obſtruct, cram, fruſtrate, deſtroy; pretending (without any warrant) that their Authority is derived from him; forcing them to exerciſe it no otherwiſe, than as his Subjects, and according to his pleaſure. But of this Point more afterward.

Sanctæ Eccleſiæ univerſali injuriam facit. Greg. I. *Ep.* 24.
It does wrong to the Holy Catholick Church.

Plebis Majeſtas. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Corn. P.) *p.* 117.

5. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture, by robbing all Chriſtian People of the Liberties and Rights, with which by that Divine Charter they are endowed; and which they are obliged to preſerve inviolate.

Gal. 5. 1.

St. *Paul* enjoyneth the *Galatians* to *ſtand faſt in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt hath made us free; and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage*; there is therefore a liberty, which we muſt maintain, and a power to which we muſt not ſubmit; and againſt whom can we have more ground to do this, than againſt him, who pretendeth to dogmatize, to define Points of Faith, to impoſe Doctrines (new and ſtrange enough) on our Conſciences,

ſciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding aſſent to them? to preſcribe Laws, as divine and neceſſary to be obſerved, without warrant, as thoſe Dogmatiſts did, againſt whom St. *Paul* biddeth us to maintain our Liberty: (ſo that if he ſhould declare *virtue to be vice, and white to be black, we muſt believe him*, ſome of his Adherents have ſaid, conſiſtently enough with his pretences;) for, Gal. 5. 1. Col. 2. 16. 18.

Againſt ſuch tyrannical Invaders we are bound to maintain our Liberty, according to that Precept of St. *Paul*; the which if a Pope might well alledge againſt the proceedings of a General Synod; with much more reaſon may we thereby juſtify our non-ſubmiſſion to one man's exorbitant domination. P. Leo I. Ep. 28.

This is a Power, which the Apoſtles themſelves did not challenge to themſelves, for *We* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.* 2 Cor. 1. 24.

They did not pretend, that any Chriſtian ſhould abſolutely believe them, in caſes wherein they had not Revelation (general, or ſpecial) from God; in ſuch caſes referring their opinion to the judgment and diſcretion of Chriſtians. 1 Cor. 10. 15. 7. 12, 25, 40.

They ſay, *Though we or an Angel from heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed: If any man*, &c. which Precept, with many others of the like purport, (injoyning us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties) doth ſignify nothing, if every Chriſtian hath not allowed to him a judgment of diſcretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another. Gal. 1. 8.

St. *Auſtin* (I am ſure) did think this liberty ſuch, that without betraying it no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon Canonical Authority: for to a *Donatiſt* his Adverſary, citing the Authority of St. *Cyprian* againſt him, he thus replieth; *But now ſeeing it is not Canonical which thou reciteſt, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive the opinion, differing from Scripture, of that man whoſe praiſe I cannot reach, to whoſe great learning I do not compare my writings, whoſe wit I love, in whoſe ſpeech I delight, whoſe charity I admire, whoſe martyrdom I reverence.*

Nunc vero quoniam Canonicum non eſt quod recitas, eâ libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, ejus viri, cujus laudem conſequi non valeo, cujus multis literis ſcripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter ſapuit non accipio. Aug. contr. Cref. 2. 32.

This Liberty not only the Ancients, but even divers Popes have acknowledged to belong to every Chriſtian; as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, when we ſhall prove, that we may lawfully reject the Pope, as a Patron of Error and Iniquity.

6. It particularly doth thwart Scripture, by wronging Princes, in exempting a numerous ſort of People from ſubjection to their Laws, and Judicature; whereas by God's Ordination and expreſs Command *every ſoul is ſubject* to them; not excepting the Popes themſelves (in the opinion of St. *Chryſoſtom*, except they be greater than any Apoſtle.) Rom. 13. 1.

By pretending to govern the Subjects of Princes without their leave, to make Laws without their permiſſion or confirmation, to cite their Subjects out of their Territories, *&c.* which are encroachments upon the Rights of God's unqueſtionable Miniſters.

III. Farther, becauſe our Adverſaries do little regard any allegation of Scripture againſt them (pretending themſelves to be the only Maſters of its ſenſe, or of common ſenſe, Judges and Interpreters of them) we do alledge againſt them, that this pretence doth alſo croſs Tradition, and the common Doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common uſage and practice is a good interpreter of Right; and that ſheweth no ſuch Right was known in the Primitive Church ——

2. Indeed the ſtate of the Primitive Church did not admit it.

3. The Fathers did ſuppoſe no Order in the Church, by original Right, or divine Inſtitution, ſuperior to that of a Biſhop; whence they commonly did ſtyle a Biſhop the Higheſt Prieſt, and Epiſcopacy the top of Eccleſiaſtical Orders.

Ἀπὸ τῆς Κυρίου διδαχῆς ἐκκλίναι τὸ ἑκάστων γνώμην, &c. Conſt. Apoſt. 8. 46.

Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus Sacerdos, qui eſt Epiſcopus, Tert. *de Bapt. c.* 17.

The chief Prieſt (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that is the Biſhop, hath the right of giving Baptiſm.*

Licet enim & Presbyteri faciant tamen exordium Miniſterii eſt à ſummo Sacerdote. Ambr *de Sacr.* 3. 1 *Suſcepiſti gubernacula ſummi Sacerdotii. Id. Ep.* 5.

Although (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *the Presbyters alſo do it, yet the beginning of the Miniſtry is from the higheſt Prieſt.*

Apices & Principes omnium Sacerdotes. Opt. 1. *Optatus* calleth Biſhops, *the tops and Princes of all.*

Eccleſiæ ſalus in ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet. Hier. *c.* Lucif. 4. The ſafety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the High-prieſt.

Ego dignus ſummo Sacerdotio decernebar. Id Ep. 99. (*ad* Aſell.)

In Epiſcopo omnes ordines ſunt, quia primus Sacerdos eſt, hoc eſt Principes Sacerdotum, & Propheta & Evangeliſta, & cætera adimplenda officia Eccleſiæ & miniſterio fidelium. Ambr. *in* Eph. 4. 11.

In the Biſhop there are all Orders, becauſe he is the firſt Prieſt, (*i. e*) the Prince of Prieſts, and Prophet and Evangeliſt, and all other Offices of the Church, to be fulfilled in the miniſtry of the faithful.

Ἡ διὰ τῆς ἱεραρχίας τέλεις, &c. ſupr. Pontifex princeps Sacerdotum iſt quaſi via ſequentium: Ipſe & ſummus Sacerdos, ipſe & Pontifex maximus nuncupatur. Iſid. Hiſp. *apud* Grat. *diſt.* 21. *cap* 1.

The Divine Order of Biſhops (ſaith *Dionyſius*) *is the firſt of Divine Orders; the ſame being alſo the extreme and laſt of them; for into it all the frame of our Hierarchy is reſolved and accompliſhed.*

This language is common even among Popes themſelves, complying with the ſpeech then current; for, *Presbyters* (ſaith Pope *Innocent* I.) *although they are Prieſts, yet have they not the top of High-prieſthood.*

Nam Presbyteri, licèt ſint Sacerdotes, Pontificatûs tamen apicem non habent. P. Innoc. *I. Ep.* 1. (*ad* Decent.) —— *dum facilè ſuponuntur manus, dum negligenter ſummus Sacerdos eligitur, Id. Ep.* 12. (*ad* Aurel.)

Ne quis contra Patrum præcepta—— (*ad ſummitatem Eccleſiæ Sacerdotium aſpirare præſumeret.* P. Zoſ. I. Ep. 1. *ad* Heſych.)

No man (ſaith P. *Zoſimus* I.) *againſt the precepts of the Fathers ſhould preſume to aſpire to the higheſt Prieſthood of the Church.*

Idcirco id quod tantùm facere Principibus Sacerdotum juſſum eſt, quorum typum Moſes & Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum eſt, ut Chorepiſcopi vel Presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron geſtant figuram, arripere non præſumant. P. Leo. *Ep.* 88. *Pontificatûs apicem non habent. Ibid. Vid. Ep.* 84. *cap* 5.

It is decreed (ſaith Pope *Leo* I.) *that the Chorepiſcopi or Presbyters, who figure the ſons of* Aaron, *ſhall not preſume to ſnatch that, which the Princes of the Prieſts* (*whom* Moſes *and* Aaron *did typify*) *are commanded to do.* (Note by the way, that ſeeing according to the Pope's mind (after St *Hierom*) *Moſes* and *Aaron* did in the *Jewiſh* Policy repreſent Biſhops, there was none there to prefigure the Pope)

S. Hier. *ad* Evagr. *Ut ſciamus traditiones Apoſtolicas ſumptas de veteri Teſtamento. Quod Aaron & filii ejus atque Levita in templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, Presbyteri & diaconi vindicant in Eccleſia.* Or. 19. p. 309.

A Biſhop called Ἀρχιερεύς. *Apoſt. Conſt.* 8. 10. 12.

Summus Chriſti Pontifex Auguſtinus. (Paulin. *apud* Aug. Ep 36.) Aug. *Ep* 35.

Beatiſſimo Papæ Auguſtino. Hieron. (Aug. Ep. 11. 13. 14. &c.)

Optamus te beatiſſ. & glorioſiſſime Papa in Domino ſemper valere. Ep. 34.

In thoſe days the Biſhop of *Nazianzum* (a petty Town in *Cappadocia*) was an High-prieſt (ſo *Gregory* calleth his Father.) And the Biſhop of a poor City in *Africk* is ſtyled *Sovereign Pontif of Chriſt, moſt bleſſed Father, moſt bleſſed Pope:* and the very *Roman* Clergy doth call St. *Cyprian moſt bleſſed and moſt glorious Pope*; which Titles the Pope doth now ſo charily reſerve and appropriate to himſelf.

But innumerable Inſtances of this kind might be produced; I ſhall only therefore add two other paſſages, which ſeem very obſervable, to the enforcement of this diſcourſe.

Apud nos Apoſtolorum locum Epiſcopi tenent, apud eos Epiſcopus tertius eſt; habent enim primos de Pepuſa Phrygia Patriarchas, ſecundos quos appellant Cenones; atque ita in tertium, id eſt penè ultimum locum Epiſcopi devolvuntur; quaſi exinde ambitioſior religio fiat, ſi quod apud nos primum eſt, apud illos noviſſimum ſit. Hier. (*ad* Marcellam) *Ep.* 54.

St. *Hierom*, reprehending the diſcipline of the *Montaniſts*, hath theſe words, *With us, the Biſhops do hold the places of the Apoſtles; with them, a Biſhop is in the third place; for they have for the firſt rank the Patriarchs of* Pepuſa *in* Phrygia; *for the ſecond thoſe whom they call* Cenones; *ſo are Biſhops thruſt down into the third, that is almoſt the laſt place; as if thence Religion became more ſtately, if that which is firſt with us, be the laſt with them?*

Now doth not St. *Hierom* here affirm, that every Biſhop hath the place of an Apoſtle, and the firſt rank in the Church? doth not he tax the advancement of any Order above this? may not the Popiſh Hierarchy moſt patly be compared to that of the *Montaniſts*, and is it not equally liable to the cenſure of St. *Hierom*? doth it not place the *Roman* Pope in the firſt place, and the *Cardinals* in the ſecond, detruding the Biſhops into a third place? Could the *Pepuſian* Patriarch,

Patriarch, or his *Cenones*, either more over-top in dignity, or ſway by power over Biſhops, than doth the *Roman Patriarch* and his *Cardinals?*

Again, St. *Cyprian* telleth Pope *Cornelius*, that in Epiſcopacy doth reſide *the ſublime and divine power of governing the Church*; itbeing *the ſublime top of the Prieſthood: He* (ſaith the Bleſſed man concerning Pope *Cornelius*) *did not ſuddenly arrive to Epiſcopacy, but being through all Eccleſiaſtical Offices promoted, and having in divine Adminiſtrations often merited of God, did by all the ſteps of Religion mount to the ſublimeſt pitch of Prieſthood*; where it is viſible, that St. *Cyprian* doth not reckon the *Papacy*, but the *Epiſcopacy* of *Cornelius* to be that top of Prieſthood, (above which there was nothing eminent in the Church) unto which he paſſing through the inferior degrees of the Clergy had attained.

——*actum eſt de Epiſcopatûs vigore, & de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ ſublimi, ac divina poteſtate.* Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* P. Cornel.)

Non iſte ad Epiſcopatum ſubitò pervenit, ſed per omnia Eccleſiaſtica officia promotus, & in divinis adminiſtrationibus Dominum ſæpe promeritus, ad Sacerdotii ſublime faſtigium cunctis religionis gradibus aſcendit. Cypr. *Ep* 52.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived, that the Ancients conſtantly would have ſpoken in this manner, if they had allowed the Papal Office to be ſuch, as now it doth bear it ſelf; the which indeed is an Order no leſs diſtant from Epiſcopacy, than the rank of a King differeth from that of the meaneſt Baron in his Kingdom

Neither is it prejudicial to this Diſcourſe (or to any preceding) that in the primitive Church there were ſome diſtinctions and ſubordinations of Biſhops, (as of *Patriarchs*, *Primates*, *Metropolitans*, common Biſhops) for,

The *Africans* had a particular care, that this Primacy ſhould not degenerate into tyranny.

Theſe were according to prudence conſtituted by the Church it ſelf, for the more orderly and peaceable adminiſtration of things.

Theſe did not import ſuch a difference among the Biſhops, that one ſhould domineer over others to the infringing of primitive fraternity, or common liberty: but a precedence in the ſame rank, with ſome moderate advantages for the common good.

Theſe did ſtand under Authority of the Church, and might be changed or corrected as was found expedient by common agreement.

By vertue of theſe, the Superiors of this kind could do nothing over their ſubordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of Canons, eſtabliſhed by conſent in Synods; by which their influence was amplified or curb'd.

Conc. Ant. *Can.* 9.
Vid. Apoſt. Can. 34.
Conc. Carth. *apud* Cypr.
Cod. Afr. *Can* 39.
Neſtorius, Dioſcorus,
Οἶδ' τε τυραννίδας τὰς ἐπ' ἀρχίας ἐπ' ἀὐτοῖς διεκδικήσεις. Euſeb. 8. 1.
So *Euſebius* complaineth of the Biſhops in his time——

When any of theſe did begin to domineer, or exceed his limits, he was liable to account and correction, he was exclaimed againſt as *tyrannical.*

When *Primates* did begin to ſwell and encroach, good men declared their diſpleaſure at it, and wiſhed it removed; as is known particularly by the *famous Wiſh of* * Gregory Nazianzene.

So *Iſider. Peluſiot. Ep.* 20. 125. 4. 219.
* Ὡς ὄφελόν γε μηδ' ἦν πρωτοκαθεδρία, μηδὲ τις τόπου πρόκριμα, καὶ τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 28.
O that there were not at all any Preſidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative.

But we are diſcourſing againſt a Superiority of a different nature, which foundeth it ſelf in the Inſtitution of *Chriſt*, impoſeth it ſelf on the Church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or controul, pretendeth to be endowed with an abſolute power to act without, or againſt the conſent of the Church, is limited by no certain bounds, but its own pleaſure, *&c.*

So *Socrates* of the Biſhop (not only of *Rome*, but) *Alexandria*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 11.
So St. *Chryſoſtom* in 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. in *Ep. Orat.* 11.
So *Greg. Naz.* complained of τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. Ibid.

IV. Farther this pretence may be impugned, by many Arguments ſpringing from the nature and reaſon of things abſtractedly conſidered; according to which the exerciſe of ſuch an Authority may appear unpracticable, without much iniquity, and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Chriſtian States and People, to the intereſts of Religion and Piety, to the peace and welfare of Mankind; whence it is to be rejected as a peſt of Chriſtendom.

1. Whereas all the world in deſign and obligation is Chriſtian, (the *utmoſt parts of the earth* being granted *in poſſeſſion* to our Lord, and his Goſpel extending *to every creature under heaven*) and may in effect become ſuch, when God plea-

Pſal. 2. 8. Col. 1. 23. Luke 24. 47. Matt. 28. 19.

pleaſeth, by acceptance of the Goſpel; whereas it may eaſily happen, that the moſt diſtant places on the Earth may embrace Chriſtianity; whereas really Chriſtian Churches have been and are diſperſed about the World; it is thence hugely incommodious, that all the Church ſhould depend upon an Authority reſident in one Place, and to be managed by one Perſon: the Church being ſuch, is too immenſe, boundleſs, uncircumſcribed, unwieldy a bulk to be guided by the inſpection, or managed by the influence of one ſuch Authority or Perſon.

If the whole World were reduced under the Government of one Civil Monarch, it would neceſſarily be ill governed, as to Policy, to Juſtice, to Peace: The skirts or remoter parts from the *Metropolis* or centre of the Government would extremely ſuffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from Majeſty ſhining at ſuch a diſtance: They would live under ſmall awe of that Power, which was ſo far out of ſight: They muſt have very difficult recourſe to it for redreſs of grievances, and relief of oppreſſions: for final deciſion of cauſes, and compoſure of differences; for correction of offences, and diſpenſation of juſtice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition: It would be hard to preſerve peace or quell ſeditions, and ſuppreſs inſurrections that might ariſe in diſtant quarters.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful, skilfully and juſtly to give Laws, or adminiſter Judgment to ſo many Nations different in Humour, in Language, in Cuſtoms? What mind of man, what induſtry, what leiſure could ſerve to ſuſtain the burthen of that care, which is needful to the weilding ſuch an Office? How and when ſhould one man be able to receive all the addreſſes, to weigh all the caſes, to make all the reſolutions and diſpatches requiſite for ſuch a charge? If the burthen of one ſmall Kingdom be ſo great, that wiſe and good Princes do groan under its weight, what muſt that be of all Mankind? To ſuch an extent of Government there muſt be allowed a Majeſty and Power correſpondent, the which cannot be committed to one hand, without its degeneration into extreme Tyranny. The words of *Zoſimus* to this purpoſe are obſervable; who ſaith, that the *Romans* by admitting *Auguſtus Cæſar* to the Government, did do very perilouſly; for, *If he ſhould chuſe to manage the Government rightly and juſtly, he would not be capable of applying himſelf to all things as were fit; not being able to ſuccour thoſe, who do lie at greateſt diſtance; nor could he find ſo many Magiſtrates, as would not be aſhamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he ſute them to the differences of ſo many manners: Or, if tranſgreſſing the bounds of Royalty, he ſhould warp to Tyranny, diſturbing the Magiſtracies, overlooking miſdemeanors, bartering right for money, holding the Subjects for Slaves, (ſuch as moſt Emperors, or rather near all have been, few excepted) then it is quite neceſſary, that the brutiſh Authority of the Prince ſhould be a publick calamity, for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours, do invade the greateſt commands; and thoſe who are modeſt and quiet, not affecting the ſame life with them, are conſequently diſpleaſed, not enjoying the ſame advantages; ſo that from hence Cities are filled with ſeditions and troubles. And the Civil and Military employments being delivered up to avaritious Perſons, do both render a peaceable life ſad and grievous to men of better diſpoſition, and do enfeeble the reſolution of Soldiers in war.*

Cum tot ſuſtineas, & tanta negotia ſolus, &c. Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1.

Τίτε γὰρ ὀρθῶς, &c. Zoſ. *Hiſt.* 1. (p. 4. Steph.)

Hence St. *Auſtin* was of opinion, that *it were happy for mankind, if all Kingdoms were ſmall, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood.*

Felicioribus ſic rebus humanis omnia Regna parva eſſent concordi vicinitate lætantia. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 4. 15. Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεως μέγεθος μέτριον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὀργάνων. καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον ἔστι λίαν μικρὸν, ἔστι καὶ μέγα καὶ ὑπερβάλλον ἔξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν. Ariſt. *Pol.* 7. 4. There is a certain meaſure of greatneſs fit for Cities and Commonwealths, as well as for all other things, Living Creatures, Plants, Inſtruments, for every one of theſe hath its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little nor yet exceeds in bigneſs. Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβαλλούσης πλήθους, ἢ τίς κήρυξ μὴ σεσίρηκε; *Ibid.* For who would be a Captain of an exceſſive huge multitude, &c.

Suis & ipſa Roma viribus ruit. Hor. *Ep.* 16.

—— quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret ſua. Liv. *I.*

Ac neſcio an ſatius fuerit populo Romano Siciliæ & Africæ contentos fuiſſe, aut his etiam ipſis carere dominatu in Italia ſua, quam eò

It is commonly obſerved by Hiſtorians, that *Rome growing in bigneſs, did labour therewith,* and was not able to ſupport it ſelf; many diſtempers and diſorders ſpringing up in ſo vaſt a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for *Then* (ſaith St. *Auſtin* concern-

concerning the times of *Pompey*) Rome *had ſubdued* Africk; *it had ſubdued* Greece; *and widely alſo ruling over other parts, as not able to bear it ſelf, did in a manner by its own greatneſs break it ſelf.*

magnitudinis creſcere, ut viribus ſuis conficeretur. Flor. 3. 12.

Tunc jam Roma ſubjugaverat Africam, ſubjugaverat Græciam, latèque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam ſeipſam ferre non valens, ſe ſua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 18. 45. Tac. *Hiſt.* 2. *p.* 472.

Hence that wiſe Prince *Auguſtus Cæſar* did himſelf forbear to enlarge the *Roman* Dominion, and did in his Teſtament adviſe the Senate to do the like.

Γνώμλιν τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι· ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτῇ ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ οἷός τε λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· πλεῖστα γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν περισπήσαντος, οὐκ ἠθέλησε. Dion. *lib.* 56. Tac. *Ann.* 1.

He adviſed them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their Empire: For, ſaid he, it will be hardly kept; and this he himſelf obſerv'd not in word only, but in deed: for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous Nations, yet he would not.

Ipſa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret Ad veteres fines, & mœnia pauperis Anci, &c. Claud. *de bello Gildon.*

To the like inconveniences (and much greater in its kind; Temporal things being more eaſily ordered than Spiritual, and having ſecular Authority, great advantages of power and wealth to aid it ſelf) muſt the Church be obnoxious, if it were ſubjected to the government of one Sovereign, unto whom the maintenance of Faith, the protection of Diſcipline, the determination of Controverſies, the reviſion of Judgments, the diſcuſſion and final deciſion of Cauſes upon appeal, the ſuppreſſion of Diſorders and Factions, the inſpection over all Governors, the correction of Miſdemeanors, the conſtitution, relaxation and abolition of Laws, the reſolution of all matters concerning Religion and the publick State in all Countries, muſt be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανὸς; what Shoulders can bear ſuch a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the Pope hath any promiſe of miraculous aſſiſtance, nor in his demeanor doth appear any mark thereof:) what mind would not the care of ſo many affairs utterly diſtract, and overwhelm? who could find time to caſt a glance on each of ſo numberleſs particulars? what ſagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what ſtrength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of induſtry, what abundance of experience would ſuffice for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controverſies of Faith, and caſes of Diſcipline perpetually ſtarting up in ſo many Regions?

The Synod of *Baſil* doth well deſcribe the duty of a Pope, but it is infinitely hard to practiſe it in any meaſure. (*Conc. Baſ. Seſſ.* 23. *p.* 64, *&c.*——)

What reach of skill and ability would ſerve for accommodation of Laws to different humours and faſhions of ſo many Nations? Shall a decrepit old man in the decay of his age, parts, vigour—— (ſuch as Popes uſually are) undertake this? May we not ſay to him, as *Jethro* did to *Moſes*, *Ultra vires tuas eſt negotium; The thing thou doeſt is not good; thou wilt ſurely wear away, both thou and this People that is with thee; for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy ſelf alone.* Ex. 18. 18.

If the care of a ſmall Dioceſs hath made the moſt able and induſtrious Biſhops (who had a conſcience and ſenſe of their duty) to groan under its weight, how inſupportable muſt ſuch a thing be?

The care of his own particular Church, if he would act the part of a Biſhop indeed, would ſufficiently take up the Pope; eſpecially in ſome times; whenas Pope *Alex.* ſaith, —— *Ut inteſtina noſtræ ſpecialis Eccleſiæ negotia vix poſſemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare.* P. Alex. II. (*Epiſt. ad* Ger. Rhem. Bin. *p.* 284.)

If it be ſaid, that Saint *Paul* teſtifyeth of himſelf, that he had *a care of all the Churches* incumbent on him; I anſwer, that he (and other Apoſtles had the like) queſtionleſs had a pious ſolicitude for the welfare of all Chriſtians, eſpecially of the Churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occaſions to edify them; but what is this to the charge of a ſtanding government over all the Churches diffuſed through the world? that care of a few Churches then was burthenſom to him, what is the charge of ſo many now? to one ſeldom endowed with ſuch Apoſtolical graces and gifts as Saint *Paul* was. 2 Cor. 11. 28.

How weak muſt the influence of ſuch an Authority be upon the circumferential Parts of its Oecumenical Sphere?

How

How muſt the outward branches of the Churches faint and fade for want of ſap from the root of Diſcipline, which muſt be conveyed through ſo many obſtructions to ſuch a diſtance?

How diſcompoſed muſt things be in each Country, for want of ſeaſonable reſolution, hanging in ſuſpence, till information do travel to *Rome*, and determination come back thence?

Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad ſuperna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. Greg. *I. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 7. 25. 5.
Such a weight of employment preſſes me down, that my mind can by no means be rais'd to things above.
Si adminiſtratio illius temporis Mare fuit, quid de præſenti Papatu dicendum erit? Calv. *Inſt* 4. *c.* 7. 22.
If the ordering of affairs in thoſe times was a boundleſs Sea, what ſhall we ſay of the preſent Papacy?

How difficult, how impoſſible will it be for him there to receive faithful information, or competent teſtimony, whereupon to ground juſt deciſions of Cauſes?

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning perſon to raiſe trouble againſt innocent perſons? for any like perſon to decline the due Correction laid on him, by transferring the Cauſe from home to ſuch a diſtance?

How much coſt, how much trouble, how much hazard muſt parties concerned be at to fetch light and juſtice thence?

Put caſe a Hereſy, a Schiſm, a Doubt or Debate of great moment ſhould ariſe in *China*, how ſhould the *Gentleman* in *Italy* proceed to confute that Hereſy, to quaſh that Schiſm, to ſatisfy that Doubt, to determine that Cauſe? how long muſt it be e'er he can have notice thereof? or to how many croſs accidents of weather and way muſt the tranſmitting of information be ſubject? how difficult will it prove to get a clear and ſure knowledge concerning the ſtate of things?

How hard will it be to get the oppoſite parties to appear, ſo as to confront teſtimonies and probations requiſite to a fair and juſt deciſion? how ſhall witneſſes of infirm ſex or age ramble ſo far? how eaſily will ſome of them prepoſſeſs and abuſe him with falſe ſuggeſtions and miſrepreſentations of the caſe? how ſlippery therefore will the reſult be, and how prone he to award a wrongful ſentence?

Numquid mirandum eſt de tam longinquis terris Epiſcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt? Aug. *contra* Creſcon. 3. 34. What marvel if the Biſhops from ſo remote Countries tell you what they pleaſe without check or controul?

Delungas vias luengas mentiras. Hiſp *Prov. Syn.* Baſil. *Seſſ.* 31. *p.* 86.

How tedious, how expenſive, how troubleſome, how vexatious, how hazardous muſt this courſe be to all the parties? Certainly Cauſes muſt needs proceed ſlowly, and depend long; and in the end the reſolution of them muſt be very uncertain.

What temptation will it be for any one (how juſtly ſoever corrected by his immediate ſuperiors) to complain; hoping thereby to eſcape, to diſguiſe the truth, &c. who, being condemned, will not appeal to one at a diſtance, hoping by falſe ſuggeſtions to delude him?

Vid Bern. *Ep.* 178. *de Conſi.*

This neceſſarily will deſtroy all diſcipline, and induce impunity, or fruſtration of Juſtice.

Certainly much more convenient and equal it ſhould be, that there ſhould be near at hand a Sovereign Power, fully capable, expeditely and ſeaſonably to compoſe differences, to decide cauſes, to reſolve doubts, to ſettle things without more ſtir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that Laws ſhould rather be framed, interpreted, and executed in every Country, with accommodation to the tempers of the People, to the circumſtances of things, to the Civil State there, by perſons acquainted with thoſe particulars, than by ſtrangers ignorant of them, and apt to miſtake about them.

Romam pergens Stephanum Collegam noſtrum longè poſitum, & geſtæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum ſefellit; ut exambiret reponi ſe injuſtè in Epiſcopatum, de quo fuerat juſtè depoſitus. Cypr. Ep. 67.

How often will the Pope be impoſed upon, as he was in the caſe of *Baſilides*, of whom St. *Cyprian* ſaith, *going to* Rome *he deceived our Collegue* Stephen, *being placed at diſtance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aſpiring to be unjuſtly reſtored to the Biſhoprick, from which he was juſtly removed.*

As

As he was in the caſe of *Marcellus*, who gull'd Pope *Julius* by fair profeſſions, as St. *Baſil* doth often complain.

Ἐκεῖνα ποιῶσι νῦν ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ, ὅτε μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες, &c. Basil. Ep. 110.

As he was in aiding that verſatile and troubleſom Biſhop, *Euſtathius* of *Se-baſtia*, to the recovery of his Biſhoprick. Baſ. Ep. 73. 74.

As he was in rejecting *the man of God, and moſt admirable Biſhop*, Meletius; and admitting ſcandalous reports about him, which the ſame Saint doth often reſent; blaming ſometimes the fallacious miſinformation, ſometimes the wilful preſumption, negligence, pride of the *Roman* Church, in the caſe.

Τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ θεῷ Μελετίῳ —— τὴν σωματικωτάτην ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον —— Basil. Ep. 349.

Οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐν ταῦθα· οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. Ibid.

Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done, others that think they know them, declare them unto us, more contentiouſly than truly.

Ἔλυπεν ἡμᾶς λέγων τοὺς Ἀρειομανίτας συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον. *Epiſt.* 421. *ad* Pet. Alex.

He grieved us when he ſaid, that our godly Brethren, *Meletius* and *Euſebius*, were reckoned among the *Arians*.

Ποῖα βοήθεια ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δυτικῆς ὀφθῇ, οἱ μήτε εἰδότες ἔτε ἴσασιν, ἔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; Baſ. Ep. 10.

What help can we have from the pride of the *Africans*, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?

As he was in the caſe of *Pelagius* and *Celeſtius*, who did cajole Pope *Zoſimus* to acquit them, to condemn *Eros* and *Lazarus* their accuſers, to reprove the *African* Biſhops for proſecuting them. P. Zoſ. I. Ep. 3. &c.

How many proceedings ſhould we have like to that of Pope *Zoſimus* I. concerning that ſcandalous Prieſt, *Apiarius*; whom being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his Biſhop, that Pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronize; but was baffled in his enterprize.

Deinde quòd inter tantam hominum, multitudinem adeò pauci ſunt Epiſcopi & ampla ſingulorum Parochia, ut in ſubjectis plebibus curam Epiſcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut ritè adminiſtrare valeant. P. Greg *VII. Ep.* 2. 73.

And then becauſe in ſo great a multitude of People there are ſo few Biſhops, and every one's Dioceſe very large, that they are in no wiſe able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the Epiſcopal office among the People over whom they are ſet.

This hath been the ſenſe of the Fathers, in the caſe.

St. *Cyprian* therefore ſaith, that *ſeeing it was a general ſtatute among the Biſhops, and that it was both equal and juſt, that every one's cauſe ſhould be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each Paſtor had a portion of the Flock allotted to him, which he ſhould rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing.* Cypr. Ep. 55. (p. 116.)

St. *Chryſoſtom* thought it *improper that one out of* Ægypt *ſhould adminiſter juſtice to Perſons in* Thrace: (and why not as well one out of *Italy*?)

Οὐδὲ δεῖ ἀπὸ Λιβύης εἰς Θράκην δικάζειν. Chryſ. Ep. 102. (*ad* P. Innoc. I.) Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος, καὶ ἐξὸν ἦν τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας ὧν τοσούτων διασπωμένων, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔλεγε μὴ ἐξεῖναι τινὶ (ἴσθι ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται), &c.

For if this cuſtom prevail, and if they that will may go to other mens Dioceſes at ſo great a diſtance, and eject whom any man pleaſes, know that all will go to wrack, &c.

The *African* Synod thought *the* Nicene *Fathers had provided moſt prudently and moſt juſtly, that all affairs ſhould be finally determined there where they did ariſe.*

Decreta Nicena ſive inferiorum gradus clericos, ſive ipſos Epiſcopos ſuos Metropolitanis apertiſſimè commiſerunt; Prudentiſſimè enim juſtiſſiméque viderunt (providerunt) quæcunque negotia in ſuis locis, unde orta ſunt, finienda. Ep. Conc. Afric. *ad* P. Celeſt. I. (*in fine* Cod. Afric.) *vel apud* Dion. *Exig.*

They thought *a tranſmarine judgment could not be firm*, becauſe *the neceſſary perſons for teſtimony, for the infirmity of ſex or age, or for many other infirmities could not be brought thither.*

Aut quòd ipſum tranſmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod teſtium neceſſaria perſona vel propter ſexûs, vel propter ſenectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt. Ibid.

Pope *Leo* himſelf ſaw how dilatory this courſe would be; and that *longinquity of region doth cauſe the examination of truth to become over dilatory.*

Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere ſolet) in nimias dilationes tendat veritatis examina —— P. Leo I. Ep. 34.

Pope *Liberius* for ſuch reaſon did requeſt *Conſtantius*, that *Athanaſius* his cauſe ſhould be tryed at *Alexandria*; where — *he* (ſaith he) *that is accuſed, and the accuſers are, and the defender of them, and ſo we may upon examination had, agree in our ſentence about them.*

Τότε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰ κατήγορος καὶ ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀπολογούμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπεισθησόμεθα. Theod. 2. 16.

Therefore

Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abuſus permulti, dum nimium ſæpenumero à remotiſſimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, & interdum pro parvis & minutis rebus ac negotiis quampluriès citari ac evocari conſueverunt, &c. *Vid. Conc.* Baſ. *Seſſ.* 31. (*p.* 86.)

Therefore divers ancient Canons of Synods did prohibit, that any Cauſes ſhould be removed out of the Bounds of Provinces, or Dioceſes; as otherwhere we ſhew.

But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuſes have prevailed, while too often men have been uſed to be cited and called out even from the remoteſt parts of the Court of *Rome*, and ſometimes for ſlight and trivial buſineſſes and occaſions.

Vid Hiſt. Conc. Trid. p. 61. *Privilegia iſtius ſedis perpetua ſunt, devinctis radicata atque plantata, impingi poſſunt, transferri non poſſunt; trahi poſſunt, evelli non poſſunt.* *P.* Nic. *I. ad* Nic. *Imp.*

2. Such an Authority, as this pretence claimeth, muſt neceſſarily (if not withheld by continual Miracle) throw the Church into ſad bondage. All the World muſt become ſlaves to one City, its wealth muſt be derived thither, its quiet muſt depend on it. For it (not being reſtrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or co-ordinate power, ſtanding upon Divine Inſtitution, and therefore immutably ſettled) muſt of its own nature become abſolute and unlimited.

The privileges of this See are perpetual, rooted and founded upon Divine Authority, they may be daſht againſt, they cannot be removed; they may be drawn aſide, they cannot be pluck'd up.

Vid. Conc. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 31. 87.

Let it be however of right limited by Divine Laws or Humane Canons, yet will it be continually encroaching, and ſtretching its power until it grows enormous, and boundleſs. It will not endure to be pinched by any reſtraint. It will draw to it ſelf the collation of all preferments, &c.

It will aſſume all things to it ſelf; trampling down all oppoſite claims of right and liberty; ſo that neither Paſtor nor People ſhall enjoy or do any thing otherwiſe than in dependence on it, and at its pleaſure.

Licèt Apoſtolica prærogativa poſſimus de qualibet Eccleſia clericum ordinare. *P.* Steph. *apud* Grat. *cauſ.* 9. *qu.* 3. *cap.* 20.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting ſanctions to eſtabliſh them, which none muſt preſume to conteſt.

Though by our Apoſtolical prerogative we may ordain a Clergy-man of any Church.

Hiſt. Conc. Trid. *p.* 60. ſo they pretend. *Conc.* Later. 4. (*ſub* Innoc. 3.)

It will draw to it ſelf the diſpoſal of all places; the exaction of goods. All Princes muſt become his Miniſters, and executors of his Decrees.

Sitque alienus à divinis & Pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis Apoſtolicis obtemperare. *Greg. IV. diſt.* 19. *c.* 5.)

It will mount above all Law, and Rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable, and unaccountable, but not enduring any reproof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates: a blind Faith muſt be yielded to all its Aſſertions as infallibly true, and a blind obedience to all its Decrees, as unqueſtionably holy: whoſoever ſhall any-wiſe croſs it in word or deed, ſhall certainly be diſcountenanced, condemned, ejected from the Church; ſo that the moſt abſolute tyranny, that can be imagined, will enſue: All the World hath groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor Nation; it would raiſe indignation in any man to read the complaints*.

And let him have nothing at all to do with Divine and Provincial Offices, who would not obey the Apoſtolical Precepts. * *Vid.* Mat. Paris.

Oportet autem gladium eſſe ſub gladio, & Temporalem Authoritatem Spirituali ſubjici poteſtati. Bonif. *VIII. Extrav. Com.* 1. 8. 1.

But there muſt be a ſword under a ſword, and Temporal Authority ſubject to Spiritual.

——cheſia piu officio di Ponteſici aggiungere con l'armi, & col ſorgue de Chriſtiani, &c. Guicc. *l.* 11. *p.* 858.

This is conſequent on ſuch a pretence according to the very nature of things; and ſo in experience it hath happened. For,

Quid hodie erant Epiſcopi, niſi umbra quædam? quid plus eis reſtabat quàm baculus & mitra, &c. *Æn. Sylv. de geſtis Syn.* Baſ. *lib.* 1.

It is evident, that the Papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all Orders in the Church, either granted by God, or eſtabliſhed in the ancient Canons.

What were Biſhops now, but a kind of ſhadows? what had they left more than a Staff and a Mitre, &c.

Conc. Lat. 5. *Seſſ.* 11. *p.* 129. *De omni Eccleſia jus habet judicandi.* *P.* Gelaſ. Grat. *Cauſ.* 9. *q.* 3. *cap.* 18.

The *Royalties* of *Peter* are become immenſe; and conſiſtently to his practice the Pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, *that all Power in Heaven and in Earth is given unto him.*

It belongeth unto him *to judge of the whole Church.*

He

He hath *a plenitude* (as he calleth it) *of Power*, by which he can infringe any Law, or do any thing that he pleaſeth.

Secundum plenitudinem poteſtatis de jure poſſumus ſupra jus diſpenſare. Greg. *decret. lib* 3. *tit.* 8. *cap.* 4.

It is the tenor of his Bulls, *that whoever raſhly dareth to thwart his will, ſhall incur the indignation of Almighty God; and* (as if that were not enough) *of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *alſo.*

No man muſt preſume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment.

Hujus culpas iſthic redarguere præſumit mortalium nullus. Grat. *diſt.* 40. *cap.* 6. (*Si Papa* ——) *Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio.* Cauſ. 9. *qu.* 3. *cap.* 10.

It is Idolatry to diſobey his commands, againſt their own Sovereign Lord.

Cùm enim obedire Apoſtolicæ ſedi ſuperbè contemnunt, ſcelus idololatriæ, teſte Samuele, incurrunt. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 4. 2. *Nulli fas eſt vel velle, vel poſſe tranſgredi Apoſtolicæ ſedis præcepta.* Greg. *IV. apud* Grat. *diſt.* 19. *cap.* 5.

No man may or can tranſgreſs the commands of the Apoſtolick See.

—— *Ab omnibus quicquid ſtatuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo & irrefragabiliter obſervandum eſt. Ibid. cap.* 4. (P. Steph)

—— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, muſt always and inviolably be obſerved by all.

There are who dare in plain terms call him Omnipotent, and who aſcribe *infinite* power to him. And that he is infallible, is the moſt common and plauſible opinion; ſo that at *Rome* the contrary *is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.*

Erronea, & hæreſi proxima. Bell. *de P.* 4. 2.

We are now told, that *If the Pope ſhould err by enjoining vices, or forbidding virtues, the Church ſhould be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unleſs it would ſin againſt Conſcience.*

Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam peccare. Bell. *de Pont.* 4 5.

The greateſt Princes muſt ſtoop to his will; otherwiſe he hath power to caſhier, and depoſe them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity, can there be, than that all God's people (that *free people*, who are *called to freedom*) ſhould be ſubject to ſo intolerable a yoke, and miſerable a ſlavery?

Gal. 5. 1. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 16.

That tyranny ſoon had crept into the *Roman* Church, *Socrates* telleth us.

Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum Eccleſiarum, ita quòd inferiores Prælati ſunt pro nihilo. Card. Zab. *de Sch.* Innoc. *VII. p.* 560.

The Pope hath invaded all the rights of inferior Churches, ſo that all inferior Prelates are nothing ſet by.

They have rendred true that definition of *Scioppius*; *The Church is a ſtall, or herd, or multitude of Beaſts, or Aſſes.*

Eccleſia eſt mandra ſive grex aut multitudo jumentorum ſive aſinorum. Eccl. c. 47.

They bridle us, they harneſs us, they ſpur us, they lay Yokes and Laws upon us.

Illi nos frænant nos lora alligant, nos ſtimulant, nobis jugum & onus imponunt. Ib.

The greateſt tyranny that ever was invented in the world, is the pretence of Infallibility: for *Dionyſius* and *Phalaris* did leave the mind free, (pretending only to diſpoſe of body and goods according to their will;) but the Pope not content to make us do and ſay what he pleaſeth, will have us alſo to think ſo; denouncing his imprecations and ſpiritual menaces if we do not.

3. Such an Authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Chriſtian Doctrine, by diſtorting it in accommodating of it to the promoting its deſigns and intereſts. It will blend Chriſtianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new Doctrines, and interpret the old ones ſo as may ſerve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleaſure of thoſe who manage it, and of their dependents.

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ to make a trade of Religion, will be the great work of the Teachers of the Church. It will turn all Divines into Mercenary, flavish, deſigning Flatterers.

2 Cor. 2. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 5. Νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ὑπολαμβάνοντες πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ὑποληπτέον τὴν εὐσέβειαν πορισμὸν εἶναι. Supposing that gain is godlineſs. Ἐν πρόφασει πλεονεξίας. Theſſ. 2. 5. A cloke of Covetouſneſs. Κυβεία. Eph. 4. 4.

This we ſee come to paſs, Chriſtianity by the Papal influence being from its original ſimplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine Philoſophy, deſigned to improve the reaſon, to moderate the paſſions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for converſation with God and Angels; modelled to a ſyſtem of politick devices (of notions, of precepts, of rights) ſerving to exalt and enrich the Pope, with his Court and Adherents, Clients and Vaſſals.

Paſce, id eſt regio more impera. Ecce duos Gladios. —— *Oravi nè deficeret* —— Feed (*i. e.*) rule as a King. Behold two Swords.

What Doctrine of Chriſtian Theology, as it is interpreted by their Schools, hath not a direct aſpect, or doth not ſquint that way? eſpecially according to the opinions paſſant and in vogue among them.

To paſs over thoſe concerning the Pope, (his Univerſal Paſtorſhip, Judgſhip in Controverſies, Power to call Councils, Preſidency in them, Superiority over them; Right to confirm, or annul them; his Infallibility; his double Sword, and Dominion (direct or indirect) over Princes; his diſpenſing in Laws, in Oaths, in Vows, in Matrimonial caſes, with all other the monſtrous prerogatives, which the ſound Doctors of *Rome*, with encouragement of that Chair, do teach.)

What doth the Doctrine concerning the exempting of the Clergy from ſecular juriſdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes ſignify, but their entire dependence on the Pope, and their being cloſely tyed to his intereſts?

What is the exemption of Monaſtical places from the juriſdiction of Biſhops, but liſting ſo many Soldiers and Advocates to defend and advance the Papal Empire?

What meaneth the Doctrine concerning that middle Region of Souls, or Cloiſter of Purgatory, whereof the Pope holdeth the Keys; opening and ſhutting it at his pleaſure, by diſpenſation of pardons and indulgences; but that he muſt be Maſter of the Peoples condition, and of their purſe?

What meaneth the treaſure of Merits, and ſupererogatory Works, whereof he is the Steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing mony from ſimple People to his treaſury?

Whither doth the entangling of Folks in perpetual Vows tend, but to aſſure them in a ſlaviſh dependence on their intereſts, eternally, without evaſion or remedy; except by favourable diſpenſation from the Pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in Sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the Prieſt, and all he doth?

Whence did the monſtrous Doctrine of Tranſubſtantion (urged with ſo furious zeal) iſſue, but from deſign to magnify the credit of thoſe, who by ſaying of a few words can make Our God and Saviour? and withal to exerciſe a notable inſtance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their Reaſon and Senſes?

Whither doth tend the Doctrine concerning the Maſs being a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, but to engage men to leave in their Wills good ſums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the Cup withholden from the Laity, but to lay it low by ſo notable a diſtinction, in the principal myſtery of our Religion, from the Prieſthood?

Why is ſaying private Maſs (or celebrating the Communion in ſolitude) alwed, but becauſe Prieſts are pay'd for it, and live by it?

At what doth the Doctrine concerning the neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion aim, but that thereby the Prieſts may have a mighty awe on the Conſciences of all People, may dive into their Secrets, may manage their Lives as they pleaſe?

And what doth a like neceſſary particular Abſolution intend, but to ſet the Prieſt in a lofty ſtate of Authority above the People, as a Judge of their Condition, and Diſpenſer of their Salvation?

Why do they equal Eccleſiaſtical Traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever Doctrines, advantageous to their deſigns?

What drift hath the Doctrine concerning the Infallibility of Churches or Councils, but that when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of Biſhops together to eſtabliſh what he liketh, which ever after muſt paſs for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; ſo enſlaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always ſute to his Intereſt.

What doth the prohibition of Holy Scripture drive at, but a Monopoly of knowledge to themſelves, or a detaining of People in ignorance of truth and duty; ſo that they muſt be forced to rely on them for direction, muſt believe all they ſay, and blindly ſubmit to their dictates; being diſabled to detect their errours, or conteſt their opinions.

Why

Why muſt the Sacraments be celebrated, and publick devotions exerciſed in an unknown Tongue, but that the Prieſts may ſeem to have a peculiar intereſt in them, and ability for them?

Why muſt the Prieſthood be ſo indiſpenſably forbidden Marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the State, and reſt addicted to him, and governable by him; that the Perſons and Wealth of Prieſts may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging Religion by multiplication of Ceremonies and Formalities, but to amuſe the People, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the * Interpreters of the dark myſteries couched in them; and by ſeeming to encourage an exterior ſhew of Piety (or form of godlineſs) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppreſs the interiour virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Phariſees did, although with leſs deſigns? * *Vid.* Sleid: p. 673.

Why is the veneration of Images and Reliques, the credence of Miracles and Legends, the undertaking of Pilgrimages, and voyages to *Rome*, and other places, more holy than ordinary; ſprinklings of Holy-water, conſecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppiſh knacks and trinkets) ſo cheriſhed; but to keep the People in a ſlaviſh credulity and dotage; apt to be led by them whither they pleaſe, by any ſleeveleſs pretence; and in the mean while to pick various gains from them by ſuch trade?

What do all ſuch things mean, but obſcuring the native ſimplicity of Chriſtianity, whereas it being repreſented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration, which theſe men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wiſdom? And what would men ſpend for theſe toys, if they underſtood they might be good Chriſtians, and get to Heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of Religion ſerve for, but for oſtentation of the dignity of thoſe who adminiſter it? It may be pretended for the honour of Religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the Prieſthood, who ſhine in thoſe Pageantries.

Why is Monkery (although ſo very different from that which was in the ancient times) ſo cried up as a ſuperlative ſtate of perfection; but that it filleth all places with ſwarms of luſty People, who are vowed Servants to him, and have little elſe to do but to advance that Authority, by which they ſubſiſt in that droniſh way of life?

In fine, peruſing the Controverſies of *Bellarmine*, or any other Champion of *Romaniſm*, do but conſider the nature and ſcope of each Doctrine, maintained by them; and you may eaſily diſcern, that ſcarce any of them but doth tend to advance the intereſt of the Pope, or of his ſworn Vaſſals.

Whereas indeed our Lord had never any ſuch deſign, to ſet up a ſort of men in ſuch diſtance above their brethren; to perk over them, and ſuck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge People to allow their Paſtors a competent maintenance for a ſober life, with a moderate reſpect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people; whom they were, with humility and meekneſs, to inſtruct and guide in the plain and ſimple way of Piety.

This is a grievous inconvenience; there being nothing wherein the Church is more concerned, than in the preſervation of its Doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine, and miſcarriages in practice, which this Authority in favour to it ſelf would introduce, would be eſtabliſhed immovably, to the irrecoverable oppreſſion of Truth and Piety; any reformation becoming impoſſible, while it ſtandeth, or ſo far as it ſhall be able to oppoſe and obſtruct it.

While particular Churches do retain their liberty, and Paſtors their original co-ordination in any meaſure, if any Church or Biſhop ſhall offer to broach any novel Doctrine or Practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to ſtop the ſettlement or progreſs of them; each Church at leaſt may keep it ſelf ſound from contagion.

But when all Churches and Biſhops are reduced into ſubjection to one Head, ſupported by the guards of his Authority, who will dare to conteſt, or be able to withſtand, what he ſhall ſay or do? It will then be deemed high preſumption

ption, contumacy, rebellion, to diſſent from his determinations, how falſe ſoever, or tax the practices countenanced by him however irregular and culpable.

He will aſſume to himſelf the privilege not to be croſſed in any thing; and ſoon will claim *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility.*

No error can be ſo palpable, which that Authority will not protect and ſhroud from confutation; no practice ſo enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be Legions of mercenary Tongues to ſpeak, and ſtipendiary Pens to write in defence of its Doctrines and Practices; ſo that whoever will undertake to oppoſe it, ſhall be voted down and overpowered with noiſe, and ſhall incur all the diſcouragement and perſecution imaginable. So poor Truth will become utterly defenceleſs, wretched Virtue deſtitute of ſuccour or patronage.

This is ſo in ſpeculation, and we ſee it confirmed by experience; for when from the influence of this Power (as P. *Adrian* VI. did ingenuouſly confeſs) an apparent degeneracy in Doctrine, in Diſcipline, in Practice had ſeized on Chriſtendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how ſtiff a repugnance did the adherents to this intereſt make thereto? with what induſtry and craft did Popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy?

Sleid. *lib.* 4. *p.* 82. *lib.* 12. *p.* 322. *Hiſt Conc.* Trid *p.* 24. *Vid.* Riv. *in Caſtig. Nol. p.* 525.

Centum gravamina.

What will not this Party do, rather than acknowledge themſelves miſtaken or liable to error? what palliations, what ſhifts do not they uſe? what evidence of light do they not outface?

5. The ſame will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief Clergy partaking of its growth, and protected by its intereſt, (reciprocally ſupporting it, and being ſheltred by it from any curb or controul) will ſwell into great pride and haughtineſs; will be tempted to ſcrape and hoard up wealth, by rapine, extortion, ſimony; will come to enjoy eaſe and ſloth; will be immerſed in ſenſuality and luxury, and will conſequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of dignity, and will uſe all means and arts to attain it.

Thence emulation, diſcord, ſycophantry will ſpring.

Vid. ipſum Greg. *VII. Ep.* 1. 42. 2. 45. See the deſcription of them in St. *Bernard. in Cant. Serm.* Guicciard. *in Suppl.*

Thence all Eccleſiaſtical Offices will become venial; to be purchaſed by bribes, flattery, favour ——

The higher ranks will become faſtuous, ſupercilious and domineering. The lower will baſely crouch, cogg ——

What then muſt the People be, the Guides being ſuch?

Adv. Pelag. *in* Riv. *Caſtig. N. cap.* 8.

Were ſuch Guides like to edify the People by their Doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their Example?

Vid. Bern. *Converſ. St.* Paul. *Serm.* 1. *p.* 87.

That thus it hath happened, Experience doth ſhew, and Hiſtory doth abundantly teſtify. This was ſoon obſerved by a Pagan Hiſtorian, *Am. Marcellin.* By St. *Baſil* ἕρμις δυτικὴ.

What miſchief this, what ſcandal to Religion, what detriment to the Church, what ruine of Souls it produceth, is viſible.

The deſcriptions of *Rome*, and of that Church by *Mantuan*, do in a lively manner repreſent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This Authority as it would induce corruption of manners, ſo it would perpetuate it, and render the ſtate of things incorrigible.

For this *Head* of the Church, and the Supporters of his Authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

That will happen of any Pope, which the Fathers of *Baſil* complained of in Pope *Eugenius.*

——*Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Chriſto placentem, aut notiſſimorum abuſuum correctionem in Eccleſia Sancta Dei efficere ſatageret.* *Conc.* Baſ. *Seſſ.* 23. (*p.* 76) *Seſſ.* 31. *p.* 89.

He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, ſeriouſly to ſet upon any amendment of errors, or correction of the moſt groſs abuſes in the Holy Church of God.

If

If the Pope would (as Pope *Adrian* VI.) yet he will not be able to reform; the intereſts of his dependents croſſing it. *Vid. Conc. Trid. p.* 22.

If there hath happened a good Pope, who deſired to reform; yet he hath been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and found it impoſſible to reform even a few particulars in his own houſe, the incorrigible *Roman* Court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this ſpiritual Authority, doth encourage it with inſuperable obſtinacy to withſtand all reformation: For whereas if any temporal Power doth grow intolerable, God's Providence by Wars and Revolutions of State, may diſpenſe a redreſs; they have prevented this, by ſuppoſing that in this caſe God hath tied his own hands; this Authority being immovably fixed in the ſame hands, from which no revolution can take it; whence from its exorbitances there can be no reſcue or relief.

7. This Authority will ſpoil him in whom it is ſeated, corrupting his mind and manners, rendring him a Scandal to Religion, and a pernicious Inſtrument of wickedneſs by the influence of his example. It will certainly render him a Tyrant, according to the definition of *Ariſtotle, Pol.* 4. 10. *Cui plus licet quàm par eſt, plus vult quàm licet. Unde ſicut langueſcente capite, reliquum poſtea corpus morbus invadat. Conc.* Baſ *Seſſ* 23. (*p.* 64.) Whence it comes to paſs that if the Head be ſick, the reſt of the Body afterwards grows diſeaſed. *Vid. Conc.* Baſ. *p.* 87. *Conc.* Conſt. *p.* 1110.

To this an uncontroulable power (bridled with no reſtraint) and impunity doth naturally tend, and accordingly hath it been— *Vid. diſt.* 40. *cap.* 6. (*hujus culpas, etſi.*)

How many notorious Reprobates, Monſters of wickedneſs, have been in that See? *Vid.* Alv. Pelag. *apud* Riv. *Cath. Orth. p.* 141.

Baron. Pope *Marcellus* II. doubted whether a Pope could be ſaved. *Thuan. lib.* 15. (*p.* 566.) From *John* VIII. to *Leo* XI. what a rable of Rake-hells and Sots did ſit in that Chair! Machiavel. *Hiſt. lib.* 16. *p.* 1271. Baron. *Ann.* 912. §. 8.

If we ſurvey the Lives of Popes, written by Hiſtorians moſt indifferent, or (as moſt have been) partial in favour to them, we ſhall find, at firſt good ones, Martyrs, Confeſſors, Saints —— but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones? how many extremely bad? The firſt Popes before *Conſtantine* were holy men, the next were tolerable, while the Papacy kept within bounds of modeſty; but when they had ſhaken off their Maſter, and renounced allegiance to the Emperor, (*i. e.* after *Gregory* II.) few tolerable; generally they were either Rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, inſolent, turbulent and ravenous.

Bellarmine and *Baronius* do bob off this, by telling us that hence the providence of God is moſt apparent. Baron. *Ann.* 897. §. 5.

It was ſaid of *Veſpaſian, Solus imperantium melior* —— So apt is power to corrupt men. *Solus omnium ante ſe Principum in melius mutatus eſt.* Tac. *Hiſt.* 1. (*p.* 451.)

But do they call this preſerving the Church; the permiſſion of it to continue ſo long in ſuch a condition, under the prevalence of ſuch miſchiefs? when hath God deſerted any People, if not then? when ſuch Impiety more than Pagan doth reign in it. How vain is that which P. *Greg.* VII. crieth out of P.

Symmachus, B. Petrus perennem meritorum dotem cum hæreditate innocentiæ miſit ad poſteros. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 8. 21.

But what in the mean time became of thoſe Souls, which by this means were ruined; what amends for the vaſt damage which Religion ſuſtained? for the introducing ſo pernicious Cuſtoms hardly to be extirpated? —— *Quòd Romanus Pontifex, ſi canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur ſanctus*; was one of P. Greg. VII. his dictates. That the *Roman* Pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of bleſſed *Peter*.

To what a paſs of ſhameleſs wickedneſs muſt things have come, when ſuch men as *Alexander* VI. having viſibly ſuch an impure brood, ſhould be placed in this Chair?

Even after the Reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to ſet *Paul* the Third there.

How unfit muſt ſuch men be, to be the Guides of all Chriſtendom, to breathe Oracles of Truth, to enact Laws of Sanctity?

How improper were thoſe Veſſels of *Satan* to be Organs of that *Holy Spirit of diſcipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without underſtanding, and will not abide where unrighteouſneſs cometh in.* Sap. 1. 5.

It

It will engage the Popes to make the Eccleſiaſtical Authority an Engine of advancing the Temporal concerns of his own Relations, (his Sons, his Nephews.)

Vid. Guicciard. Machiav. *Hiſt. Fl. p.* 19. *Conc. Baſſ.* (*p.* 65.)

What indeed is the Popedom now but a Ladder for a family to mount unto a great Eſtate?

What is it, but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof, a Family muſt make Hay while the Sun ſhines?

——Cùm non ob religionem, & Dei cultum appetere Pontificatum noſtri Sacerdotes videantur, ſed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem & avaritiam expleant. Plat. *in* Joh. XVI. (*p.* 298.)

Whereas our Prieſts ſeem to deſire the Popedom, not for Religion and the Worſhip of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetouſneſs of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.

This Pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great miſchief in the world, to the diſturbance of Civil Societies, and deſtruction or debilitation of temporal Authority, which is certainly God's Ordinance, and neceſſary to the well-being of mankind; ſo that ſuppoſing it, we may in vain *pray for Kings, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty.*

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

For ſuppoſe the two powers (Spiritual and Temporal) to be co-ordinate, and independent each of other; then muſt all Chriſtians be put into that perplexed ſtate of repugnant and incompatible obligations; concerning which our Lord ſaith, *No man can ſerve two Maſters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or elſe he will hold to the one and deſpiſe the other.*

Matt. 6. 24.

They will often draw ſeveral ways, and claſh in their deſigns, in their laws, in their deciſions; one willing and commanding that, which the other diſliketh and prohibiteth.

Bell. 5. 6. (*p.* 1415.)

It will be impoſſible by any certain bounds to diſtinguiſh their Juriſdiction, ſo as to prevent conteſt between them; all temporal matters being in ſome reſpect ſpiritual (as being referrable to ſpiritual ends, and in ſome manner allied to Religion) and all ſpiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the ſecular peace and proſperity of States; there is nothing, which each of theſe Powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and juriſdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the Church, the other to ſecure the intereſt of the State: and what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence ariſing; there being no third Power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

Each will proſecute its cauſe by its advantages; the one by inſtruments of temporal power, the other by ſpiritual arms of cenſures and curſes.

And in what a caſe muſt the poor People then be? how diſtracted in their conſciences, how divided in their affections, how diſcordant in their practices? according as each pretence hath influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages?

How can any man ſatisfy himſelf in performing or refuſing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other?

What ſhall a man do, while one in caſe of diſobedience to his Commands doth brandiſh a Sword, the other thundreth out a Curſe againſt him; one threatneth death, the other exciſion from the Church; both denounce damnation?

What animoſities and contentions, what diſcompoſures and confuſions muſt this Conſtitution of things breed in every place? and how can *a Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſtand*, or not *come into deſolation*?

Matt. 12. 25.

Such an advantage infallibly will make Popes affect to invade the temporal Power.

P. Paſch. II. Ep. 7.

It was the reaſon, which Pope *Paſchal* alledged againſt *Henry* IV. becauſe he did *Eccleſiæ regnum auferre.*

It is indeed impoſſible, that a co-ordination of theſe Powers ſhould ſubſiſt; for each will be continually encroaching on the other; each for its own defence and ſupport will continually be ſtruggling and clambring to get above the other: there will never be any quiet till one come to ſubdue and truckle under the other; Whereby the Sovereignty of the one or the other will be deſtroyed.

Each

Each of them ſoon will come to claim a Supremacy in all cauſes, and the power of both Swords; and one ſide will carry it.

It is indeed neceſſary, that men for a time continuing poſſeſſed with a reverence to the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it ſhould at laſt overthrow the temporal: by reaſon of its great advantages above it; for,

The Spiritual Power doth pretend an Eſtabliſhment purely Divine; which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminutions or tranſlation, to which Temporal dominions are ſubject: Its power therefore, being perpetual, irreverſible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered.

Vid. Mach. *Hiſt. Flor. p.* 18.—*Impeti poſſunt humanis præſumptionibus quæ divino ſunt judicio conſtituta, vinci autem quorumlibet poteſtate non poſſunt.* P. Gel. *Ep.* 8. Felix P. *Ep.* 1. (*p.* 597.)

It fighteth with Tongues and Pens, which are the moſt perillous Weapons.

It can never be diſarmed, fighting with Weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It worketh by moſt powerful conſiderations upon the Conſciences and Affections of men upon pain of damnation, promiſing heaven, and threatning hell; which upon ſome men have an infinite ſway, upon all men a conſiderable influence; and thereby will be too hard for thoſe who only grant Temporal Rewards, or inflict Temporal Puniſhments. It is ſurely a notable advantage that the Pope hath above all Princes, that he commandeth not only as a Prince, but as a Guide; ſo that whereas we are not otherwiſe bound to obey the commands of Princes, than as they appear concordant with God's Law, we muſt obſerve his commands abſolutely, as being therefore lawful, becauſe he commandeth them, that involving his aſſertion of their lawfulneſs, to which (without farther inquiry or ſcruple) we muſt ſubmit our underſtanding, his words ſufficiently authorizing his commands for juſt. We are not only obliged to obey his commands but to embrace his doctrines.

It hath continual opportunities of converſing with men; and thereby can inſinuate and ſuggeſt the obligation to obey it, with greateſt advantage, in ſecrecy, in the tendereſt ſeaſons.

It claimeth a power to have its inſtruction admitted with aſſent; and will it not inſtruct them for its own advantage? All its Aſſertions muſt be believed---- is not this an infinite advantage?

By ſuch advantages the Spiritual Power (if admitted for ſuch as it pretendeth) will ſwallow and devour the Temporal; which will be an extreme miſchief to the world.

The very pretence doth immediately crop and curtail the natural Right of Princes; by exempting great n mbers of Perſons (the participants and dependents of this Hierarchy) from ſubjection to them. By withdrawing Cauſes from their Juriſdiction. By commanding in their Territories, and drawing People out of them to their Judicatories. By having influence on their Opinions. By draining them of Wealth, *&c.*

Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam Eccleſiaſticam minui dignitatem aut pro Eccleſiaſtica dignitate Principum potentiam mutilari. P. Paſch. *II. Ep.* 28. & 29. For we will not that either the Eccleſiaſtical dignity ſhould be diminiſhed, by reaſon of the Prince's power, or that the Prince's power ſhould be curtail'd for the Eccleſiaſtical dignity.

To this diſcourſe Experience abundantly doth yield its Atteſtation; for, How often have the * Popes thwarted Princes in the exerciſe of their Power; challenging their Laws and Adminiſtrations as prejudicial to Religion? as contrary to Eccleſiaſtical Liberty?

In vain did St. *Bernard, (de Conſid.* 1.) cry, *Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid ſaltem veſtram in alienam meſſem extenditis?* Why do you invade other mens territories? why thruſt you your ſickle into other Mens harveſt? * *Arietas furioſos.* Bell. 5.7.

Bodin (l. 9) obſerveth, that if any Prince were a Heretick, (that is, if the Pope could pick occaſion to call him ſo) or a Tyrant (that is, in his opinion) or any-wiſe ſcandalous, the Pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himſelf a feudatory to the Pope: So he drew in moſt Kingdoms to depend on him.

Vid. Tort. *T. p.* 216. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 1. 7. 12. 13. 63.

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their People from entertaining communion with them?

How many Commotions, Conſpiracies, Rebellions and Inſurrections againſt Princes have they raiſed in ſeveral Countries?

Vid. Plat. *de* Bonif. *VIII. p.* 467. Jul. 2.

How

How have they inveigled People from their Allegiance? How many Maſſacres and Aſſaſſinations have they cauſed? How have they depreſſed and viliſied the Temporal Power.

Non ſine ſuſpicione, quòd illorum temporum Pontifices, qui bella extinguere, diſcordias tollere debuiſſent, ſuſcitarent ea potiùs atque nutrirent. Epiſc. Modruſ. *in Conc.* Lat. *V. Seſſ. 6.* (*p.* 722)

Not without ſuſpicion, that the Popes of thoſe times, who ought to have extinguiſhed wars, and put an end to diſſenſion, did rather raiſe them up, and cheriſh them.

See *Greg.* VII. *Ep* 4. 2. 8. 21.

Have they not aſſumed to themſelves Superiority over all Princes? The Emperor himſelf (the chief of Chriſtian Princes) they did call their Vaſſal, exacting an Oath from them, whereof you have a Form in the Canon Law, and a declaration of Pope *Clement* V. that it is an Oath of Fealty.

Vid Conc. Lugd. *p.* 851.

Have they not challenged propriety in both Swords, *Ecce duo Gladii*?

How many Princes have they pretended to depoſe, and diſpoſſeſs of their Authority?

Auctoritate Apoſtolica de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis exiſtere & cenſeri debere. Clement. *lib.* 2. *Tit.* 9. *cap. unicum.*

We declare out of our Apoſtolical authority, by the advice of our Brethren, that the foreſaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be ſo eſteemed.

Conſider the Pragmatical Sanctions, Proviſors, Compoſitions, Concordats, *&c.* which Princes have been forced to make againſt them, or with them to ſecure their Intereſt.

Thuan. *lib.* 1. Many good Princes have been forced to oppoſe them, as *Henry* the Second of *England*, King *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, (that Juſt Prince, *Pater Patriæ*) *Perdam Babylonis nomen.*

Abutente Chriſtianorum Paſtore Chriſtianorum Principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, & ſuorum libidini inſerviret. Thuan. *lib.* 1. *p.* 42. The Paſtor of Chriſtians abuſing the Power of Chriſtian Princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and luſt of his Friends.

How often have they uſed this as a pretence of raiſing and fomenting Wars? confiding in their Spiritual Arms; interdicting Princes that would not comply with their deſigns, for advancing the intereſts not only of their See, but of their private Families?

Obſerv. *Bodin* obſerveth that Pope *Nicholas* I. was the firſt who excommunicated Princes. *Platina* doth mention ſome before him: But it is remarkable, that although Pope *Leo* I. (a high ſpirited Pope (*Fortiſſimus Leo*) as *Liberatus* calleth him) was highly provoked againſt *Theodoſius* Junior; Pope *Gelaſius*, and divers of his Predeceſſors and Followers—Pope *Gregory* II. againſt *Leo*—*Vigilius* againſt *Juſtinian*, *&c.* yet none of them did preſume to excommunicate the Emperors.

All theſe dealings are the natural reſult of this pretence; and, ſuppoſing it well-grounded, are capable of a plauſible juſtification: for is it not fit, (ſeeing one muſt yield) that Temporal ſhould yield to Spiritual?

Indeed, granting the Papal Supremacy in Spirituals, I conceive the high flying Zealots of the *Roman* Church, who ſubject all Temporal Powers to them, have great reaſon on their ſide; for co-ordinate Power cannot ſubſiſt, and it would be only an eternal Seminary of perpetual diſcords.

The quarrel cannot otherwiſe be well compoſed, than by wholly diſclaiming the fictitious and uſurped power of the Pope: for,

Two ſuch Powers (ſo inconſiſtent and croſs to each other, ſo apt to interfere, and conſequently to breed everlaſting miſchiefs to mankind between them) could not be inſtituted by God. ——

He would not appoint two different Vicegerents in his Kingdom at the ſame time.——

Tort. T. p. 210. But it is plain, that he hath inſtituted the civil Power; and endowed it with a Sword. That Princes are his Lieutenants *.

* P. Anaſt. calleth the Emperor Anaſt. *Vicarium. Epiſt.* (*p.* 670)

That in the ancient times the Popes did not claim ſuch Authority, but avowed themſelves Subjects to Princes.

Eccl. Leod. *p.* 522. 9. Conſequently this Pretence is apt to engage Chriſtian Princes againſt Chriſtianity; for they will not endure to be croſſed, to be depreſſed, to be trampled on.

This

This Popes often have complained of; not conſidering it was their own inſolence that cauſed it.

10. Whereas now Chriſtendom is ſplit into many parcels, ſubject to divers civil Sovereignties, it is expedient that correſpondently there ſhould be diſtinct Eccleſiaſtical Governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the reſpective civil Authorities in promoting the good and peace both of Church and State.

Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam Eccleſiaſticarum parochiarum fines in pleriſque provinciis mutari expedit & transferri. P. Paſch. II. Ep. 19.

It is fit, that every Prince, ſhould in all things govern all his Subjects; and none ſhould be exempted from ſubordination to his Authority: As Philoſophers, and Phyſicians of the Body, ſo Prieſts, and Phyſicians of the Soul; not in exerciſing their Function, but in taking care that they do exerciſe it duly for the honour of God, and in conſiſtence with publick good: otherwiſe many grievous inconveniences muſt enſue.

It is of perillous conſequence, that foreigners ſhould have authoritative influence upon the Subjects of any Prince; or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural Right to determine with whom their Subjects ſhall have intercourſe; which is inconſiſtent with a right of Foreigners to govern or judge them in any caſe, without their leave.

Every Prince is obliged to imploy the Power entruſted to him, to the furtherance of God's Service, and encouragement of all good Works; as a Supreme power, without being liable to obſtruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power, if another ſhould be beyond his coercion.

It is obſervable, that the Pope by intermeddling in the affairs of Kingdoms did ſo wind himſelf into them, as to get a pretence to be Maſter of each; Princes being his Vaſſals and Feudatories.

Vid. Bod. *de Rep.* l. 9. (*p.* 195.) *Car les Princes Chriſtien avoient preſque tous opinion, que le Pape eſtoit abſolvement ſeigneur ſovereigne de tous les Royaumes de la Chreſtiente.* Bod. *lib. p.* 196. *Tort. Tort. p.* 216, *&c.* —— Greg. VII. Ep. 1. 7. 2. 13. Alex. II. Ep. 8.

Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἕκαστος τῶν μὴ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. διδασκαλίας ἀπτομένων, λογισμοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ὅρους ἰδίους ἐπιζητούντων καὶ ἐκ αὐθεσίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου βουλομένων. Baſ. *de Jud. Dei.* 2. *p.* 259.

So great a diſſonancy and jarring there is among men in the Church, while every one ſwerves from the Doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and aſſerts certain conceits and rules of his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord, than be ruled by the Lord.

11. Such an Authority is needleſs and uſeleſs; it not ſerving the ends which it pretendeth; and they being better compaſſed without it.

It pretendeth to maintain Truth; but indeed it is more apt to oppreſs it.

Truth is rather (as St. *Cyprian* wiſely obſerveth) preſerved by the multitude of Biſhops, whereof ſome will be ready to relieve it, when aſſaulted by others.

Truth cannot be ſupported merely by humane Authority; eſpecially that Authority is to be ſuſpected, which pretendeth dominion over our minds. What Controverſy, being doubtful in it ſelf, will not after his Deciſion continue doubtful? his Sentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as other Teſtimonies or Authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wiſdom or skill may be the ground of aſſent, in defect of other more cogent Arguments; but Authority of Name or Dignity is not proper to convince a man's underſtanding. Men obey, but not believe Princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretendeth to maintain Order: but how? by introducing Slavery, by deſtroying all Rights, by multiplying Diſorders, by hindring Order to be quietly adminiſtred in each Country.

It pretendeth to be the only means of Unity and Concord in Opinion, by determining Controverſies: which its Advocates affirm neceſſary.

Neceſſe eſt ut omnes fideles idem ſentiant.

Bell. r. 9. It is neceſſary that all the Faithful ſhould be of the ſame Opinion.

But how can that be neceſſary which never was *de facto?* not even in the *Roman* Church?

Hath the Pope effected this? do all his Followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his Authority? Do not they differ and diſpute about infinity of Queſtions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their Divines and

Schoolmen diſpute? Why did not the Council of *Trent* it ſelf, without more ado, and keeping ſuch a diſputing, refer all to his Oracular Deciſion?

Ἱκανοῦσθαι ἢ θέλει γενέσθαι. Ath.

Neceſſary points may and will, by all honeſt people, be known and determined without him, by the clear Teſtimony of Scripture, by conſent of Fathers, by general Tradition —— And other points need not to be determined.

That he may be capable of that Office, he muſt be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a queſtion it ſelf to be decided without him, to ſatisfaction. His power is apt no otherwiſe to knock down Controverſies, than by depreſſing Truth; not ſuffering any Truth to be aſſerted, which doth not favour its Intereſts.

Concord was maintained and Controverſies decided without him in the ancient Church; in Synods, wherein he was not the ſole Judge, nor had obſervable influence.

Nemini præſcribentes.

The Fathers did not think ſuch Authority needful, otherwiſe they would have made more uſe of it.

A more ready way to define Controverſies, is for every one not to preſcribe to others, or to proſecute; for then men would more calmly ſee the Truth, and conſent.

It pretendeth to maintain Peace and Unity. But nothing hath raiſed more fierce Diſſenſions, or ſo many bloody Wars in Chriſtendom as it.

It is apt by tyrannical adminiſtration to become intolerable, and ſo to break the Eccleſiaſtical State; to raiſe Schiſms and Troubles.

It is like to extinguiſh genuine Charity, which is free and uncompelled.

All the Peace and Charity which it endureth, is by force and compulſion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The Ancients did aſſert to each Biſhop a free, abſolute, independent Authority, ſubject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on Earth, in the adminiſtration of affairs properly concerning his particular Church.

This is moſt evident in St. *Cyprian's* Writings; out of which it will not be amiſs to ſet down ſome paſſages, manifeſting the ſenſe and practice of the Church in his time, to the ſatisfaction of any ingenuous mind.

Manente concordiæ vinculo, & perſeverante Catholicæ Eccleſiæ individuo Sacramento actum ſuum diſponit & dirigit unuſquiſque Epiſcopus, rationem propoſiti ſui Domino redditurus. Cypr. Ep. 52. (ad Antonianum.)

The Bond of concord abiding, and the Sacrament (or Doctrine) *of the Catholick Church perſiſting undivided, every Biſhop diſpoſeth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpoſe to the Lord:* This he writeth, when he was pleading the cauſe of Pope *Cornelius* againſt *Novatian*; but then, it ſeemeth, not dreaming of his Supremacy over others.

Cæterùm ſcimus quoſdam quod ſemel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec propoſitum ſuum facilè mutare; ſed ſalvo inter Collegas pacis & concordiæ vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud ſe ſemel ſint uſurpata, retinere; quæ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cùm habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ liberum arbitrium unuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actûs ſui Domino redditurus. Cypr. Ep. 72. (ad Stephanum.)

But we know that ſome will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will eaſily change their mind; but, the bond of peace and concord with their Collegues being preſerved, will retain ſome peculiar things, which have once been uſed by them; in which matter neither do we force any, or give law; whenas every Prelate hath in the adminiſtration of his Church the free power of his will, being to render unto the Lord an account of his acting: This ſaith he, writing to Pope *Stephanus*, and in a friendly manner, *out of common reſpect and ſingle love*, (not out of ſervile obeiſance) acquainting him what he and his brethren in a Synod, *by common conſent and authority*, had eſtabliſhed concerning Clergymen, who had been ordained by Hereticks, or had

Hæc ad conſcientiam tuam, frater chariſſime, & pro honore communi & pro ſimplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.
Conſenſu & auctoritate communi.

the degradation of lapſed into Schiſm.

Nam cum ſtatutum ſit omnibus nobis, & æquum ſit pariter ac juſtum, ut unuſcujuſque cauſa illic audiatur, ubi eſt crimen admiſſum, & ſingulis Paſtoribus portio gregis ſit adſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque & gubernet, rationem actûs ſui Domino redditurus oportet utique eos quibus præſumus, non circumcurſare, &c. Cypr. Ep. 55. (ad Cornelium.)

For ſeeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewiſe equal and juſt, that each man's cauſe ſhould be there heard where the crime is committed; and to each Paſtor a portion of the Flock is aſſigned, which each ſhould rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord; thoſe indeed over whom we preſide, ought not to ramble about: This ſaith he, in his *Epiſtle* to Pope *Cornelius*, upon occaſion of ſome factious

ctious Clergymen addreſſing themſelves to him with factious ſuggeſtions, to gain his Countenance.

Theſe things I have briefly written back according to our meanneſs, dear brother; preſcribing to none, nor prejudging, that every Biſhop ſhould not do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will.

In which matter our baſhfulneſs and modeſty doth not prejudice any one; ſo that every one may not judge as he thinketh, and act as he judgeth: Preſcribing to none, *ſo that every Biſhop may not reſolve what he thinks good, being to render an account to the Lord,* &c.

It remaineth that each of us do utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man, if he diſſenteth, from the right of communion; for neither doth any of us conſtitute himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, or by tyrannical terror driveth his Collegues to a neceſſity of obeying; whenas every Biſhop hath upon account of his liberty and authority his own free choice, and is no leſs exempted from being judged by another, than he is uncapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who, and who alone, hath power both to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of our acting: Theſe words did St. *Cyprian* ſpeak as Proloquutor of the great Synod of Biſhops at *Carthage*; and what words could be more expreſs, or more full, in aſſertion of the Epiſcopal Liberties and Rights, againſt almoſt every branch of Romiſh pretences?

Hæc tibi breviter pro noſtrâ mediocritate reſcripſimus, frater chariſſime; nemini præſcribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minùs unuſquiſque Epiſcoporum quod putat faciat habens arbitrii ſui liberam poteſtatem. Cypr. Ep. 73. (*ad* Jubaianum.)

Quâ in parte nemini verecundia & modeſtia noſtra præjudicat, quo minùs unuſquiſque quod putat ſentiat, & quod ſenſerit faciat. Cypr. Ep. 76. (*ad* Magnum.)

Nemini præſcribentes, quò minus ſtatuat quod putat unuſquiſque Præpoſitus, actûs ſui rationem Domino redditurus; ſecundum quod Apoſtolus, &c. Ibid.

Supereſt ut de hac re ſinguli quid ſentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, ſi diverſum ſenſerit, amoventes; neque enim quiſquam noſtrum Epiſcopum ſe eſſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, tàmque judicari ab alio non poſſit, quàm nec ipſe poteſt alterum judicare; ſed expectamus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ gubernatione, & de actu noſtro judicandi. Cypr. *in præf. Conc.* Carthag.

He diſavoweth the practice of one Biſhop excluding another from communion for diſſent in opinion about diſputable points: He rejecteth the pretence that any man can have to be a Biſhop of Biſhops, or ſuperior to all his Brethren: He condemneth the impoſing opinions upon Biſhops, and conſtraining them to obedience; He diſclaimeth any power in one Biſhop to judge another; He aſſerteth to each Biſhop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his diſcretion; He affirmeth every Biſhop to receive his power only from *Chriſt*, and to be liable only to his judgment.

We may obſerve, that St. *Auſtin*, in his Reflections upon the Paſſages in that Synod, doth approve, yea admire that Preface, paſſing high commendations on the ſmarteſt paſſages of it which aſſert common liberty, profeſſing his own conformity in practice to them; *In this conſultation* (ſaith he) *is ſhewed a pacifick ſoul, overflowing with plenty of charity*; and, *We have therefore a free choice of inquiry granted to us by the moſt mild and moſt veracious ſpeech of* Cyprian *himſelf*; and, *Now if the proud and tumid minds of Hereticks dare to extol themſelves againſt the holy humility of this ſpeech —— than which what can be more gentle, more humble?*

Aug. *de Bapt. cont.* Donat. *lib.* 2. 3. &c.

Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipſius Cypriani vobis mitiſſimo & veraciſſimo ſermone conceſſum. Lib. 3. *cap.* 3.

Nunc ſi ſe audent ſuperba & tumida cervices hæreticorum, adverſus ſanctam humilitatem hujus ſententiæ extollant. Lib. 2. *cap.* 3.

Quid manſuetius, quid humilius? Lib. 3. *cap.* 3.

Would St. *Auſtin* have ſwallowed thoſe Sayings, could he have ſo much applauded them, if he had known a juſt power then extant and radiant in the World, which they do impeach and ſubvert? No, I trow; he did not know, nor ſo much as dream of any ſuch; although the Pope was under his noſe while he was diſcuſſing that point, and he could hardly talk ſo much of St. *Cyprian* without thinking of Pope *Stephen*.

However let any man of ſenſe honeſtly read and weigh thoſe paſſages, conſidering who did write them, to whom he writ them, upon what occaſions he writ them, when he writ them; that he was a great Primate of the Church, a moſt holy, moſt prudent, moſt humble and meek Perſon; that he addreſſed divers of them to Biſhops of *Rome*; that many of them were touching the concerns of Popes; that he writ them in times of perſecution and diſtreſs, which produce the moſt ſober and ſerious thoughts; then let him if he can, conceive,

conceive, that all Chriſtian Biſhops were then held ſubject to the Pope, or owned ſuch a power due to him as he now claimeth.

We may add a contemporary Teſtimony of the *Roman* Clergy, addreſſing to St. *Cyprian* in theſe words; *Although a mind well conſcious to it ſelf, and ſupported by the vigour of Evangelical diſcipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true witneſs to it ſelf, is wont to be content with God for its only judge, and not to deſire the praiſes, nor to dread the accuſations of another; yet they are worthy of double praiſe, who when they know they owe their conſciences to God only as judge, yet deſire alſo their actions to be approved by their brethren themſelves; the which it is no wonder that you, brother* Cyprian, *ſhould do, who according to your modeſty and natural induſtry would have us not ſo much judges as partakers of your Counſels* —— Then it ſeems the College of Cardinals, not ſo high in the inſtep as they are now, did take St. *Cyprian* to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other Judge but God.

Quanquam benè ſibi conſcius animus & Evangelicæ diſciplinæ vigore ſubnixus, & verus ſibi in decretis cœleſtibus teſtis effectus, ſoleat ſolo Deo judice eſſe contentus nec alterius aut laudes petere aut accuſationes pertimeſcere; tamen geminatâ ſunt laude condigni, qui cùm conſcientiam ſciant Deo ſolo debere ſe judici, actus tamen ſuos deſiderant etiam ab ipſis ſuis fratribus comprobari: quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum eſt, qui pro tua verecundiâ, & ingenitâ induſtriâ, conſiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluiſti, quàm participes inveniri —— *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. Ep.* 31.

That this notion of liberty did continue a good time after in the Church, we may ſee by that Canon of the *Antiochene* Synod; *ordaining that every Biſhop have power of his own Biſhoprick, govern it according to the beſt of his care and diſcretion, and provide for all the Country belonging to his City, ſo as to ordain Prieſts and Deacons, and diſpoſe things aright.*

Ἕκαστον δὲ Ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παροικιῶν, διοικεῖν τε τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιμέλειαν εὐλαβείᾳ, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μὴ χείσεως ἕνεκα διαλαμβάνειν. —— *Syn. Ant. Can.* 9.

The Monks of *Conſtantinople* in the Synod of *Chalcedon*, ſaid thus; *We are Sons of the Church, and have one Father, after God, our Archbiſhop:* they forgot their Sovereign Father the Pope.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τέκνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐσμεν, καὶ ἕνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἐκομεν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 114.

The like notion may ſeem to have been then in *England*, when the Church of *Canterbury* was called the *common Mother of all under the diſpoſition of its Spouſe Jeſus Chriſt.*

Omnium noſtrum mater communis ſub Sponſi ſui Jeſu Chriſti diſpoſitione. Gerval. Dorob. (*p.* 1663) *apud* Twiſd. *p.* 72.

Vid. Ep. P. Celeſt. I in Conc. Eph. Act. 2. (*p.* 324.)

VI. The Ancients did hold all Biſhops, as to their Office, originally according to Divine Inſtitution, or abſtracting from humane Sanctions, framed to preſerve Order and Peace, to be equal; for that all are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, all derive their Commiſſion and Power in the ſame tenor from God, all of them are *Ambaſſadors, Stewards, Vicars of Chriſt*; entruſted with the ſame divine Miniſteries of inſtructing, diſpenſing the Sacraments, ruling and exerciſing Diſcipline; to which Functions and Privileges the leaſt Biſhop hath right, and to greater the biggeſt cannot pretend.

One Biſhop might excel another in Splendor, in Wealth, in Reputation, in extent of Juriſdiction, as one King may ſurpaſs another in amplitude of Territory; but as all Kings, ſo all Biſhops, are equal in Office and eſſentials of Power, derived from God.

Baron. *An.* 57. §. 30. Pſ 45. 16. *Ubicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ ſive Eugubii &c.* Hieron. *ad* Evagr. *Ep* 85.

Hence they applied to them that in the *Pſalm, Inſtead of thy Fathers ſhall be thy Children, whom thou may'ſt make Princes in all the earth.*

This was St. *Hierom*'s Doctrine in thoſe famous words; *Where-ever a Biſhop be, whether at* Rome *or at* Eugubium, *at* Conſtantinople *or at* Rhegium, *at* Alexandria *or at* Thanis, *he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame Prieſthood; the force of wealth, and lowneſs of poverty doth not render a Biſhop more high, or more low; for that all of them are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles:* To evade which plain aſſertion, they have forged diſtinctions, whereof St. *Hierom* ſurely did never think, he ſpeaking ſimply concerning Biſhops, as they ſtood by Divine Inſtitution, not according to humane Models, which gave ſome advantages over other.

That this notion did continue long in the Church, we may ſee by the Elogies of Biſhops in later Synods; for inſtance, that in the Synod of *Compeigne*; *It is convenient all Chriſtians ſhould know what kind of Office the Biſhop's is* —— *who 'tis plain are the*

Omnibus in Chriſtiana religione conſtitutis ſcire convenit quale ſit miniſterium Epiſcoporum —— *quos conſtat eſſe Vicarios Chriſti, & Clavigeros Regni Cœlorum, &c. Syn.* Com-

the Vicars of Chriſt, and keep the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

And that of the Synod of *Melun*; *And though all of us unworthy, yet are the Vicars of Chriſt, and Succeſſors of his Apoſtles.*

pen. *Ann. Dom.* 833. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 361.)

Nos omnes licèt indigni. Chriſti tamen Vicarii, & Apoſtolorum ipſius Succeſſores: Syn. Meldenſ. *Ann. Dom.* 845. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 402.)

In contemplation of which verity, St. *Gregory Nazianzene* obſerving the declenſion from it introduced in his times, by the ambition of ſome Prelates, did vent that famous exclamation: *O that there were not at all any preſidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical enjoyment of prerogatives* —— which earneſt wiſh he ſurely did not mean to level againſt the Ordinance of God, but againſt that which lately began to be intruded by men: And what would the good man have wiſhed, if he had been aware of thoſe pretences about which we diſcourſe; which then did only begin to bud and peep up in the World?

Ὡς ἄριστόν γε μηδὲ ἓν πρωτεῖον, μηδὲ τὸ τὴν πρώτην προεδρίαν, καὶ τυραννικὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ——— Greg. Naz. Or. 28.

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common ſentiments in any caſe; and it therefore ſheweth, that in the primitive Church the Pope was not deemed to have a right of Univerſal Sovereignty; for if ſuch a thing had been inſtituted by God, or eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles, the Pope certainly with evident clearneſs would have appeared to have poſſeſſed it; and would have ſometimes (I might ſay frequently, yea continually) have exerciſed it in the firſt Ages; which that he did not at all, we ſhall make, I hope, very manifeſt by reflecting on the chief paſſages occurring then; whereof indeed there is ſcarce any one, which duly weighed, doth not ſerve to overthrow the *Roman* pretence; but that matter I reſerve to another place; and ſhall propound other conſiderations, declaring the ſenſe of the Fathers; only I ſhall add, that indeed,

2. The ſtate of the moſt primitive Church did not well admit ſuch an Univerſal Sovereignty. For that did conſiſt of ſmall bodies incoherently ſituated and ſcattered about in very diſtant places, and conſequently unfit to be modelled into one political Society, or to be governed by one Head. Eſpecially conſidering their condition under Perſecution and Poverty. What convenient reſort for Direction or Juſtice could a few diſtreſſed Chriſtians in *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, *Parthia*, *India*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and other parts, have to *Rome*? what trouble, what burthen had it been to ſeek Inſtruction, Succour, Deciſion of Caſes thence? Had they been obliged or required to do ſo, what offences, what clamours would it have raiſed? ſeeing that afterward, when Chriſtendom was connected, and compacted together; when the ſtate of Chriſtians was flouriſhing and proſperous, when paſſages were open, and the beſt opportunities of correſpondence were afforded, yet the ſetting out of theſe pretences did cauſe great oppoſitions and ſtirs; ſeeing the exerciſe of this Authority, when it had obtained moſt vigor, did produce ſo many grievances, ſo many complaints, ſo many courſes to check and curb it, in Countries feeling the inconveniences and miſchiefs ſpringing from it?

The want of the like in the firſt Ages is a good Argument, that the cauſe of them had not yet ſprung up; Chriſtendom could not have been ſo ſtill, if there had been then ſo meddleſom a body in it, as the Pope now is.

The *Roman* Clergy in their Epiſtle to St. *Cyprian* told him, that *becauſe of the difficulty of things and times, they could not conſtitute a Biſhop who might moderate things* immediately belonging to them in their own precincts: how much more in that ſtate of things would a Biſhop there be fit to moderate things over all the World; (as *Rigaltius* truly noteth) *the Church being then oppreſſed with various vexations, the communication of Provinces between themſelves was difficult and unfrequent.*

Nobis, poſt exceſſum nobiliſſimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani nondum eſt Epiſcopus propter rerum & temporum difficultatem conſtitutus, qui omnia iſta moderetur —— Cl. Rom. *ad* Cypr. *Ep* 31.

Variis tunc Eccleſiâ vexationibus oppreſſâ, difficilis & infrequens erat Provinciarum inter ſeſe communicatio. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Wherefore *Bellarmine* himſelf doth confeſs, that in thoſe times, before the *Nicene* Synod, *the authority of the Pope was not a little hindered, ſo that becauſe of continual perſecutions he could not freely exerciſe it.*

Verum enim eſt impeditam fuiſſe eo tempore non parùm Pontificis auctoritatem —— propter perſecutiones continuas non potuiſſe Romanos Pontifices liberè exercere eam, quam à Chriſto acceperant auctoritatem, &c. Bell. *de R. P.* 2. 17.

The

The Church therefore could ſo long ſubſiſt without the uſe of ſuch Authority, by the vigilance of Governors over their Flocks, and the friendly correſpondence of neighbour Churches: And if he would let it alone, it might do ſo ſtill. That could be no Divine Inſtitution, which had no vigor in the firſt and beſt times; but an Innovation raiſed by Ambition.

VII. The Ancients, when occaſion did require, did maintain their equality of Office and Authority particularly in reſpect to the *Roman* Biſhops; not only interpretatively by practice, but directly and formally in expreſs terms aſſerting it. Thus when *Feliciſſimus* and his Complices, being rejected by St. *Cyprian*, did apply themſelves to Pope *Cornelius* for his communion and countenance, St. *Cyprian* affirmed that to be an irregular and unjuſt courſe; ſubjoyning, *Except to a few deſperate and wicked Perſons, the authority of the Biſhops conſtituted in* Africk, *who have already judged of them, do ſeem leſs*; that is inferior to any other Authority, particularly to that of *Rome*, unto which they had recourſe; what other meaning could he have? doth not his Argument require this meaning?

Niſi ſi paucis deſperatis & perditis minor eſſe videtur auctoritas Epiſcoporum in Africa conſtitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt ——

Another inſtance is that of the Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod, * (being 97 Biſhops) the which St. *Hilary* calleth, *a Synod of Saints congregated*, (the Decrees whereof the Catholick Church did admit into its *Code*, and the Canons whereof Popes have called *Venerable*) theſe in their Epiſtle to Pope *Julius*, complaining of his demeanour in the caſe of *Athanaſius*, did flatly aſſert to themſelves an equality with him; *They did not* (as *Sozomen* reciteth out of their Epiſtle) *therefore think it equal, that they ſhould be thought inferiors, becauſe they had not ſo big and numerous a Church.*

* *Fides quam expoſuerunt qui affuerunt Epiſcopi 97* —— Hilar. *de Synodis.* (*p.* 367.) *Congregatam Sanctorum Synodum.* Hilar. *ibid.*

Venerabiles Antiochenæ Canones. P. Nicol. *I. Ep.* 9. (*p.* 519.)

Οὐ δηλοῦ τοῦτο τὰ δόξαντα φέρειν ἰσότιμον, ὅτι μὴ μεγάλης καὶ πολλῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπεφοιτήσατε. Soz. 3.8.

The Pope himſelf teſtifieth the ſame in his Epiſtle to them, extant in the ſecond Apology of *Athanaſius*; *If*, ſaith he, *ye do truly conceive the honour of Biſhops to be equal, and the ſame; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of Biſhops according to the magnitude of Cities*; which aſſertion of theirs ſo flatly thwarting Papal Supremacy, he doth not at all confute, yea not ſo much as contradict; and therefore reaſonably may be interpreted to yield conſent thereto; the rule, *He that holdeth his peace, ſeemeth to conſent*, never holding better than in this caſe, when his Copyhold was ſo nearly touched; indeed he had been very blameable to wave ſuch an occaſion of defending ſo important a Truth; or in letting ſo peſtilent an Errour to paſs without correction or reproof.

Εἰ ἦν ἀληθῶς ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθε τιμὴν τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ὡς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γεγράφατε, κρίνετε τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους. P. Jul. *I. apud* Athan. *in Apol.* 2. (*p.* 744.)

Qui tacet conſentire videtur.

After the Pope had climbed higher than at that time (upon the ladders of diſſenſion and diſorders in the Church) yet he was reproved by *Euphemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, for preferring himſelf before his Brethren; as we may collect from thoſe words of a zealous Pope, *We deſire not to be placed above others (as you ſay) ſo much as to have fellowſhip holy and well-pleaſing to God with all the faithful.*

Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (ſicut prædicat) quàm cum fidelibus cunctis ſanctum & Deo placitum habere conſortium. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 1. (*ad* Euphemium.)

That Pope *Gregory* I. did not hold himſelf ſuperior to other Biſhops, many Sayings of his do infer; for in this he placeth the fault of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, which he ſo often and ſo ſeverely reprehendeth, that he did *prefer himſelf before, and extol himſelf above other Biſhops.*

—— *In elatione ſuâ Antichriſtum præcurrit, quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit.*

P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 6. 30. *Super cæteros Sacerdotes ſe extollit Ibid. Chriſti ſibi ſtudet membra judicare.* P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 4. 36. *Solus omnibus præeſſe. Id. Ep.* 4. 38. —— *quibus (Epiſcopis) cupis temetipſum vocabulo elationis præponere. Ibid.*

And would he directly aſſume that to himſelf, which he chargeth on another, although only following his poſition by conſequence?

And when *Eulogius* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* had complementally ſaid, *Sicut juſſiſtis, As ye commanded*; He doth thus expreſs his reſentment; *That word of command, I deſire you to let me not hear; becauſe I know who I am, and who ye are; by place ye are my brethren,*

Quod verbum juſſionis peto à meo auditu removeri; quia ſcio quis ſum, qui eſſis; loco enim mihi fratres eſtis, moribus patres, non ergo

thren, in goodneſs fathers; I did not therefore command, but what ſeem'd profitable, I hinted to you.

juſſi, ſed quæ utilia viſa ſunt, indicare curavi, &c. Greg. *I. Ep.* 7. 30. (*ad* Eulog. Alex.)

That many ſuch Inſtances may not be alledged out of Antiquity, the reaſon is, becauſe the Ancient Popes did not underſtand this Power to belong to them, and therefore gave no occaſion for Biſhops to maintain their honour; or were more juſt, prudent and modeſt, than to take ſo much upon them as their Succeſſors did, upon frivolous pretences.

VIII. The ſtyle uſed by the primitive Biſhops in their applications to the *Roman* Biſhop doth ſignify, that they did not apprehend him their Sovereign, but their equal.

Brother, Collegue, Fellow-biſhop, are the terms which St. *Cyprian* doth uſe in ſpeaking about the *Roman* Biſhops, his contemporaries, *Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus*; and in his *Epiſtles* to the three laſt of them; nor doth he ever uſe any other, importing higher reſpect due to them; as indeed his practice demonſtrateth he did not apprehend any other due; or that he did take them for his Superiors in Office. *Know now brother*, was the compellation of *Dionyſius* (Biſhop of *Alexandria*) to Pope *Stephanus*. The Synod of *Antioch*, which rejected *Paulus Samoſatenus*, inſcribeth its Epiſtle to *Dionyſius* (then Biſhop of *Rome*) *and Maximus, and all our fellow-miniſters through the world.*

Cypr. Ep. 41. 58. 67. 68. 45. 49. &c.

Ἴσθι νῦν ἀδελφέ, — Euſeb. 7. 5.

Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν. Euſeb. 7. 30.

The Synod of *Arles* directeth their Epiſtle to *Signiour Sylveſter, their brother. Athanaſius* ſaith, *Theſe things may ſuffice, which have been written by our beloved and Fellow-miniſter* Damaſus *Biſhop of great* Rome. *Marcellus* inſcribed to Pope *Julius*, to his *Moſt bleſſed Fellow-miniſter*. So *Cyril* ſpeaks of Pope *Celeſtine* I. *Our brother and Fellow-miniſter the Biſhop of* Rome. So St. *Baſil*, and his Fellow-biſhops of the Eaſt, did inſcribe their Epiſtle, *To the beloved of God, and our moſt holy brethren and Fellow-miniſters, the unanimous Biſhops through* Italy *and* France. In this ſtyle do the Fathers of *Sardica* ſalute Pope *Julius*; thoſe of *Conſtantinople* Pope *Damaſus*; thoſe of *Epheſus* Pope *Celeſtine* I. *our brother and Fellow-miniſter Celeſtine*; thoſe of *Carthage* Pope *Celeſtine* I. in the very ſame terms wherein St. *Auſtin* doth ſalute *Maximinus*, a Donatiſt Biſhop, *Signiour my beloved and moſt honoured brother.* The Oriental Biſhops, *Euſtathius, Theophilus* and *Sylvanus*, did inſcribe their Remonſtrance to Pope *Liberius, To Signiour our brother and Fellow-miniſter* Liberius. So *John* of *Antioch* to *Neſtorius* writeth, *to my Maſter.* The Synod of *Illyricum* call *Elpidius, Our Seniour and Fellow-miniſter.*

Ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ τε τῆς ἀγαπητῆς καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου. Athan. Ep. ad Afr. (p. 931.)

Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἰουλίῳ. Marcell. ad P. Jul. Epiph. *her.* 72.

Ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν τῷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας Ἐπισκόπῳ — Cyril. *ad.* Neſt. *in Syn.* Eph. p. 207.

Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν ὁμοψύχοις Ἐπισκόποις. Baſ. Ep. 69. Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. (p. 761. 756.)

Theod. 5. 9.

Τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν Κελεσίνῳ. *Syn.* Eph. p. 217.

Domino dilectiſſimo & honoratiſſimo fratri — Conc. Afr.

Domino dilectiſſimo & honorabili fratri Maximino. Aug. Ep. 203.

Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ Εὐστάθιος, Θεόφιλος, Σιλβανὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν — Socr. 4. 12.

Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου. Conc. Eph. p. 202. Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν. Theod. 4. 9.

In which inſtances, and ſome others of later date, we may obſerve that the word Κύριος, or *Dominus*, was then (as it is now) barely a term of civility, being then uſually given to any perſon of Quality, or to whom they would expreſs common reſpect; So that St. *Chryſoſtom* in his Epiſtles commonly doth give it not only to meaner Biſhops, but even to Prieſts; and St. *Auſtin* doth thus ſalute even *Donatiſt* Biſhops; reflecting thereon thus, *Since therefore by charity I ſerve you in this Office of writing Letters to you, I do not improperly call you Maſter for the ſake of our one true Maſter, who has commanded us ſo to do. — my moſt honour'd Maſter. — now therefore having with me my moſt honour'd Signiour and moſt reverend Presbyter,* &c. — *my moſt honour'd Maſter* Aſyncritus *the elder.*

Cùm ergò vel hoc ipſo officio literarum per charitatem tibi ſerviam, non abſurdè te Dominum voco, propter unum & verum Dominum noſtrum qui nobis iſta præcepit. Aug. Ep. 103.

Δέσποτά μου τιμιώτατε. Chryſ. Ep. 26.

Νῦν γὰρ ὑπολαβόμενοι τὸν Κύριον μου τιμιώτατον καὶ ὑπερτιμιώτατον Πρεσβύτερον. Chryſ. Ep. 26.

Δεσπότῃ μου τιμιώτατον Ἀσύγκριτον τὸν Πρεσβύτερον. Ep. 68. (71. 75. 77. 84. 91. &c.

Pope *Celeſtine* himſelf did ſalute the *Epheſine* Fathers, κύριοι ἀδελφοί, *maſters, brethren.* Even in the VI. Council, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* did inſcribe according to the old ſtyle, to Pope *Vitalianus*, his *brother and Fellow-miniſter.*

Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. P. Celeſt. I. Ep. *ad Syn.* Eph. *Act* 2. (p. 324.)

Conc. 6. *Act.* 31. p. 224.

The *French* Biſhops had good reaſon to expoſtulate with Pope *Nicholas* I. *You may know, that we are not, as you boaſt*

Scias nos non tuos eſſe, ut te jactas & extollis, Clericos, quos ut fratres & Co-epiſcopos

and

recognoſcere, ſi elatio permitteret, debueras. *An.* Franc. *Pith.* (*An.* 858.)

and brag, your Clerks; whom, if pride would ſuffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and Fellow-biſhops.

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity, when they meant to ſpeak moſt kindly and reſpectfully, did allow the Pope, being the ſame which all Biſhops did give to one another; (as may be ſeen in all ſolemn addreſſes, and reports concerning them:) which is an Argument ſufficiently plain, that Biſhops in thoſe times did not take themſelves to be the Pope's Subjects, or his inferiors in Office, but his Fellows and Mates, co-ordinate in rank.

Were not theſe improper terms for an ordinary Gentleman or Nobleman to accoſt his Prince in? yet hardly is there ſuch a diſtance between any Prince and his Peers, as there is between a modern Pope and other Biſhops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and ſawcineſs, for an underling Biſhop to addreſs to the Pope in ſuch language, or to ſpeak of him in that manner; which is a ſign that the World is altered in its notion of him, and that he beareth a higher conceit of himſelf than his primitive Anceſtors did. Now nothing but *Beatiſſimus Pater, moſt bleſſed Father*, and *Dominus noſter Papa, our Lord the Pope*, in the higheſt ſenſe, will ſatisfy him.

Now a Pope in a General Synod, in a ſolemn Oration, could be told to his Face, that *the moſt Holy Senate* of Cardinals had choſen *a Brother into a Father, a Collegue into a Lord.* Verily ſo it is now, but not ſo anciently.

Verè divinâ providentiâ factum cenſendum eſt quòd te ſacerrimus iſte Senatus —— Fratrem, & ita dixerim, Filium in Patrem, Collegam in Dominum —— elegerint, aſſumpſerint, adoraverint. Balt. Delrio. *in Conc. Later. ad* Leonem X. *Seſſ.* 8. (*p.* 85.)

In the ſame ancient times, the ſtyle of the *Roman* Biſhop writing to other Biſhops was the ſame; he calling them Brethren and Fellow-miniſters.

So did *Cornelius* write to *Fabius* of *Antioch, beloved brother*; ſo did he call all other Biſhops, —— *be it known to all our fellow-biſhops and brethren.* So *Julius* to the *Oriental* Biſhops, *To our beloved brethren.* So *Liberius* to the *Macedonian* Biſhops, *To our beloved brethren and fellow-miniſters*; and to the *Oriental* Biſhops, *To our brethren and fellow-biſhops.* So *Damaſus* to the Biſhops of *Illyricum.* So *Leo* himſelf frequently in his Epiſtles. So Pope *Celeſtine* calleth *John* of *Antioch, Moſt honoured brother*; to *Cyril* and to *Neſtorius* himſelf, *Beloved brother*; to the Fathers of *Epheſus, Signiours brethren.* Pope *Gelaſius* to the Biſhops of *Dardania, Your brotherhood.* St. *Gregory* to *Cyriacus, Our brother and fellow prieſt*, Cyriacus.

Ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητὲ. Euſeb 6.43.
Omnibus Co-epiſcopis noſtris & fratribus innoteſcat. P. Corn. *ad* Cypr. *Ep.* 48.
Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Athan. *p.* 739.
Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς. Socr. 4. 12.
Fratribus & Co-epiſcopis. Hil. *frag. p.* 450.
Soz. 6. 23.

Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφὲ. *Conc* Eph. *p.* 196.
Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ. *p.* 179. 183.
Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. *Act.* 2. *p.* 324.
Fraternitas Veſtra. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 12.
Greg. —— *Epiſt.* 6. 24. *Fratris & Con-ſacerdotis veſtri Cyriaci.* ——

If it be ſaid the Popes did write ſo then out of condeſcenſion, or humility and modeſty; it may be replied, that if really there was ſuch a difference as is now pretended, it may ſeem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery: for it would have more become the Pope to maintain the majeſty and authority of his place, by appellations apt to cheriſh their reverence, than to collogue with them in terms void of reality; or ſignifying that equality which he did not mean.

Bell. 2. 14. Theod. 5. 10. * Valeſ. *in* Theod. *ibid.* Τοὶ τιμιώτατοι.

But *Bellarmine* hath found out one inſtance (which he maketh much of) of Pope *Damaſus*, who writing (not as he alledgeth, to the Fathers of *Conſtantinople*, * but) to certain *Eaſtern* Biſhops, calleth them *moſt honoured Sons.* That whole Epiſtle I do fear to be foiſted into *Theodoret*; for it cometh in abruptly, and doth not much become ſuch a man: and if it be ſuppoſed genuine, I ſhould ſuſpect ſome corruption in the place; for why, if he writ to Biſhops, ſhould he uſe a ſtyle ſo unuſual to thoſe times, and ſo different from that of his Predeceſſors and Succeſſors? why ſhould there be ſuch a diſparity between his own ſtyle now and at other times? for writing to the Biſhops of *Illyricum*, he calleth them *beloved brethren*; why then is he ſo inconſtant and partial, as to yield theſe *Oriental* Biſhops leſs reſpect? wherefore perhaps τοὶ was thruſt in for ἀδελφοί· or perhaps the word Ἐπισκόπους was intruded, and he did write to Lay-men; † *thoſe who governed the Eaſt*, who well might be called *moſt honoured Sons*; otherwiſe the *Epithet* doth not ſeem well to ſute: but however, a ſingle example of arrogance or ſtatelineſs, (or of what ſhall I call it?) is not to be ſet againſt ſo many modeſt and mannerly ones. In

Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Soz. 6. 23.

† Τοῖς θεσπέσιον ἰθύνουσι.

In fine, that this Salutation doth not always imply Superiority, we may be aſſured by that inſcription of *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, to *Athanaſius* of *Alexandria*, *To my beloved Son and unanimous Collegue Athanaſius.*

Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ. *Apud* Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 783.

IX. The ground of that eminence, which the *Roman* Biſhop did obtain in the Church, ſo as in order to precede other Biſhops, doth ſhake this pretence.

The Church of *Rome* was indeed allowed to be *the principal Church*, as St. *Cyprian* calleth it; but why? was it preferred by Divine Inſtitution? no ſurely, Chriſtianity did not make Laws of that nature, or conſtitute differences of places. Was it in regard to the ſucceſſion of St *Peter*? no; that was a ſlim upſtart device; that did not hold in *Antioch*, nor in other Apoſtolical Churches.

Eccleſia principalis. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

But it was for a more ſubſtantial reaſon; the very ſame, on which the dignity and pre-eminency of other Churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that City in which the Biſhop of *Rome* did preſide; together with the conſequent numerouſneſs, quality and wealth of his flock; which gave him many great advantages above other his Fellow-biſhops: It was (ſaith *Rigaltius*) called by St. *Cyprian* the principal Church, *becauſe conſtituted in the principal City.*

Eccleſia principalis, id eſt in urbe principali conſtituta. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep* 55.

That Church in the very times of ſevereſt Perſecutions, *by the providence of God* (as Pope *Cornelius* ſaid in his Epiſtle to *Fabius*) *had a rich and plentiful number, with a moſt great and innumerable people*; ſo that he reckoneth forty four *Presbyters*, ſeven *Deacons*, (in imitation of the number in the *Acts*.) ſeven *Sub-deacons*, forty two *Acoluthi*, fifty two others of the inferior Clergy, and above fifteen hundred Alms-people.

Διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ περιουσίαν πλῆθός τε καὶ πλοῦτον ἀριθμοῦ μὴ μείζονα καὶ ἀναρίθμητον λαόν. Euſeb. 6. 43.

Et quanquam ſciam, frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis florentiſſimo illic Clero tecum præſidenti, & ſanctiſſimæ atque amplißimæ plebi legere te ſemper literas noſtras —— Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Corn.)

To that Church there muſt needs have been a great reſort of Chriſtians, going to the ſeat of the Empire in purſuit of buſineſs; as in proportion there was to each other *Metropolis*; according to that Canon of the *Antiochene* Synod, which ordered, that *the Biſhop of each Metropolis ſhould take care of the whole Province, becauſe all that had buſineſs did reſort to the Metropolis.*

Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

Διὰ τὸ εἰς τὴν Μητρόπολιν συντρέχειν πάντας πανταχόθεν τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας. Syn. Ant. *Can.* 9.

That Church was moſt able to yield help and ſuccour to them who needed it; and accordingly did uſe to do it; according to that of *Dionyſius* (Biſhop of *Corinth*) in his Epiſtle to Biſhop *Soter* of *Rome*; *This* (ſaith he) *is your cuſtom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to ſend ſupplies to many Churches in every City, ſo refreſhing the poverty of thoſe who want* ——

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, Ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν κατὰ χρέος δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, &c. Dionyſ. Corinth. *apud* Euſeb. 4. 23.

Whence it is no wonder, that the Head of that Church did get moſt reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

To this Church (ſaid *Irenæus*) *it is neceſſary that every Church* (*that is, the faithful who are all about*) *ſhould reſort, becauſe of its more powerful principality*; what is meant by that *reſort*, will be eaſy to him, who conſidereth how men here are wont to go up to *London*, drawn thither by intereſts of *Trade*, *Law*, &c. What he did underſtand *by more powerful principality*, the words themſelves do ſignify, which exactly do agree to the Power and Grandeur of the Imperial City; but do not well ſute to the Authority of a Church; eſpecially then when no Church did appear to have either Principality or Puiſſance. And that ſenſe may clearly be evinced by the context, wherein it doth appear, that St. *Irenæus* doth not alledge the judicial Authority of the *Roman* Church, but its credible Teſtimony, which thereby became more conſiderable, becauſe Chriſtians commonly had occaſions of recourſe to it.

Ad hanc Eccleſiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnem convenire Eccleſiam, hoc eſt, eos qui ſunt ubique, fideles. Iren. 3. 3.

(Δυωατωτέραν ἀρχὴν, I conjecture he ſaid.)

Such a reaſon of precedence St. *Cyprian* giveth in another caſe, *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage.*

Quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere. Cypr. *Ep.* 49.

For this reaſon a *Pagan* Hiſtorian did obſerve the *Roman* Biſhop *had a greater authority* (that is, a greater intereſt and reputation) *than other Biſhops.*

Auctoritate qua potiores æterna urbis Epiſcopi. Amm. Marcell. *lib.* 15. (*p.* 47.)

This reaſon *Theodoret* doth aſſign in his Epiſtle to Pope *Leo*, wherein he doth highly complement and cajole him; *for this City* (ſaith he) *is the greateſt, and moſt ſplendid, and preſiding over the world; and flowing with multitude of people; and which moreover hath produced the Empire now governing.*——

Ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ τὸ οἰκουμένης περιαθυμοῦσα, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων κυμαίνουσα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς νῦν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβλάστησε—Theod. Ep. 113.

This is the ſole ground upon which the greateſt of all ancient Synods, that of *Chalcedon*, did affirm the Papal eminency to be founded; for *to the throne* (ſay they) *of ancient Rome, becauſe that was the royal City, the Fathers reaſonably deferred the privileges:* the fountain of Papal eminence was in their judgment not any divine Inſtitution, not the Authority of Saint *Peter* deriving it ſelf to his Succeſſors; but the conceſſion of the Fathers, who were moved to grant it upon account that *Rome* was the *Imperial City*.

Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ Πατέρες εἰκότως ἀπεδέδωκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Syn. Chalc. Act. 16. Can. 28.

To the ſame purpoſe the Empreſs *Placidia*, in her Epiſtle to *Theodoſius* in behalf of Pope *Leo*, ſaith, *It becometh us to preſerve to this City* (*the which is miſtreſs of all lands*) *a reverence in all things*.

Περὶ τῆς ἡμᾶς ταύτης τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῆς γῆς, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας φυλάξαι. Placid. in Syn. Chalc. p. 27.

This reaſon had indeed in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency; it was equal that he ſhould have the preference, and more than common reſpect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do moſt ſervice to Religion. It was decent, that out of conformity to the State, and in reſpect to the Imperial Court and Senate, the Paſtor of that place ſhould be graced with repute; it was convenient, that he who reſided in the centre of all buſineſs, and had the greateſt influence upon affairs, who was the Emperor's chief Councellor for direction, and Inſtrument for execution of Eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſhould not be put behind others.

Hence did the Fathers of the Second General Synod advance the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople to the next privileges of honour after the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe it was new Rome*, and a Seat of the Empire.

Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης Ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην——— Syn. Conſt. Can. 3.

And the Fathers of *Chalcedon* aſſigned *equal privileges to the moſt Holy See of Rome, with good reaſon* (ſay they) *judging, that the City, which was honoured with the Royalty and Senate, and which* (otherwiſe) *did enjoy equal privileges with the ancient Royal Rome, ſhould likewiſe in Eccleſiaſtical affairs be magnified as it, being ſecond after it.*

Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἐπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κείναντες τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβεῖα τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. Syn. Chal. Can. 28.

Indeed upon this ſcore the Church of *Conſtantinople* is ſaid to have aſpired to the ſupreme Principality, when it had the advantage over old *Rome*, the Empire being extinguiſhed there; and ſometime was ſtyled, *the Head of all Churches.*

Sacroſanctam quoque hujus religioſiſſimæ civitatis Eccleſiam, & matrem noſtræ pietatis, & Chriſtianorum Orthodoxæ religionis omnium, & ejuſdem Regiæ urbis ſanctiſſimam ſedem, &c. Imp. Leo Cod. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. § 16.

The Holy Church of this moſt religious City, the Mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Chriſtians, and the moſt holy See of that imperial City.

Bonifacius III à Phoca Imperatore obtinuit, magnâ tamen contentione, ut ſedes B. Petri Apoſtoli, quæ caput eſt omnium Eccleſiarum, ita & diceretur, & haberetur ab omnibus; quem quidem locum Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana ſibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum Principibus, affirmantibuſq; eo loci primam ſedem eſſe debere, ubi Imperii caput eſſet. Plat. in Bonif. III. (p. 161.)

Boniface III. (though with a great deal of ſtir) obtained of the Emperor *Phocas*, that the See of Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle, which is the head of all Churches, ſhould be ſo called and accounted by all; which dignity the Church of *Conſtantinople* did indeed endeavour to aſſert to it ſelf, Princes ſometimes favouring them, and affirming that there the chief See ought to be, where the head of the Empire was.

Phocas rogante Papa Bonifacio ſtatuit ſedem Romanæ Eccleſiæ caput eſſe omnium Eccleſiarum, quia Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana primam ſe omnium Eccleſiarum ſcribebat. Anaſtaſ. in Bonif. III. *Idem* Sabellicus, Blondus, Lætus, *&c. tradunt.*

Phocas at the entreaty of Pope *Boniface* appointed that the *Roman* See ſhould be the head of all Churches, becauſe the Church of *Conſtantinople* wrote her ſelf the chief of all Churches.

It is alſo natural, and can hardly be otherwiſe, but that the Biſhop of a chief City, finding himſelf to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of Friendſhips, dependencies, *&c.* ſhould not affect to raiſe himſelf above the level: it is an ambition that will ſeize on the moſt moderate, and otherwiſe religious minds: Pope *Leo* objected it to *Anatolius*, and Pope *Gregory* to *John* (from his auſtere life called *the Faſter.*)

Upon the like account it was, that the Biſhops of other Cities did mount to a pre-eminency. *Metropolitane, Primatical, Patriarchal.*

Thence

Thence it was that the Bishop of *Alexandria* before *Constantine*'s time, did acquire the honour of second place to *Rome*; because that City, being head of a most rich and populous Nation, did in magnitude and opulency (as *Gregory Nazianzene* saith) *approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it.*

Ἡμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μὲ ἡ πρώτων εὐθέως, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτο ἀφιέντες. Greg. Naz. Orat. 27. Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλόπολις. Evagr. 2. 4. & passim.

Upon that account also did *Antioch* get the next place; as being the most large, flourishing, commanding City of the East; *the which* (as *Josephus* saith) *for bigness and for other advantages had without controversy the third place in all the world subject to the Romans*, and the which * St. *Chrysostom* calleth *the head of all Cities seated in the East.*

Ἡ μητρόπολις ὅτι ἡ Συρίας, μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ ἡ ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδιαπρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον. Joseph. de Bello Jud. 3. 3.

* Πόλις ἔστω μεγάλη, καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ ἡλίου κειμένων ἡ κεφαλή. Chrys. ἀνδρ. β'.

St. *Basil* seemeth to call the Church thereof the principal in the world; for *what* (saith he) *can be more opportune to the Churches over the world than the Church of Antioch? the which if it should happen to be reduced to concord, nothing would hinder, but that as a sound head it would supply health to the whole body.*

Τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο ἡ καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη Ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καιρικώτερον; ἣν εἰ συμβαίη πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν ὑγιαινούσαν, παντὶ τῷ σώματι ἐπιχορηγεῖν ἡ ὑγίειαν. Bas. Ep. 48. (ad Athanas.)

Upon the same account the Bishop of *Carthage* did obtain the privilege to be standing Primate of his Province (although other Primacies there were not fixed to places, but followed Seniority, and a kind of Patriarch over all the *African* Provinces.

Hence did *Cæsarea*, as exceeding in temporal advantages, and being the Political *Metropolis* of *Palestine*, o'ertop *Jerusalem*, that most ancient, noble, and venerable City, the source of our Religion.

It was indeed the general Rule and Practice, to conform the privileges of Ecclesiastical dignity in a proportion convenient to those of the secular Government; as the Synod of *Antioch* in express terms did ordain; the ninth Canon whereof runneth thus; *The Bishops in every Province ought to know, that the Bishop presiding in the Metropolis doth undertake the care of all the Province; because all that have business do meet together in the Metropolis; whence it hath been ordained, that he should precede in honour, and that the Bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient Canon holding from our Fathers;* (that is, according to the 34th Canon of the Apostles.)

Τὸς ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει προεστῶτα Ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τὰς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, καθὰ ἀρχαιότερον κεκράτηκε κανὼν ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν παραδοθείς. Syn. Ant. Can. 9. Syn. Chalc. 17.

It is true, that the Fathers do sometimes mention the Church of *Rome* being founded by the two great Apostles, or the succession of the *Roman* Bishop to them in Pastoral charge, as a special ornament of that Church, and a congruous ground of respect to that Bishop, whereby they *did honour the memory of Saint Peter:* but even some of those, who did acknowledge this, did not avow it as a sufficient ground of pre-eminence, none did admit it for an argument of authoritative Superiority.

Sedis Apostolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum, (qui Princeps est Episcopalis coronæ) Romanæ dignitas Civitatis, sacra etiam Synodi firmavit authoritas. Valent. Nov. 24. in fin. Cod. Theod.

St. *Cyprian* did call the *Roman* See *the chair of Saint Peter*, and *the principal Church*; yet he disclaimed any authority of the *Roman* Bishops above his Brethren.

Cypr. Ep. 55. 51.

Firmilian did take notice, that Pope *Stephanus did glory in the place of his Bishoprick, and contend that he held the succession of Peter*; yet did not he think himself thereby obliged to submit to his authority, or follow his judgment; but sharply did reprehend him as a favourer of Hereticks, an author of Schisms, and one who had cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

Atque ego in hac parte justè indignor ad hanc tam apertam & manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quòd qui sic de Episcopatûs sui loco gloriatur, & se successionem Petri tenere contendit ——

Stephanus qui per successionem Cathedram Petri habere se prædicat ——— Firmil. apud Cypr. Ep. 75.

The Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod *did confess, that in writings all did willingly honour the Roman Church, as having been from the beginning the School of the Apostles, and the Metropolis of Religion; although yet from the East the instructors of the Christian Doctrine did go and reside there; but from hence they desired not to be deemed inferiors; because they did not exceed in the greatness and numerousness of their Church.*

Φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν ἡ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁμολογεῖν, ἀπ' Ἀποστόλων θεσπισθεῖσαν καὶ εὐσεβείας Μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑῴας ἐκεῖσε ἀπεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τὸ δόγμα ἐκκηρυξάμενοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὸ πατρεῖον φέρειν ἀξίαν ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει Ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. Soz. 3. 8.

They allowed ſome regard (though faintly and with reſervation) to the *Roman* Church upon account of their Apoſtolical foundation; they implied a ſtronger ground of pretence from the grandeur of that City; yet did not they therefore grant themſelves to be inferiors: at leaſt as to any ſubſtantial Privilege, importing Authority.

If by Divine right, upon account of his ſucceſſion to Saint *Peter*, he had ſuch pre-eminence, why are the other cauſes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God's Inſtitution, or as if that did need humane confirmation? The pretence to that ſurely was weak, which did need corroboration, and to be propp'd by worldly conſiderations.

Indeed, whereas the Apoſtles did found many Churches, exerciſing *Apoſtolical* authority over them (eminently containing the *Epiſcopal*) why in conſcience ſhould one claim privileges on that ſcore rather than, or above the reſt?

Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας —— Why ſhould the See of *Antioch*, that moſt ancient and truly Apoſtolical Church, where the Chriſtian name began, where Saint *Peter* at firſt, as they ſay, did ſit Biſhop for ſeven years, be poſtponed to *Alexandria?*

Ep. Synod. Conſt. Theodoret. *hiſt. l. 5. c. 9. p. 211. Quæ quantumlibet à Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat inſtituta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Auguſtalis dicta —— longè præſtabat Syria præfectura, &c.* Baron. *Ann.* 39. §. 10.

Epiph. Synod. Conſtant. *ibid.* Τῆς δὲ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τ' Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Eſpecially why ſhould the Church of *Jeruſalem*, the Seat of our Lord himſelf, the mother of all Churches, the fountain of Chriſtian Doctrine, the firſt Conſiſtory of the Apoſtles, ennobled by ſo many glorious performances (by the Life, Preaching, Miracles, Death, Burial, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion of our Saviour; by the firſt preaching of the Apoſtles, the effuſion of the Holy Spirit, the Converſion of ſo many People, and Conſtitution of the firſt Church, and Celebration of the firſt Synods) upon theſe conſiderations not obtain pre-eminence to other Churches, but in honour be caſt behind divers others; and as to Power be ſubjected to *Cæſarea*, the Metropolis of *Paleſtine?*

Optat. *l.* 6. (*p.* 169.) Hier. *Ep.* 61. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 7.

Majores enim in inſtituendis ſedibus Eccleſiarum non aliam iniiſſe rationem, quam ſecundum diviſionem Provinciarum. & Prærogativas à Romanis ante à ſtabilitas, quàm plurima ſunt exempla. Baron. *Anno* 39. 10.

The true reaſon of this even *Baronius* himſelf did ſee and acknowledge; for *that*, ſaith he, *the Ancients obſerv'd no other rule in inſtituting the Eccleſiaſtical Sees, than the diviſion of Provinces, and the Prerogative before eſtabliſhed by the Romans, there are very many examples.*

Of which examples, that of *Rome* is the moſt obvious and notable; and what he ſo generally aſſerteth may be ſo applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its pre-eminence.

X. The truth is, all Eccleſiaſtical preſideneies and ſubordinations, or dependencies of ſome Biſhops on others in adminiſtration of ſpiritual affairs, were introduced merely by humane Ordinance, and eſtabliſhed by Law or Cuſtom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things: Hence the Prerogatives of other Sees did proceed; and hereto whatever Dignity, Privilege, or Authority the Pope with equity might at any time claim, is to be imputed.

To clear which point, we will ſearch the matter nearer the quick; propounding ſome obſervations concerning the ancient forms of Diſcipline, and conſidering what intereſt the Pope had therein.

At firſt each Church was ſettled apart under its own Biſhop and Presbyters; ſo as independently and ſeparately to manage its own concernments; each was αὐτοκέφαλος, and αὐτόνομος, *governed by its own head, and had its own Laws.* Every Biſhop as a Prince in his own Church, did act freely according to his will and diſcretion, with the advice of his Eccleſiaſtical Senate, and * with the conſent of his people (the which he did uſe to conſult) without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, farther than his obligation to uphold the verity of Chriſtian profeſſion, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring Churches did require, in which regard if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be diſclaimed by them, as no good Chriſtian, and rejected from communion, together with his Church, if it did adhere

* Cypr. *Ep.* 52. 55. 72. 73. 76.
Omnis hic actus populo erat inſinuandus. P. Corn. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 46.
All this buſineſs was to have been imparted to the people.
Secundum arbitrium quoque veſtrum, & omnium noſtrum communi conſilium —— ea quæ agenda ſunt diſponere. Cypr. *Ep.* 40. (*Plebi Univ.*)
To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all.
Et limanda plenius ratio non ſolùm cùm Collegis meis, ſed & cum plebe ipſa univerſa. Cypr. *Ep.* 28.
And the reaſon is more throughly to be examined not only with my Collegues, but with the whole people.
Præjudicare ego & ſoli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. Ep. 18.

adhere to him in his miſdemeanors. This may be collected from the remainders of State in the times of St. *Cyprian.*

But becauſe little, disjointed and incoherent Bodies were like duſt, apt to be diſſipated by every wind of external aſſault, or inteſtine faction; and peaceable union could hardly be retained without ſome ligature of diſcipline; and Churches could not mutually ſupport and defend each other without ſome method of entercourſe and rule of confederacy, engaging them: Therefore for many good purpoſes (for upholding and advancing the common intereſts of Chriſtianity, for protection and ſupport of each Church from inbred diſorders and diſſenſions; for preſerving the integrity of the Faith, for ſecuring the concord of divers Churches, for providing fit Paſtors to each Church, and correcting ſuch as were ſcandalouſly bad * or unfaithful) it was ſoon found needful, that divers Churches ſhould be combined and linked together in ſome regular form of Diſcipline; † that if any Church did want a Biſhop, the neighbour Biſhops might ſtep in to approve and ordain a fit one; * that if any Biſhop did notoriouſly ſwerve from the Chriſtian rule, the others might interpoſe to correct or void him: that if any errour, or ſchiſm did peep up in any Church, the joynt concurrence of divers Biſhops might avail to ſtop its progreſs, and to quench it by convenient means of inſtruction, reprehenſion and cenſure: that if any Church were oppreſſed by perſecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual ſuccour and relief; for ſuch ends it was needful, that Biſhops in certain precincts ſhould convene, with intent to deliberate and reſolve about the beſt expedients to compaſs them; And that the manner of ſuch proceeding, (to avoid uncertain diſtraction, confuſion, arbitrarineſs, diſſatisfaction, and mutinous oppoſition) ſhould be ſettled in an ordinary courſe; according to rules known and allowed by all.

I dare not therefore prejudge, nor aſſume to my ſelf alone a matter which is common to all.

Hoc enim & verecundia & diſciplina & vitæ ipſi omnium noſtrûm convenit, ut Epiſcopi plures in unum convenientes, præſente & ſtantium plebe, (quibus & ipſis pro fide & timore ſuo honor habendus eſt) diſponere omnia conſilio communi religione poſſimus. Ep. 14.

For it becomes the modeſty, the diſcipline, and the manner of our living, that many Biſhops meeting together, the people being alſo preſent, (to whom reſpect ought to be had for their faith and fear) we may order all things with the common advice.

—— *quoniam non paucorum, nec Eccleſiæ unius aut unius Provinciæ, ſed totius orbis hæc cauſa eſt.* —— Cypr. *Ep.* 14.

—— becauſe this is the concern not of a few men or one Church, or one Province, but of the whole world.

Idcirco copioſum corpus eſt Sacerdotum —— ut ſi quis ex Collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, & gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri —— Cypr. *Ep.* 76.

Therefore the Clergy is a large body —— that if any one of our own ſociety ſhould vent an hereſy, and attempt to rent and waſte the flock of Chriſt, the reſt might come in to their help.

* Particularly in the diſpenſation of Church goods. *Conc. Ant. Can.* 25.

† Nov. 137. *cap.* 4.
123. *cap.* 10.

* *Vid. Can. Apoſt.* 38. (*al.* 30.) *de Synodis.*

In defining ſuch precincts it was moſt natural, moſt eaſy, moſt commodious to follow diviſions of Territory, or Juriſdiction already eſtabliſhed in the Civil State; that the Spiritual adminiſtrations being in ſuch circumſtances aptly conformed to the Secular, might go on more ſmoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not claſhing with the other: according to the judgment of the two great Synods, that of *Chalcedon*, and the *Trullane*; which did ordain, that *if by Royal authority any City be or ſhould hereafter be re-eſtabliſhed, the order of the Churches ſhall be according to the civil and publick form.*

(οἰκονομίαι Ἐκκλησιαστικαί. *Syn.* Conſt. *Can.* 2.)

Εἰ ἤ καὶ τὶς ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθεῖσα, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω. *Conc. Chalced. Can.* 17. & *Conc. Trull Can.* 38.

Whereas therefore in each Nation or Province ſubject to one Political Juriſdiction, there was a *Metropolis* or *Head-city*, to which the greateſt reſort was for diſpenſation of Juſtice, and diſpatch of principal Affairs emergent in that Province; it was alſo moſt convenient, that alſo the determination of Eccleſiaſtical matters ſhould be affixed thereto; eſpecially conſidering that uſually thoſe places were opportunely ſeated; that many perſons upon other occaſions did meet there; that the Churches in thoſe Cities did exceed the reſt in number, in opulency, in ability and opportunity to promote the common intereſt in all kinds of advantages.

P. Anael. *diſſ.* 99. *cap.* 1. P. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 6. 35.

Moreover, becauſe in all Societies and Confederacies of men for ordering publick affairs, (for the ſettling things in motion, for effectual diſpatch, for preventing endleſs diſſenſions and confuſions both in reſolving upon and executing things) it is needful that one perſon ſhould be authorized to preſide among the reſt, unto whom the power and care ſhould be entruſted to convoke Aſſemblies in fit ſeaſon, to propoſe matters for conſultation, to moderate the debates and proceedings, to declare the reſult, and to ſee that what is agreed upon may be duly

Ad hoc divina diſpenſationis proviſio gradus & diverſos conſtituit ordines in ſe diſtinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent, & potiores minoribus diligentiam impenderent, una concordia fieret à diverſitate contentio, & reſtè officiorum gereretur adminiſtratio ſingulorum. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 95.

To this end divine providence hath appointed degrees and divers orders diſtinct from one another, that while the leſs reverence the greater, and the greater take care

exe-

of the leſs, from this diverſity there might ariſe one frame of concord, and all offices be duly adminiſtred.

executed; Such a charge then naturally would devolve it ſelf upon the Prelate of the *Metropolis*, as being ſuppoſed conſtantly preſent on the place; as being at home in his own ſeat of preſidence, and receiving the reſt under his wing; as inconteſtably ſurpaſſing others in all advantages anſwerable to the ſecular advantages of his City; for that it was unſeemly and hard, if he at home ſhould be poſtponed in dignity to others repairing thither; for that alſo commonly he was in a manner the ſpiritual Father of the reſt, (Religion being firſt planted in great Cities, and thence propagated to others) ſo that the reverence and dependence on Colonies to the mother City, was due from other Churches to his See.

Wherefore by conſent of all Churches, grounded on ſuch obvious reaſon of things, the preſidency in each Province was aſſigned to the Biſhop of the *Metropolis*, who was called the firſt Biſhop, the *Metropolitan* (in ſome places the * *Primate*, the *Archbiſhop*, the *Patriarch*, the *Pope*) of the Province. The Apoſtolical Canons call him the firſt Biſhop (which ſheweth the Antiquity of this Inſtitution:) the *African* Synods did appoint that name to him as moſt modeſt, and calling him Primate in that ſenſe; other ancient Synods ſtyle him the *Metropolite*; and to the *Metropolites* of the principal Cities they gave the Title of *Archbiſhop*. The Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* peculiarly were called *Popes*; although that name was ſometimes deferred to any other Biſhop.

* *Primas Provinciæ. Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 19.

Τὸς Ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστυ ἔθνυς εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. *Can. Apoſt.* 27.
The Biſhops of each Nation ought to know who is chief among them.
Cod. Afr. *Can.* 39. *Diſt.* 99. *cap.* 3.

During this ſtate of things the whole Church did conſiſt of ſo many Provinces, being αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent on each other in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations; each reſerving to it ſelf the conſtitution of Biſhops, the convocation of Synods, the enacting of Canons, the deciſion of Cauſes, the definition of Queſtions; yet ſo that each Province did hold peaceful and amicable correſpondence with others; upon the like terms as before each παροικία, or Epiſcopal precinct, did hold intercourſe with its neighbours.

Παράταξις *Syn.* Nic. *Can.* 18.

And whoever in any Province did not comply with, or ſubmit to the Orders and Determinations reſolved upon in thoſe Aſſemblies, was deemed a ſchiſmatical, contentious and contumelious perſon; with good reaſon, becauſe he did thwart a Diſcipline plainly conducible to publick good: becauſe declining ſuch judgments he plainly ſhewed that he would admit none, (there not being any fairer way of determining things than by common advice and agreement of Paſtors) becauſe he did in effect refuſe all good terms of communion and peace.

Thus I conceive the *Metropolitical* governance was introduced, by humane prudence following conſiderations of publick neceſſity or utility: There are indeed ſome, who think it was inſtituted by the Apoſtles; but their Arguments do not ſeem convincing, and ſuch a conſtitution doth not (as I take it) well ſute to the ſtate of their times, and the courſe they took in founding Churches.

Into ſuch a Chanel, through all parts of *Chriſtendom* (though with ſome petty differences in the methods and meaſures of acting) had Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations fallen of themſelves; plain community of reaſon, and imitation inſenſibly propagating that courſe: and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general conſent and ſolemn ſanction eſtabliſhed.

The whole Church then was a Body conſiſting of ſeveral confederations of Biſhops, acting in behalf of their Churches under their reſpective *Metropolitans*, who did manage the common affairs in each Province; convoking Synods at ſtated times, and upon emergent occaſions; in them deciding Cauſes and Controverſies incident, relating to faith or practice; framing Rules ſerviceable to common Edification, and decent Uniformity in God's ſervice; quaſhing Hereſies and Schiſms, declaring truths impugned or queſtioned; maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other Provinces adjacent or remote.

Can. Apoſt. 38.
Tertull. *de Jej. cap.* 13.
Syn. Nic. *Can.* 5.

Διὰ τὰς Ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων διαλύσεις —— *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 20.

Such was the ſtate of the Church, unto which the Apoſtolical Canons and Conſtitutions do refer, anſwerable to the times in which they were framed; and which we may diſcern in the practice of ancient Synods.

Such

Such it did continue, when the great Synod of *Nice* was celebrated, which by its authority (preſumed to repreſent the authority of all Biſhops in the World, who were ſummoned thereto) backed by the Imperial Authority and Power, did confirm thoſe Orders, as they found them ſtanding by more general cuſtom, and received Rules in moſt Provinces; reducing them into more uniform practice; ſo that what before ſtood upon reaſon, cuſtomary uſage, particular conſent, by ſo auguſt ſanction did become univerſal Law; and did obtain ſo great veneration, as by ſome to be conceived everlaſtingly and immutably obligatory; according to thoſe maxims of Pope *Leo*.

Παλαιὸς τε ὢν ἴσε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ Κανὼν ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὥρ---- *Syn.* Conſtant. Theod. 5. 9.

Ὑπὲρ τῶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι παρεικὸς ὁμοίως φυλάτεσθαι. *Can.* 20.

It is here farther obſervable, that whereas divers Provinces did hold communion and entercourſe; ſo that upon occaſion they did (by their formed Letters) render to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, eſpecially of thoſe which concerned the general ſtate of Chriſtianity, and common Faith; calling, when need was, for aſſiſtance one of another to reſolve points of faith, or to ſettle order and peace; there was in ſo doing a ſpecial reſpect given to the *Metropolites* of great Cities: and to prevent diſſenſions, which naturally ambition doth prompt men to, grounded upon degrees of reſpect, an Order was fixed among them, according to which in ſubſcriptions of Letters, in accidental congreſſes, and the like occaſions, ſome ſhould precede others; (that diſtinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatneſs, ſplendor, opulency of Cities; or following the ſecular dignity of them:) whence *Rome* had the *firſt* place, *Alexandria* the *ſecond*, *Antioch* the *third*, *Hieruſalem* the *fourth*, &c.

Afterward, *Conſtantine* having introduced a new partition of the *Empire*, whereby divers Provinces were combined together into one Territory, under the regiment of a *Vicar*, or a *Lieutenant* of a *Præfectus-prætorio*, which Territory was called a *Dioceſe*; the *Eccleſiaſtical* ſtate was adapted in conformity thereto; new Eccleſiaſtical Syſtems, and a new ſort of ſpiritual Heads thence ſpringing up; ſo that in each Dioceſe, conſiſting of divers Provinces, an Eccleſiaſtical *Exarch* (otherwiſe ſometimes called a *Primate*, ſometimes a *Dioceſan*, ſometimes a *Patriarch*) was conſtituted, anſwerable to the Civil *Exarch* of a Dioceſe; who by ſuch conſtitution did obtain a like Authority over the *Metropolitans* of Provinces, as they had in their Province over the Biſhops of Cities; ſo that it appertained to them to call together the Synods of the whole Dioceſe, to preſide in them, and in them to diſpatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain Metropolitans, to confirm the Ordinations of Biſhops, to decide Cauſes and Controverſies between Biſhops upon appeal from Provincial Synods.

Zoſ. *lib.* 2. *p.* 63. Sextus Ruſus, *Brev.*

Ἐπικολέθησε τῶ Ἔξάρχῳ μη. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 10. *p.* 388.

Διοικητὴς, *Epiſt.* Orient. *ad* Rufum, *in Syn.* Eph. *p.* 396.

Diſt. 99. *cap.* 1, 2.

Οἱ ὁσιώτατοι Πατειάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάσης. *Syn.* Chal. *Act.* 2. (*p* 211.)

Epheſi Δίκαιον Πατειαρχικὸν. Ev. 3. 6.

Τινὲς δὲ Ἔξάρχυς τῆ διοικήσεων τὰς Πατειάρχας φασί. Zon. *ad* 28. *Can.* Chalc.

Novell. 137. *cap.* 5. & 123. *cap.* 10.

P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 11. 56.

Ordo Epiſcoporum quadripartitus eſt id eſt, in Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Metropolitanis, atque Epiſcopis. Iſid. *diſt.* 21. *cap.* 1.

Dionyſius Ex. tranſlates Ἔξαρχον, *Primatem, in Syn.* Chalc. 9 & 17.

Some conceive the Synod of *Nice* did eſtabliſh it; but that can hardly well be; for that Synod was held about the time of that diviſion, (after that *Conſtantine* was ſettled in a peaceful enjoyment of the Empire) and ſcarce could take notice of ſo freſh a change in the State; that doth not pretend to innovate, but profeſſeth in its ſanctions ſpecially to regard *ancient cuſtom, ſaving to the Churches their privileges* of which they were poſſeſſed; that only mentioneth Provinces, and repreſenteth the *Metropolitans* in them as the chief Governors Eccleſiaſtical then being; that conſtituteth a peremptory deciſion of weighty cauſes in Provincial Synods, which is conſiſtent with the *Dioceſan* Authority; that taketh no notice of *Conſtantinople*, the principal Dioceſe in the Eaſt, as ſeat of the Empire; (and the Synod of *Antioch*, inſiſting in the footſteps of the *Nicene*, doth touch only *Metropolitans* (*Can.* 19.) and the Synod of *Laodicea* doth only ſuppoſe that Order) In fine, that Synod is not recorded by any old Hiſtorian to have framed ſuch an alteration; which indeed was ſo conſiderable, that *Euſebius* who was preſent there could not well have paſſed it over in ſilence.

Ὅπερ ἔτι ὁ καιρὸν, ἔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν ———— *Can.* 18.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἤθη κρατέτω. *Can.* 6.

Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία ———— *Can.* 7.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις. *Ibid.*

Τὰς Ἐπισκόπας κεῖσθαι τῶν Μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπων καθίσασθαι--- *Syn.* Laod. *Can.* 12.

The Biſhops ſhould be conſtituted by the judgment of the Metropolitans and the neighbouring Biſhops.

Of

Of this Opinion was the Synod of *Carthage* in their Epiſtle to Pope *Celeſtine* I. who underſtood no juriſdiction but that of *Metropolitans* to be conſtituted in the *Nicene* Synod.

Some think the Fathers of the Second General Synod did introduce it, ſeeing it expedient that Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations ſhould correſpond to the Political; for they did innovate ſomewhat in the form of Government; they do expreſly uſe the new word *Dioceſe*, according to the Civil ſenſe, as diſtinct from a Province; they do diſtinctly name the particular *Dioceſes* of the *Oriental* Empire, as they ſtood in the Civil eſtabliſhment; they do preſcribe to the Biſhops in each *Dioceſe* to act unitedly there, not skipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the Synod of the *Dioceſe*, prohibiting other appeals: The Hiſtorians expreſly do report of them, that they did *diſtinguiſh and diſtribute Dioceſes*, that they did *conſtitute Patriarchs*, that they did prohibit that any of one *Dioceſe* ſhould intrude upon another.

Εἰ δὲ συμβαίη δυνατῆσαι τὰς ἐπαρχιώτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτὸς προσίεναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπισκόπων ἐκεῖνος ὑφ' ἧς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλεσθέντων —— *Syn.* Conſt. *Can.* 6.

But if it ſo happen that the Biſhops of any Province cannot rectify thoſe things which are laid to the charge of a Biſhop, they ſhall then go to a greater Synod of the Biſhops of that Dioceſe, met together for that purpoſe.

The Fathers of *Conſtantinople* in their Synodick Epiſtle diſtinguiſh the Province and Dioceſe of *Antioch*, οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀπολιτικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες —— Theod. 5. 9.

Καὶ Πατειάρχας καθίσησαν διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας. Socr. 5. 8.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι Πατέρες συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συνδραμοῦσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἑκάστῃ διοικήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπένειμαν, ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύσαντες δὲ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέρᾳ μὴ ὑπείκειν. Theodor. Ep 86. (*ad* Flavianum.)

For, ſays *Theodoret*, the Bleſſed Fathers meeting together in the Imperial City, diſtinguiſhed Dioceſes agreeably to what the *Nicene* Fathers had done, and allotted to every Dioceſe what belonged to it: on the contrary charging that no one of one Dioceſe ſhould encroach upon another.

But if we ſhall attently ſearch and ſcan paſſages, we may perhaps find reaſon to judge, that this form did ſoon after the Synod of *Nice* creep in without any ſolemn appointment by ſpontaneous aſſumption and ſubmiſſion, accommodating things to the Political courſe; the great Biſhops (who by the amplification of their City in power, wealth and concourſe of people were advanced in reputation and intereſt) aſſuming ſuch authority to themſelves; and the leſſer Biſhops eaſily complying; And of this we have ſome Arguments. *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, being depoſed and extruded by *Acacius*, *Metropolitan* of *Paleſtine*, *did appeal to a greater Judicatory*; being the firſt, (as *Socrates* noteth) who ever did uſe that courſe; becauſe, it ſeemeth, there was no greater in being till about that time; which was ſome years before the Synod of *Conſtantinople*; in which there is mention *of a greater Synod of the Dioceſe*——

Theod. 2. 26. Soz 4. 25.

Βιβλίον τε καθελεῖσι διαπεμψάμενοι μεῖζον ἐπεκαλέσατο δικαστήριον —— τοῦτο μὲν ἓν μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἅπαξ τῇ συνηθείᾳ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐτόλμησεν —— Socr. 2. 40.

There was a convention of Biſhops of the *Pontick* Dioceſe at *Tyana*; (diſtinguiſhed from the *Aſian* Biſhops) whereof *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* is reckoned in the firſt place, as Preſident; in the time of *Valens*.

Soz. 6. 12.

Nectarius Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* is ſaid by the Synod of *Chalcedon* to have preſided in the Synod of *Conſtantinople*.

Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος σὺν Γρηγορίῳ ἐγκαινίων ἔφασκε. (*in proſphonetico ad Imper.*)

A good Argument is drawn from the very Canon of the Synod of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf; which doth ſpeak concerning *Biſhops over Dioceſes* as already conſtituted, or extant; not inſtituting that Order of Biſhops, but ſuppoſing it, and together with an implicit confirmation regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting Biſhops to leap over the bounds of their *Dioceſe*, ſo as to meddle in the affairs of other *Dioceſes*; and by ordering *appeals to the Synod of a Dioceſe*.

Τῶν ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν Ἐπισκόπων —— *Can.* 2.

Πρεσβεῖται μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπισκόπων —— *Can.* 6.

Of Authority gained by ſuch aſſumption, and conceſſion without law, there might be produced divers inſtances.

As particularly that the See of *Conſtantinople* did aſſume to it ſelf Ordination and other acts of Juriſdiction, in three *Dioceſes*, before any ſuch power was granted to it by any Synodical Decree; the which to have done divers inſtances ſhew; ſome whereof are alledged in the Synod of *Chalcedon*; as St. *Chryſoſtom*, of whom it is there ſaid, *That going into Aſia he depoſed fifteen Biſhops, and conſecrated others in their room.*

Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 16. (*p.* 463.)

Ἰωάννης δεκαπέντε Ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν, ἀπελθὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν, καὶ ἐχειροτόνησεν ἄλλους ἀντ' αὐτῶν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 11. (*p.* 411.)

Soz. 8. 6

He alſo depoſed *Gerontius* Biſhop of *Nicodemia*, belonging to the *Dioceſe of Pontus*.

Whence

Whence the Fathers of *Chalcedon* did aver, *That they had in a Synod confirmed the ancient custom which the Holy Church of God in Constantinople had, to ordain Metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic and Thracian Dioceses.*

Τὸ γὰρ ἐν πολλῷ κατῃσχυνθὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡ Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν ἁγία Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία εἰς τὸ χειροτονεῖν μητροπολίτας τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ Ποντικῆς, καὶ Θρᾳκικῆς, καὶ νῦν καὶ σωφρονεστέρῳ ἐκυρώσατο ψήφῳ. *Syn. Chal. in Epist. ad Leonem.*

The which custom, (consistent with reason, and becoming the dignity of the Empire, and grateful to the Court) that great Synod did establish, although the *Roman* Church out of jealousy did contest and protest against it. *Syn. Chalc. Act. 16. (p. 462.)*

But the most pertinent instances are those of the *Roman*, *Alexandrine* and *Antiochene* Churches, having by degrees assumed to themselves such power over divers Provinces; in imitation of which Churches the other Diocesan Bishops may well be thought to have enlarged their Jurisdiction.

This form of government is intimated in the Synod of *Ephesus*; by those words in which Dioceses and Provinces are distinguished; *and the same shall be observed in all Dioceses and all Provinces every where.*

Τὸ δὴ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχῆ ἐπαρχιῶν φυλαχθήσεσθαι. *Syn. Eph. Can. 8.*
[There is mention of Dioceses in *Strabo*.]

However, that this form of Discipline was perfectly settled in the times of the Fourth General Synod, is evident by two notable Canons thereof, wherein it is decreed, that *if any Bishop have a controversy with his Metropolitan of his Province, he shall resort to and be judged by the Exarch of the Diocese, or by the See of Constantinople.*

Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας Μητροπολίτην Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω τὸν τῆς ἐξαρχου διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω. *Syn. Chalc. Can. 19. & 17.*

This was a great privilege conferred on the Bishop of *Constantinople*; the which perhaps did ground (to be sure it did make way for) the plea of that Bishop to the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch*, or *Universal Bishop*, which Pope *Gregory* did so exagitate; and indeed it foundeth so fairly toward it, that the Pope hath nothing comparable to it to alledge in favour of his pretences; this being the Decree of the greatest Synod that ever was held among the Ancients, where all the Patriarchs did concur in these Decrees; which Pope *Gregory* did reverence as *one of the Gospels*.——If any ancient Synod did ever constitute any thing like to *Universal* Monarchy, it was this; wherein a final determination of greatest Causes was granted to the See of *Constantinople*, without any exception or reservation: I mean as to semblance, and the sound of words; for as to the true sense I do indeed conceive that the Canon did only relate to causes emergent in the Eastern parts: and probably it did only respect the three Dioceses (of *Asia*, *Pontus* and *Thrace*) which were immediately subjected to his *Patriarchal* Jurisdiction.

Pope *Nicholas* I. doth very jocularly expound this Canon; affirming that by the Primate of the Diocese is understood the Pope (Diocese being put by a notable figure for Dioceses) and that an appeal is to be made to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, only by permission, in case the party will be content therewith.

Quem autem Primatem Diœceseos S. Synodus dixerit, præter Apostoli primi Vicarium, nullus fidelium intelligitur——None can understand whom the Holy Synod should call Primate of a Diocese, except the Vicar of the Prime Apostle.

Tamquidem valet dixisse Primatum Diœceseos, quantum si perhibuisset Diœceseon. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 507.) To say the Primate of a Diocese is as much as to say of Dioceses.

We may note, that some Provincial Churches were by ancient custom exempted from dependence on any Primacy or Patriarchate.

Such an one the *Cyprian* Church was adjudged to be in the *Ephesine* Synod; wherein the privileges of such Churches were confirmed against the invasion of greater Churches; and to that purpose this general Law enacted, *Let the same be observed in all Dioceses and Provinces every where——that none of the Bishops most beloved of God invade another Province which did not formerly belong to him or his Predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seiz'd it, that he restore it.*

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπασῶν ἐπαρχιῶν φυλαχθήσεσθαι——ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων Ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν ἐπὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάγειν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖσαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν. εἰ δέ τις καταλάβοι, καὶ ὑπ' ἐαυτῷ ποιήσαιτο, διασῶσαι τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, &c. *Conc. Eph. Can. 8.*

Such a Church was that of *Britain* anciently, before *Austin* did introduce the Papal Authority here against that Canon: as by divers learned Pens hath been shewed.

Such was the Church of *Africk*, as by their Canons againſt tranſmarine appeals, and about all other matters, doth appear.

Iſid. *diſt.* 2. *cap.* 1. It is ſuppoſed, by ſome, that Diſcipline was ſcrued yet one peg higher, by ſetting up the Order of *Patriarchs* higher than *Primates*, or *Dioceſan Exarchs*; but I find no ground of this ſuppoſal except in one caſe; that is, of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being ſet above the Biſhops of *Epheſus*, *Cæſarea* and *Heraclea*, which were the *Primates* of the three *Dioceſes*.

Omnes ſive Patriarcha cujuſlibet apices, ſive Metropoleon Primatus, aut Epiſcopatuum Cathedras, vel Eccleſiarum cujuſlibet Ordinis Dignitates inſtituit Romana Eccleſia, P. Nic. II. *Diſt.* 22. *cap.* 1.

It is a notable Fib which Pope *Nicholas* II. telleth, as *Gratian* citeth him; *That the Church of Rome inſtituted all Patriarchal Supremacies, all Metropolitan Primacies, Epiſcopal Sees, all Eccleſiaſtical Orders and Dignities whatſoever.*

Now things ſtanding thus in Chriſtendom, we may, concerning the intereſt of the *Roman* Biſhop, in reference to them, obſerve,

1. In all theſe tranſactions about modelling the ſpiritual Diſcipline, there was no Canon eſtabliſhed any peculiar Juriſdiction to the Biſhop of *Rome*, only the

2. Synod of *Nice* did ſuppoſe that he by cuſtom did enjoy ſome Authority within certain precincts of the Weſt, like to that which it did confirm to the Biſhop of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and Countries adjacent thereto.

Πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς. *Can.* 3. Τὰ πρεσβεῖα ϗ ἀξίαν τιμή. *Syn. Ch. Alt.* 16. 3. The Synods of *Conſtantinople* did allow him *honorary privileges* or precedence before all other Biſhops, aſſigning the next place after him to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. 4. In other privileges the Synod of *Chalcedon* did equal the See of *Conſtantinople* to the *Roman*.

5. The Canons of the two Firſt and Fourth General Synods, ordering all affairs to be diſpatched, and cauſes to be determined in *Metropolitan* or *Dioceſan* Synods, do exclude the *Roman* Biſhop from medling in thoſe concerns.

6. The Popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themſelves, and which ſerved their Intereſts) did not reliſh thoſe Canons, although enacted by Synods which themſelves admitted for Oecumenical: *That ſubſcription of ſome Biſhops made above ſixty years ſince, as you boaſt, does no whit favour your perſwaſion; a ſubcription never tranſmitted to the knowledge of the Apoſtolick See by your Predeceſſors, which from its very beginning being weak, and long ſince ruinous, you endeavour too late and unprofitably to revive.*

Perſuaſioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus ſuffragatur quorundam Epiſcoporum ante ſexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta ſubſcriptio, nunquámque à prædeceſſoribus tuis ad Apoſtolica Sedis tranſmiſſa notitiam: cui ab initio ſui caduca, dudumque collapſa ſera nunc & inutilia ſubſicere fomenta voluiſti —— P. Leo *Ep.* 53. (*ad* Anatol) *Vid. Ep.* 54. & 55. & 61.

Romana autem Eccleſia ejuſdem Canones vel geſta Synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit. Greg. M. *Ep.* 6. 31. (*ad* Eulog. Alex.

So doth Pope *Leo* I. treat the ſecond Great Synod, writing to *Anatolius*: and *Gregory* ſpeaking of the ſame ſays, *That the Roman Church has not the acts of that Synod, nor received its Canons.*

7. Wherefore in the Weſt they did obtain no effect; ſo as to eſtabliſh *Dioceſan* Primacies there.

N. A Roman Synod, *Anno* 378, conſiſting of *Italian* Biſhops did give the Pope ſuch a Privilege as the Synod of *Conſtantinople* did to the Biſhop of that See. (Marc. *de Primat. p.* 103. *ex app. Cod.* Theodoſ. Baron.) But there is difference between a General Synod, and an *Italian* Synod: and what had an *Italian* Synod to preſcribe to all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, or rather of the Weſt? P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 7, 8.

The Biſhops of Cities, which were Heads of Dioceſes, either did not know of theſe Canons (which is probable, becauſe *Rome* did ſmother the notice of them:) or were hindred from uſing them; the Pope having ſo winded himſelf in, and got ſuch hold among them, as he would not let go.

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the Pope, in carrying on his Encroachments, and enlarging his worldly Intereſts, that the Weſtern Churches did not as the Eaſtern, conform themſelves to the Political frame in embracing *Dioceſan* Primacies; which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the Liberties of their Churches from Papal Invaſions.

Baluſius thinketh, that *Hilarius* of *Arles* did pretend and offer at his Primatical power, *apud* Marc. 5. 32. but P. *Leo* did mainly check and quaſh his attempt.

9. For hence, for want of a better, the Pope did claim to himſelf a Patriarchal authority over the Weſtern Churches; pretending a right of calling Synods, of meddling in Ordinations, of determining Cauſes by appeal to him; of dictating Laws and Rules to them, againſt the old right of Metropolitans, and the later Conſtitutions for Primacies.

Of

Of this we have an Inſtance in St. *Gregory*; where he alledging an Imperial Conſtitution importing, that in caſe a Clergyman ſhould appeal from his Metropolitan, *the cauſe ſhould be referred to the Archbiſhop and Patriarch of that Dioceſe, who judging according to the Canons and Laws ſhould give an end thereto*; doth conſequentially aſſume an appeal from a Biſhop to himſelf, adjoining, *If againſt theſe things it be ſaid, that the Biſhop had neither Metropolitan nor Patriarch, it is to be ſaid that this cauſe was to be heard and decided by the Apoſtolical See, which is the head of all Churches.*

Contra hæc ſi dictum fuerit, quia nec Metropolitam habuit nec Patriarcham; dicendum eſt quia à Sede Apoſtolica, quæ omnium Eccleſiarum caput eſt, cauſa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat. Greg. *l.* Ep. 11. 56.

10. Having got ſuch advantage, and as to extent ſtretched his Authority beyond the bounds of *his ſub-urbicarian precincts*, he did alſo intend it in quality far beyond the privileges by any Eccleſiaſtical Law granted to Patriarchs; or claimed or exerciſed by another Patriarch; till at length by degrees he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enſlaved the Weſtern Churches. Ruſin. *Hiſt.* 1. 6.

The antient Order did allow a Patriarch or Primate to call a Synod of the Biſhops in his Dioceſe, and with them to determine Eccleſiaſtical Affairs by majority of Suffrages; but he doth not do ſo, but ſetting himſelf down in his Chair, with a few of his Courtiers about him, doth make Decrees and Dictates, to which he pretendeth all muſt ſubmit.

The ancient Order did allow a Patriarch to ordain Metropolitans duly elected in their Dioceſes; leaving Biſhops to be ordained by the Metropolitans in their Provincial Synods; but he will meddle in the Ordination of every Biſhop, ſuffering none to be conſtituted without his confirmation, for which he muſt ſoundly pay.

The ancient Order did allow a Patriarch, with the advice and conſent of his Synod, to make Canons for the well-ordering his Dioceſe; but he ſendeth about his Decretal Letters, compoſed by an infallible Secretary, which he pretendeth muſt have the force of Laws, equal to the higheſt Decrees of the whole Church.

The ancient Order did ſuppoſe Biſhops by their Ordination ſufficiently obliged to render unto their Patriarch due obſervance, according to the Canons, he being liable to be judged in a Synod for the tranſgreſſion of his Duty; but he forceth all Biſhops to take the moſt ſlaviſh oaths of Obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient Order did appoint that Biſhops accuſed for offences ſhould be judged in their Provinces; or upon appeal from them in Patriarchal Synods: but he receiveth appeals at the firſt hand, and determineth them in his Court, without calling ſuch a Synod in an age for any ſuch purpoſe.

The antient Patriarchs did order all things, as became good Subjects, with leave and under ſubmiſſion to the Emperour, who as he pleaſed did interpoſe his confirmation of their Sanctions: but this man pretendeth to decree what he pleaſeth without the leave, and againſt the will of Princes.

Wherefore he is not a Patriarch of the Weſtern Churches, (for that he acteth according to no Patriarchal Rule) but a certain kind of Sovereign Lord, or a tyrannical Oppreſſor of them.

11. In all the tranſactions for modelling the Church, there never was allowed to the Pope any dominion over his Fellow-patriarchs, or of thoſe great Primates who had aſſumed that name to themſelves; among whom indeed, for the dignity of his City, he had obtained a priority of honour or place; but never had any power over them ſettled by a title of Law, or by clear and unconteſted practice. Inſomuch, that if any of them had erred in Faith, or offended in Practice, it was requiſite to call a general Synod to judge them; as in the caſes of *Athanaſius*, of *Gregory Nazianzene* and *Maximus*, of *Theophilus* and S. *Chryſoſtom*, of *Neſtorius* and of *Dioſcorus*——is evident. 16d. *in diſt.* 21. *cap.* 1.

12. Indeed all the Oriental Churches did keep themſelves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had ſwollen ſo big in the Weſt, he ſometimes did take occaſion to attempt on their Liberty; which they ſometimes did warily decline, ſometimes ſtoutly did oppoſe.

But as to the main, thoſe flouriſhing Churches conſtantly did maintain a diſtinct adminiſtration from the Weſtern Churches, under their own Patriarchs and Synods, not ſuffering him to interlope in prejudice to their Liberty. *Vid.* de Marc. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. & 5.

They, without his leave or notice, did call and celebrate Synods (whereof all the firſt great Synods are inſtances) there Ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; Appeals were not (with publick regard or allowance) thence made to him in cauſes great or little, but they decided them among themſelves: they quaſhed Hereſies ſpringing up among them, as the Second General Synod, the *Macedonians*, *Theophilus* the *Origeniſts*, &c. Little in any caſe had his Worſhip to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general communion and correſpondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And ſometimes, when a pert Pope, upon ſome incidental advantage of differences riſen among them, would be more buſy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their Affairs, they did rap his fingers: ſo *Victor*, ſo *Stephanus*, ſo *Julius* and *Liberius* of old did feel to their ſmart: ſo afterwards *Damaſus* and other Popes in the caſe of *Flavianus*; *Innocent* in the caſe of St. *Chryſoſtom*; *Felix* and his Succeſſors in the caſe of *Acacius* did find little regard had to their interpoſals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not ſuffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any farther, I ſhall briefly draw ſome Corollaries from this Hiſtorical account which I have given of the original and growth of *Metropolitical*, *Primatical*, and *Patriarchal* Juriſdiction.

1. Patriarchs are an humane Inſtitution.

2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, ſo they may be diſſolved by the ſame.

3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of Princes; and by the ſame they may be dejected, if great reaſon do appear.

4. The Patriarchate of the Pope beyond his own Province or Dioceſe doth not ſubſiſt upon any Canon of a General Synod.

5. He can therefore claim no ſuch power otherwiſe than upon his Invaſion or aſſumption.

6. The Primates and Metropolitans of the Weſtern Church cannot be ſuppoſed, otherwiſe than by force, or out of fear, to have ſubmitted to ſuch an authority as he doth uſurp.

7. It is not really a Patriarchal Power (like to that which was granted by the Canons and Princes) but another ſort of power which the Pope doth exerciſe.

8. The moſt rightful Patriarch, holding falſe Doctrine, or impoſing unjuſt Laws, or tyrannically abuſing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a Patriarch is to be judged by a free Synod, if it may be had.

10. If ſuch a Synod cannot be had by conſent of Princes, each Church may free it ſelf from the miſchiefs induced by his perverſe doctrine or practice.

11. No Eccleſiaſtical Power can interpoſe in the management of any affairs, within the Territory of any Prince, without his conceſſion.

12. By the Laws of God, and according to ancient Practice, Princes may model the bounds of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, erect Biſhopricks, enlarge, diminiſh, or transfer them as they pleaſe.

13. Wherefore each Prince (having Supreme Power in his own Dominions, and equal to what the Emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign Prelate from Juriſdiction in his Territories.

14. It is expedient for peace and publick Good, that he ſhould do thus.

15. Such Prelate, according to the Rules of Chriſtianity, ought to be content with his doing ſo.

16. Any Prelate, exerciſing Power in the Dominion of any Prince, *eatenus*, is his Subject; as the Popes and all Biſhops were to the *Roman* Emperors.

17. Thoſe joints of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* Empire by the confirmation of Emperors, were (as to neceſſary continuance) diſſolved by the diſſolution of the *Roman* Empire.

18. The power of the Pope in the Territories of any Prince, did ſubſiſt by his authority and favour.

By

19. By the ſame reaſon as Princes have curbed the exorbitancy of Papal power in ſome caſes (of entertaining Legates, making appeals, diſpoſing of Benefices, *&c.*) by the ſame they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Chriſtianity doth not depend upon the ſubſiſtence of ſuch a form inſtituted by man.

Having ſhewed at large, that this Univerſal Sovereignty and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome* over the Chriſtian Church, hath no real Foundation either in Scripture or elſewhere, it will be requiſite to ſhew by what ways and means ſo groundleſs a claim and pretence ſhould gain belief and ſubmiſſion to it from ſo conſiderable a part of Chriſtendom; and that from ſo very ſlender roots (from ſlight beginnings and the ſlimmeſt pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow, the vaſteſt that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be leſs wonderful, if we do conſider the many cauſes which did concur and contribute thereto; ſome whereof are propoſed in the following Obſervations. *De puſillo creſcere. P. Leo. Ep. 55.*

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity,) doth eaſily paſs into advantages of real power and command over thoſe who are inferior in thoſe reſpects, and have any dealings or common tranſactions with ſuch Superiors.

For to perſons endowed with ſuch eminency, by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed; none preſuming to ſtand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The ſame conduct of things, upon the ſame accounts, and by reaſon of their poſſeſſion, doth continue faſt in their hands, ſo long as they do retain ſuch advantages.

Then from a cuſtom of managing things doth ſpring up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to aſſume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire ſuch things, and ſo are apt to defer extraordinary reſpect to the poſſeſſors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only inſtruments to attain, but incentives ſpurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours: for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will deſire real power and ſway, ſo as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be croſſed by any. Pope *Leo* had no reaſon to wonder that *Anatolius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was not content with dry honour. Men are apt to think their honour is precarious and ſtandeth on an uncertain foundation, if it be not ſupported with real power; and therefore they will not be ſatisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are ſo eaſily improvable by power, by inveigling ſome, and ſcaring or conſtraining others to bear their yoke: and as they are able to benefit and gratify ſome, and thereby render them willing to ſubmit, thoſe afterwards become ſerviceable to bring others under, who are diſaffected or refractory. *Quid illi ſatisfaciet, ſi tanta urbis magnificentia & claritudo non ſufficit? Leo Ep. 55.*

So the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* and of *Jeruſalem*, at firſt had only privileges of honour; but afterward they ſoon hooked in power.

Now the *Roman* Biſhop from the beginning was eminent above all other Biſhops, in all kinds of advantages.

He was ſeated in the Imperial City, the place of general reſort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name ſounding in all mouths. He had a moſt numerous, opulent, ſplendid flock and Clergy. He had the greateſt income (from liberal oblations) to diſpoſe of. He lived in greateſt ſtate and luſtre. He had opportunities to aſſiſt others in their buſineſs, and to relieve them in their want. He neceſſarily thence did obtain great reſpect and veneration. Hence in all common affairs, the conduct and preſidence were naturally devolved on him, without conteſt.

Euſeb. 6. 43. (Anno 254.) *Oblationibus matronarum ditati.* *Amm. Marc. l. 27. (p. 337.) Anno 367.* *Circumſpectè veſtiti.* *Euſeb.*

No wonder then, that after ſome time the Pope did arrive to ſome pitch of authority over poor Chriſtians, eſpecially thoſe who lay neareſt to him; improving his eminency into power, and his paſtoral charge into a kind of Empire; according to that obſervation of *Socrates*, that *long before his time the Roman Epiſcopacy had advanced it ſelf beyond the Prieſthood into a Potentacy.*

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπῆς πάλαι τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη τελούσης μεγαλύνεσθαι. Socr. 7. 11.

And the like he obſerveth to have happen'd in the Church of *Alexandria*, upon the ſame grounds, or by imitation of ſuch a pattern. [Socr. 7. 7.]

2. *Any*

2. Any ſmall power is apt to grow and ſpread it ſelf; a ſpark of it ſoon will ex-
Matth. 13. 32. pand it ſelf into a flame: it is very like to *the grain of muſtard ſeed, which indeed is the leaſt of all ſeeds; but when it is grown, it is the greateſt among herbs, and becometh a tree, ſo that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Encroaching* (as *Plutarch* ſaith) *is an innate diſeaſe of Potentacies.*

Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα τῶν δυναστείας, ἡ πλεονεξία. Plut. *in* Pyrrh.

Whoever hath any pitance of it, will be improving his ſtock, having taſted the ſweetneſs of having his will (which extremely gratifieth the nature of man) he will not be ſatisfied without having more; he will take himſelf to be ſtraiten'd by any bounds; and will ſtrive to free himſelf of all reſtraints.

Any pretence will ſerve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked. For Power is bold, enterprizing, reſtleſs: it always watcheth, or often findeth, *never paſſeth opportunities of dilating it ſelf.* Every acceſſion doth beget farther advantages to amplify it; as its ſtock groweth, ſo it with eaſe proportionably doth encreaſe; being ever out at uſe. As it groweth, ſo its ſtrength to maintain and enlarge it ſelf doth grow: it gaining more wealth, more friends, more aſſociates and dependents.

Subrependi occaſiones non prætermittit ambitio — P. Leo I. Ep. 62.

Facilius creſcit dignitas quàm incipit. Sen. Ep. 101.

Prima dominandi ſpes in arduo, ubi ſit ingreſſus, adſunt ſtudia & miniſtri. Tacit. Ann. 4. (p. 143.)

None can reſiſt or obſtruct its growth, without danger and manifold diſadvantages; for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, ſo its oppoſers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, diſloyalty; and not ſucceeding in their reſiſtance they will be undone.

None ever doth enterprize more than to ſtop its carriere; ſo that it ſeldom loſeth by oppoſition; and it ever gaineth by compoſition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the Sea, at another ſeaſon, in another point, break in. If it is ſometimes overthrown in a Battle, it is ſeldom conquered in the War.

It is always on its march forward, and gaineth ground; for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alledged for a precedent to authorize or juſtify it. It ſeldom moveth backward; for every Succeſſor thinketh he may juſtly enjoy what his Predeceſſor did gain, or which is tranſmitted into his poſſeſſion; ſo that there hardly can ever be any reſtitution of ill-gotten-power.

Thus have many abſolute Kingdoms grown; the firſt Chief was a Leader of Volunteers; from thence he grew to be a Prince with ſtated Privileges; after he became a Monarch inveſted with high Prerogatives: in fine, he creepeth forward to a *Grand Seigniour*, uſurping abſolute dominion; ſo did *Auguſtus Cæſar* firſt only aſſume the ſtyle of Prince of the Senate, demeaning himſelf modeſtly as ſuch; but he ſoon drew to himſelf the adminiſtration of all things, and upon that foundation his Succeſſors very ſuddenly did erect a boundleſs power. If you trace the footſteps of moſt Empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the Pope, when he had got a little power, continually did ſwell it. The puny pretence of the ſucceeding Saint *Peter*, and the name of the *Apoſtolical See*; the precedence by reaſon of the Imperial City; the honorary privileges allowed him by Councils; the Authority deferred to him by one Synod of reviſing the Cauſes of Biſhops; the countenance given to him in repreſſing ſome Hereſies, he did improve to conſtitute himſelf Sovereign Lord of the Church.

3. Spiritual power, eſpecially, is of a growing nature, and more eſpecially that which deriveth from Divine Inſtitution: for it hath a great awe upon the hearts and conſciences of men; which engageth them to a firm and conſtant adherence. It uſeth the moſt ſubtle arms, which it hath always ready, which needeth no time or coſt to furniſh, which cannot be extorted from its hand; ſo that it can never be diſarmed. And its weapons make ſtrong impreſſion, becauſe it propoſeth the moſt effectual encouragements to its abettors, and diſcouragements to its adverſaries; alluring the one with promiſes of God's favour and eternal happineſs, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven and endleſs miſery; the which do ever quell religious, ſuperſtitious, weak people; and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is preſumed unchangeable and unextinguiſhable by any humane power, and thence is not (as all other power) ſubject to revolutions. Hence like *Achilles* it is hardly vincible, becauſe almoſt immortal. If it be ſometimes rebuffed or impaired, it ſoon will recover great ſtrength and vigour.

The

The Popes derive their Authority from Divine Inſtitution; and their weapons are always ſentences of Scripture; they pretend to diſpenſe remiſſion of ſins; and promiſe heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curſe and damn the oppoſers of their deſigns. *Diſt.* 21. *cap.* 2. 3.

They pretend they can never loſe any power that ever did belong to their See: they are always ſtiff, and they never recede or give back. *The privileges of the Roman Church can ſuſtain no detriment.* *Privilegia Romanæ Eccleſiæ nullum poſſunt ſuſtinere detrimentum* —— *P.* Nic. *I. Ep.* 36. (32——)

4. Power is eaſily attained and augmented upon occaſion of diſſenſions. Each faction uſually doth make it ſelf a Head, the chief in ſtrength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that Head it will ſtrive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cauſe; and if the cauſe doth proſper, he is rewarded with acceſſion of Privileges and Authority: eſpecially thoſe who were oppreſſed, and find relief by his means, do become zealouſly active for his aggrandiſement.

Thus uſually in civil broils the Captain of the prevalent Party groweth a Prince, or is crowned with great Privileges (as *Cæſar*, *Octavian*, *Cromwel*, &c.)

So upon occaſion of the *Arian* faction, and the oppreſſion of *Athanaſius*, *Marcellus*, *Paulus*, and other Biſhops, the *Pope* (who by their application to him had occaſion to head the Catholick Party) did grow in power; for thereupon the *Sardican* Synod did decree to him that Privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engin of rearing himſelf ſo high.

And by his interpoſal in the diſſenſions raiſed by the *Neſtorians*, the *Pelagians*, the *Eutychians*, the *Acacians*, the *Monothelites*, the *Image-worſhippers*, and *Image-breakers*, &c. his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in thoſe cauſes to the prevailing Party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and ſway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of perſons ſheltered under it, and by it enjoying ſubordinate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its encreaſe.

Such perſons therefore will ever be inciting their Chief and Patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compaſs it, they will be very induſtriouſly, reſolutely and ſteadily active; their own intereſt moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be buſy in contriving ways to further his intereſts, their care and pains will be employed in accompliſhing his deſigns; they with their utmoſt ſtrength will contend in his defence againſt all oppoſitions.

Thus the *Roman* Clergy firſt, then the Biſhops of *Italy*, then all the Clergy of the *Weſt*, became engaged to ſupport, to fortifie, to enlarge the *Papal* authority; they all ſharing with him in domination over the Laity; and injoying wealth, credit, ſupport, privileges and immunities thereby. Some of them eſpecially were ever putting him on higher pretences, and furthering him by all means in his acquiſt and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a Potentate himſelf ſhould have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of it ſelf grow, he need only be paſſive therein; the intereſt of his partiſans would effect it: ſo that often power doth no leſs thrive under ſluggiſh and weak Potentates, eſpecially if they are void of goodneſs, than under the moſt active and able: Let the Miniſters alone to drive on their intereſt.

7. Even perſons otherwiſe juſt and good do ſeldom ſcruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at leaſt to uphold the uſurpations of their foregoers; for even ſuch are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring cenſure and blame, if they ſhould part with any thing left them by their Predeceſſors. They apprehend themſelves to owe a dearneſs to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and proſperity, in promoting which they ſuppoſe themſelves not to act for their own private intereſt; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their Office, that they ſtickle and buſtle; and that in ſo doing they imitate Saint *Paul* who did *magnify his office*. They are encouraged hereto by the applauſe of men, eſpecially of thoſe who are allied with them in intereſt, and who converſe with them; who take it for a Maxim, *Boni Principis eſt ampliare imperium*: The extenders of Empire are admired and commended, however they do it, although with cruel Wars, or by any unjuſt means.

Hence

Hence uſually the worthieſt men in the world's eye are greateſt enlargers of power; and ſuch men bringing appearances of virtue, ability, reputation to aid their endeavours, do moſt eaſily compaſs deſigns of this nature, finding leſs obſtruction to their attempts; for men are not ſo apt to ſuſpect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who diſcern their aims and conſequences of things, are overborn by the number of thoſe who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus *Julius* I. *Damaſus* I. *Innocent* I. *Gregory* I. and the like Popes, whom Hiſtory repreſenteth as laudable perſons, did yet confer to the advancement of Papal grandeur. But they who did moſt advance that intereſt, as Pope *Leo* I. *Gelaſius* I. Pope *Nicholas* I. Pope *Gregory* VII, in the eſteem of true zealots paſs for the beſt Popes. Hence the diſtinction between a good Man, a good Prince, a good Pope.

Sixtus V.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to expreſs themſelves highly in commendation of thoſe who are in a ſuperior rank, eſpecially upon occaſion of addreſs and intercourſe; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgements or atteſtations of right, and thence do ſometimes prove means of creating it.

——*qui famæ ſervit ineptus,*
Ac ſtupet in titulis & imaginibus——
Hor.

Of the generality of men it is truly ſaid, that it *doth fondly ſerve fame, and is ſtonn'd with titles and images*; readily aſcribing to Superiors whatever they claim, without ſcanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men out of abjectedneſs or fear are wont to crouch, and ſubmit to any thing upon any terms. Wiſe men do not love brangling, nor will expoſe their quiet and ſafety without great reaſon; thence being inclinable to comply with greater perſons. Bad men, out of deſign to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flatter and gloze with them. Good men out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair uſage from them, are ready to complement them, or treat them with the moſt reſpectful terms. Thoſe who are obliged to them will not ſpare to extol them; paying the eaſy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conſpire to exalt power; the which ſnatcheth all good words as true, and conſtrueth them to the moſt favourable ſenſe; and alledgeth them as verdicts and arguments of unqueſtionable right. So are the complements or terms of reſpect uſed by *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, *Theodoret*, and divers others, toward Popes, drawn into an Argument for Papal Authority; whereas the actions of ſuch Fathers, and their diſcourſes upon other occaſions, do manifeſt their ſerious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences: wherefore the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* in the *Florentine* Synod had good reaſon to decline ſuch ſayings * for arguments, for *if* (ſaith he) *any of the Saints doth in an Epiſtle honour the Pope, he ſhall take that as importing privileges.*

* Κατὰ ῥῆτὰ τ ἁγίων.
Μήπως, φησὶ, τις τ ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τ πάπαν, ϗ ἐκλάβῃ ὅτο ὡς τι πρόνομίον. Syn. Flor. Seſſ. 25. (p. 848.)

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable ſimplicity, meekneſs, modeſty and humility, love of peace, and averſeneſs from contention) are apt to yield to the encroachments of thoſe who any-wiſe do excel them; and when ſuch men do yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little intereſt to reſiſt, and no heart to ſtand for publick good; but rather ſtrike in preſently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themſelves. Hence ſo many of all ſorts in all times did comply with Popes, or did not obſtruct them; ſuffering them without great obſtacle to raiſe their power.

10. If in ſuch caſes a few wiſe men do apprehend the conſequences of things, yet they can do little to prevent them. They ſeldom have the courage with ſufficient zeal to buſtle againſt encroachments; fearing to be overthrown by its ſtream, to loſe their labour, and vainly to ſuffer by it: If they offer at reſiſtance, it is uſually faint and moderate: whereas power doth act vigorouſly, and puſh it ſelf forward with mighty violence; ſo that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppoſe it.

Ita de vocabulorum occaſionibus plurimum quæſtiones ſubornantur, ſicut & de verborum incommunionibus. Tertull. *de Reſur. Carn.* 54.

Ambiguity of words (as it cauſeth many debates, ſo) yieldeth much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power: for whatever is ſaid of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelеſly uſed are by interpretation extended to ſignify great matters, or what you pleaſe. For inſtance.

The

The word *Biſhop* may import any kind of ſuperintendency or inſpection; hence St. *Peter* came to be reckoned Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe in vertue of his Apoſtolical Office he had inſpection over that Church founded by him, and might exerciſe ſome Epiſcopal acts.

The word *Head* doth ſignify any kind of eminency, the word *Prince* any priority, the word to *preſide* any thing of ſuperiority or pre-eminence; hence ſome Fathers attributing thoſe names to St. *Peter*, they are interpreted to have thought him Sovereign in power over the Apoſtles. And becauſe ſome did give like terms to the Pope, they infer his Superiority in power over all Biſhops; notwithſtanding ſuch Fathers did expreſs a contrary judgment.

Καὶ ἡγεῖται κεφαλὴ. Can. Apoſt. 34.

The word *Succeſſour* may import any derivation of power; hence becauſe Saint *Peter* is ſaid to have founded the Church of *Rome*, and to have ordain'd the firſt Biſhop there, the Pope is call'd his Succeſſor.

The word *Authority* doth often import any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any ſuch advantage.) Hence becauſe the Pope of old ſometimes was deſired to interpoſe his authority, they will underſtand him to have had right to command or judge in ſuch caſes; although authority is ſometimes oppoſed to command, as where *Livy* ſaith, that *Evander did hold thoſe places by authority rather than by command*; and *Tacitus* of the *German* Princes ſaith, *They are heard rather according to their authority of perſuading, than power of commanding. The word* Judge (ſaith *Canus*) *is frequently uſed to ſignify no more than, I do think or conceive*; whereby he doth excuſe divers Popes from having decreed a notable errour (for *Alexander* III. ſays of them, *that they judged that after a matrimony contracted, not conſummated; another may be valid, that being diſſolved.*) Yet if the Pope is ſaid to have *judged* ſo or ſo in any caſe, it is alledged for a certain argument of proper *Juriſdiction*.

Quin duobus Epiſcopis quorum eâ tempeſtate ſumma authoritas erat, non illuſerat —— Sulp. Sev. 2.63.
Becauſe he had not deluded the two Biſhops who had the greateſt authority in thoſe times.
Non mediocris authoritatis Epiſcopus Carthag. Aug. *Ep.* 162.
The Biſhop of *Carthage* was of no mean Authority.
—— *audiuntur authoritate ſuadendi potiùs quàm jubendi poteſtate.* Tac. *de Mor. Ger.* (p. 640.)
Evander —— *ea authoritate magis quàm imperio retinebat loca.* Liv. 1.
Verbum Judico *frequenter in ea ſignificatione uſurpatur, ut idem ſit quod ſentio ſeu opinor.* Can. *loc.* 6. *cap.* 8. (*comp. lib.* 6. 1.)

11. There is a ſtrange inchantment in words; which being (although with no great colour of reaſon) aſſumed, do work on the fancies of men, eſpecially of the weaker ſort. Of theſe, Power doth ever arrogate to it ſelf ſuch as are moſt operative, by their force ſuſtaining and extending it ſelf.

So divers prevalent Factions did aſſume to themſelves the name of *Catholick*; and the *Roman* Church particularly hath appropriated that word to it ſelf, even ſo as to commit a Bull, implying *Rome* and the Univerſe to be the ſame place; and the perpetual canting of this Term hath been one of its moſt effectual charms to weak people. *I am a Catholick*, that is, *an Univerſal, therefore all I hold is true*; this is their great argument.

The words *Succeſſor of Peter*, *Apoſtolick See*, *Prima ſedes*, have been ſtrongly urged for Arguments of Papal Authority; the which have beyond their true force (for indeed they ſignify nothing) had a ſtrange efficacy upon men of underſtanding and wiſdom.

12. The Pope's power was much ampliſied by the importunity of Perſons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon juſt accounts, or wrongfully and by faction; for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redreſs, did often apply to him; for what will not men do, whither will not they go in ſtraits?

—— *ut ad Domini mei tanti Pontificis & piiſſimi Patris omnium ad ſe confugientium tutiſſimi defenſoris ac protectoris, &c.* Rothaldi *appell.* (*in* P. Nich. 1. *Ep.* 37. *p.* 563.
—— my Lord ſo great a Pontiff, and moſt pious a Father, the ſafe defender and protector of all thoſe that flee unto him for ſuccour.

Thus did *Marcion* go to *Rome*, and ſue for admiſſion to communion there. So *Fortunatus* and *Felicíſſimus* in St. *Cyprian*, being condemned in *Africk* did fly to *Rome* for ſhelter, of which abſurdity St. *Cyprian* doth ſo complain. So likewiſe *Martianus* and *Baſilides*, in St. *Cyprian*, being outed of their Sees, for having lapſed from the Chriſtian profeſſion, did fly to *Stephen* for ſuccour, to be reſtored. So *Maximus* (the Cynick) went to *Rome*, to get a confirmation of his election at *Conſtantinople*. So *Marcellus*, being rejected for Heterodoxy, went thither to get atteſtation to his Orthodoxy (of which St. *Baſil* complaineth.) So *Apiarius*, being condemned in *Africk* for his crimes, did appeal to *Rome*.

Cyp. *Ep.* 68.

Ep. 55.

And on the other ſide, *Athanaſius* being with great partiality condemned by the Synod of *Tyre*, *Paulus* and others, Biſhops being extruded from their Sees for Orthodoxy;

Concilium of *Antioch. Liber. cap.* 18.

P. Leo. Ep. 89. Marc. 5 32. P. Nich. I. Ep. 38. (p. 564.) Rothaldus.

thodoxy; St. *Chryſoſtom* being condemned, and expelled by *Theophilus* and his complices; *Flavianus* being depoſed by *Dioſcorus*, and the *Epheſine* Synod; *Theodoret* being condemned by the ſame, ---did cry out for help from *Rome*. *Chelidonius*, Biſhop of *Reſanon*, being depoſed by *Hilarius* of *Arles*, (for crimes) did fly to Pope *Leo*. *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, being extruded from his See by *Photius*, did complain to the Pope.

13. All Princes are forward to heap honour on the Biſhop of their Imperial City; it ſeeming a diſgrace to themſelves, that ſo near a relation be an inferior to any other: who is as it were their Spiritual Paſtor, who is uſually by their ſpecial favour advanced. The City it ſelf and the Court will be reſtleſs in aſſiſting him to climb.

Thus did the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ariſe to that high pitch of honour, and to be Second Patriarch; who at firſt was a mean Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Heraclea*; this by the Synods of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* is aſſigned for the reaſon of his advancement. And how ready the Emperors were to promote the dignity of that Biſhop, we ſee by many of their Edicts to that purpoſe; as particularly that of *Leo*.

Cod. Lib. 1. tit. 2. cap 16.

So, for the honour of their City, the Emperors uſually did favour the Pope, aſſiſting him in the furtherance of his deſigns, and extending his Privileges by their Edicts at home, and Letters to the Eaſtern Emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the Synod of *Chalcedon* we have the Letters of *Valentinian*, together with thoſe of *Placidia* and of *Eudoxia* the Empreſſes to *Theodoſius*, in behalf of Pope *Leo*, for retractation of the *Epheſine* Synod; wherein they do expreſs themſelves engaged to maintain the honour of the *Roman* See; *Seeing that* (ſaith *Placidia*, Mother of *Theodoſius*) *it becometh us in all Things to preſerve the Honour and dignity of this chief City, which is the Miſtreſs of all others.*

Ὁπότε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γενῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ οἰκεῖον φυλάττειν. Syn. Chalc. (p. 27.)

Qualiter (Imperatores) eam diverſis beneficiis extulerint, donis, ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c. P. Nic. I. Ep. 8. (p. 513.)

So Pope *Nicholas* confeſſeth, that the Emperors had *extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits* (or benefices,) *&c.*

—— Romanus tempore priſco
Pauper erat Praſul, Regali munere crevit, &c.
Gunth. Lig. lib. 6.

14. The Popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to ſuggeſt what they pleaſed to the Court, and thereby to procure his Edicts (directed or dictated by themſelves) in their favour, for extending their power, or repreſſing any oppoſition made to their encroachments.

Baronius obſerveth that the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* did uſe this advantage for their ends; for thus he reflecteth on the Edict of the Emperor *Leo* in favour of that See: *Theſe things* Leo, *but queſtionleſs conceived in the words of* Acacius, *ſwelling with pride.*

Hæc Leo. ſed Acacii ſuſu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, & ſtylo ſuperbiæ exarata. Baron. Ann. 473. §. 4.

Apud Marc. 5. 32.

And no leſs unqueſtionably did the Popes conceive words for the Emperor in countenance of their Authority.

* Bin. ad P. Hil. Ep. 11. (p. 576.)

Such was the Edict of *Valentinian* in favour of *Leo* againſt *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, * (in an unjuſt cauſe as *Binius* confeſſeth) who conteſted his Authority to undo what was done in a *Gallicane* Synod. And we may thank *Baronius* himſelf for this Obſervation, *By this, Reader, thou underſtandeſt, that when the Emperours ordained Laws concerning Religion, they did it by tranſcribing and enacting the Laws of the Church upon the admonition of the Holy Biſhop requiring them to do their duty.* It was a notable Edict, which Pope *Hilarius* alledgeth, *It was alſo decreed by the Laws of Chriſtian Princes, that whatſoever the Biſhop of the Apoſtolick See ſhould upon examination pronounce concerning Churches and their Governours,* &c. *ſhould with reverence be received and ſtrictly obſerved,* &c.

Ex his intelligis, Lector, cùm de rebus ſacris Imperatores leges ſanxivere, id ipſum admonitione ſſ. Præſulum requirentium eorum officium ex ſcriptis legibus ſtatuiſſe. Baron. An. 458. §. 4.

Chriſtianorum quoque Principum lege decretum eſt, &c. P. Hilarius, Ep. 11. (p. 576.)

Such Edicts by crafty ſuggeſtions being at opportune times from eaſy and unwary princes procured, did hold, not being eaſily reverſed: and the Power which the Pope once had obtained by them, he would never part with; fortifying it by higher pretences of Divine immutable right.

P. Nich. I. Ep. 36.

The

The Emperor *Gratian*, having gotten the World under him, did order the Churches to thoſe who would communicate with Pope *Damaſus*. This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the *Roman* See. Theod. 5. 2.

15. It is therefore no wonder, that Popes being ſeated in the *Metropolis* of the Weſtern Empire (the head of all the *Roman* State) ſhould find intereſt ſufficient to make themſelves by degrees what they would be; for they not only ſurpaſſing the Provincial Biſhops in wealth and repute, but having power in Court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withſtand their encroachments? What wiſe man would not rather bear much, than conteſt upon ſuch diſadvantages, and without probable grounds of ſucceſs?

16. Princes who favoured them with ſuch conceſſions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foreſee what ſuch increaſe of power in time would ariſe to; or ſuſpect the prejudice thence done to Imperial Authority. They little thought that in vertue thereof Popes would check, and mate Princes; or would claim ſuperiority over them; for the Popes at that time did behave and expreſs themſelves with modeſty and reſpect to Emperors.

17. Power once rooted doth find ſeaſons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confuſions of things, the eruptions of Barbarians, the ſtraits of Emperors, the contentions of Princes, *&c.* did all turn to account for him; and in confuſion of things he did ſnatch what he could to himſelf.

The declination and infirmity of the *Roman* Empire gave him opportunity to ſtrengthen his intereſts, either by cloſing with it, ſo as to gain ſomewhat by its conceſſion; or by oppoſing it, ſo as to head a faction againſt it. As he often had opportunity to promote the deſigns of Emperors and Princes, ſo thoſe did return to him encreaſe of Authority; ſo they trucked and bartered together. For when Princes were in ſtraits, or did need aſſiſtance (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their deſigns, or ſupport of their intereſt in *Italy*, they were content to honour him, and grant what he deſired: as in the caſe of *Acacius*, which had cauſed ſo long a Breach, the Emperor, to engage Pope *Hormiſdas*, did conſent to his will. And at the *Florentine* Synod, the Emperor did bow to the Pope's terms, in hopes to get his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks.

When the *Eaſtern* Emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of *Italy*, he ſnatched a good part of it to himſelf, and ſet up for a Temporal Prince.

Δρυὸς πεσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλίζεται.
When the Oak is fallen, every one gets ſome wood.

When Princes did claſh, he by yielding countenance to one ſide, would be ſure to make a good market for himſelf: for this pretended Succeſſor to the Fiſherman, was really skilled to angle in troubled Waters.

They have been incendiaries of Chriſtendom, the kindlers and fomenters of War. And would often ſtir up Wars, and inclining to the ſtronger part, would ſhare with the Conqueror; as when he ſtirr'd up *Charles* againſt the *Lombards*. They would, upon ſpiritual pretence, be interpoſing in all affairs. Anaſt. *in Vit.* Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25. 30. *&c.* *Non ſine ſuſpicione, quod illorum temporum Pontifices, qui bella extinguere, diſcordias tollere debuiſſent, ſuſcitarent ea potiùs atque nutrirent.* Modruvienſis *Epiſt. in Concil.* Lat. *ſub* Leone X. *Seſſ.* 6. (p. 72.)

He did oblige Princes by abetting their Cauſe when it was unjuſt or weak; his ſpiritual Authority ſatisfying their Conſcience: whence he was ſure to receive good acknowledgment and recompence. As when he did allow *Pepin*'s uſurpations. *An.* 752.

He pretended to diſpoſe of Kingdoms, and to conſtitute Princes: reſerving obedience to himſelf. *Gregory* VII. granted to *Robert Guiſlard Naples* and *Sicily beneficiario jure*. *An.* 1060. *Innocent* II. gave to *Roger* the title of King. *An.* 1139.

There is ſcarce any Kingdom in *Europe*, which he hath not claimed the Sovereignty of, by ſome pretence or other. Princes ſometime for quiet ſake have deſired the Pope's conſent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themſelves, whence the Pope took advantage to claim an original right of diſpoſing ſuch things.

The proceeding of the Pope upon occaſion of Wars is remarkable; when he did enter League with a Prince to ſide with him in a War againſt another, he did covenant to proſecute the Enemy with Spiritual Arms (that is, with Excommunications and Interdicts) engaging his Confederates to uſe Temporal Arms. So making Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures tools of Intereſt.

When Princes were in difficulties, (by the mutinous diſpoſition of Princes, the emulation of Antagoniſts) he would, as ſerved his intereſt, interpoſe, hooking in ſome advantage to himſelf.

In the tumults againſt our King *John*, he ſtruck in, and would have drawn the Kingdom to himſelf.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with Princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his Spiritual Power: as about the point of the inveſtiture of Biſhops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate *Henry* III. (*Anno* 1076.)
Calixtus II. —— *Henry* IV. (*Anno* 1120)
Adrian IV. —— *Frederick*, (*Anno* 1160.)
Celeſtinus III. —— *Henry* V. (*Anno* 1195)
Innocent III. —— *Otho* (*Anno* 1219.)
Honorius III. and *Gregory* IX. --- *Frederick* II. (*Anno* 1220.)
Innocent IV. in the *Ludg.* Conc. 1245.)

18. The ignorance of times did him great ſervice; for then all the little Learning which was, being in his Clients and Factors, they could inſtill what they pleaſed into the credulous People. Then his Dictates would paſs for infallible Oracles, and his Decrees for inviolable Laws: whence his veneration was exceedingly encreaſed.

Anſelme *Anno* 1109. } Eadmer.
Becket *Anno* 1154. } Matt Par.

19. He was forward to ſupport factious Church-men againſt Princes, upon pretence of ſpiritual Intereſt and Liberty. And uſually by his importunity and arts getting the better in ſuch conteſts, he thereby did much ſtrengthen his Authority.

20. He maketh himſelf the head of all the Clergy, and carrying himſelf as its Protector and Patron, did ingage thereby innumerable moſt able Heads, Tongues and Pens; who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little elſe to do.

21. So great a party he cheriſhed with exorbitant Liberties, ſuffering none to rule over them or touch them beſide himſelf.

22. He did found divers *Militias* and bands of ſpiritual *Janiſaries*, to be Combatants for his Intereſts; who depending immediately upon him, ſubſiſting by his Charters, enjoying exemptions by his Authority from other Juriſdictions, being ſworn to a ſpecial obeiſance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his Intereſts, and to maintain all the pretences of their Patron and Benefactor.

Theſe had great ſway among the People, upon account of their religious guiſes and pretences to extraordinary heights of ſanctimony, auſterity, contempt of the World. And Learning being moſtly confined to them, they were the chief Teachers and Guides in Chriſtendom; ſo that no wonder, if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his power as ſuperior to all others. They did attribute to him titles ſtrangely high, *Vice-god*, *Spouſe of the Church*, *&c.* ſtrange attributes of *Omnipotency*, *Infallibility*, *&c.*

Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo. Greg. *l. Ep.* 4 44.

23. Whereas Wealth is a great ſinew of Power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great ſtore thereof to himſelf.

By how many tricks did he proll Mony from all parts of Chriſtendom? as by

Diſpenſations for Marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times; for Vows and Oaths; for obſervance of Faſts and Abſtinences; for Pluralities and incompatible Benefices, Non-reſidences, *&c.*

Indulgences and Pardons, and freeing Souls from the pains of Purgatory.

Vendit plumbum pro auro Taxa Camerariæ.

Reſervations, and Proviſions of Benefices, not beſtowed *gratis*.

Conſecrated Preſents; *Agnus Dei's*, *Swords*, *Roſes*, *&c.*

Confirmations of Biſhops; * ſending Palls.

* In the times of *Henry* I. the Biſhop of *York* did pay 10000 l. *Sterling* for his Pall. *Matt. Par.* (*p.* 274.)

Appeals to his Court.

Peter-pence. Plat. *p.* 257.

Tributes of *Peter-pence*, *Annates*, *Tithes*,—introduced upon occaſion of Holy Wars, and continued.

Playing faſt and looſe, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending

Sending Legates to drein places of Money.

Commutations of Penance for Money.

Inviting to Pilgrimage at *Rome*.

Hooking in Legacies. What a maſs of Treaſure did all this come to? what a Trade did he drive? *Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Chriſti?*

24. He did indeed eaſily, by the help of his mercenary Divines, transform moſt Points of Divinity in accommodation to his intereſts of Power, Reputation and Gain.

25. Any pretence, how ſlender ſoever, will in time get ſome validity; being fortified by the conſent of divers Authors, and a ſutable practice.

Any ſtory ſerving the deſigns of a Party, will get Credit by being often told, eſpecially by Writers bearing a ſemblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flouriſhing Party.

26. The Hiſtories of ſome Ages were compoſed only by the Popes Clients, *Friars* and *Monks*, and ſuch people; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his Intereſts, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to queſtion any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called *Heretick*, and treated as ſuch.

27. Whereas the Pope had two ſorts of Oppoſites to ſubdue, temporal *Princes* and *Biſhops*; his buſineſs being to o'ertop *Princes*, and to enſlave all *Biſhops*; or to invade and uſurpthe rights of both; he uſed the help of each to compaſs his deſigns on the other; by the Authority of *Princes* oppreſſing *Biſhops*, and by the aſſiſtance of *Biſhops* mating *Princes*.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did inceſſantly clamour or whine, that *Saint Peter was injured*. *Quando & Apoſtolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non obſervatur, & à te ſpernitur & violatur.* P. Nich. I. Ep. 37.

29. The forgery of the *Decretal Epiſtles* (wherein the ancient Popes are made expreſly to ſpeak and act according to ſome of his higheſt pretences, deviſed long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpoſe; authoriſing his Encroachments by the ſuffrage of ancient Doctrine and Practice: a great part of his *Canon-law* is extracted out of theſe, and grounded on them.

The Donation of *Conſtantine*, fictitious Acts of Councils, and the like counterfeit ſtuff, did help thereto; the which were ſoon embraced, as we ſee in Pope *Gregory* II.——

As alſo *Legends*, Fables of Miracles, and all ſuch *deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs*. Απάτη ἀδικίας. 2 Theſſ. 2. 10. Twiſd. p. 17.

30. Popes were ſo cunning as to form Grants, and impute that to Privileges derived from them, which Princes did enjoy by right or cuſtom. *Non neceſſitatis, ſed honoris cauſâ peto. Externis aſſentationibus.* P. Leo Epiſt. (ad Syn. Chalc.)

31. Synods of Biſhops called by him at opportune ſeaſons, conſiſting of his Votaries or Slaves. None dared therein to whiſper any thing to the prejudice of his Authority. He carried whatever he pleaſed to propoſe, without check or contradiction. Who dared to queſtion any thing done by ſuch numbers of Paſtors ſtyling themſelves the *Repreſentative of Chriſtendom*?

32. The having hampered all the Clergy with ſtrict Oaths of univerſal obedience to him (beginning about the times of Pope *Gregory* VII.) did greatly aſſure his Power.

33. When intolerable Oppreſſions and Exactions did conſtrain Princes to ſtruggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to compoſition; whereby he was to be ſure for that time a gainer, and gained eſtabliſhment in ſome Points, leaving the reſt to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witneſs the *Concordates* between { *Henry* II. and P. *Alex* III. *Anno* 1172. / *Edw.* III. and P. *Greg.* XI. *Anno* 1373. / *Henry* V. and P. *Mart.* V. *Anno* 1418.

34. When Princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by *Pragmatical Sanctions*, they were reſtleſs till they had got thoſe Sanctions revoked. And when they found weak Princes, or any Prince in circumſtances advantaging their deſign, they did obtain their end. So Pope *Leo* X. got *Lewis* XI. to repeal the *Pragmatical Sanctions* of his Anceſtors.

35. The

35. The Power he did aſſume to abſolve Men from Oaths and Vows, to diſpence with prohibited Marriages, *&c.* did not only bring much griſt to his Mill; but did enable him highly to oblige divers perſons (eſpecially great ones) to himſelf. For to him they owed the quiet of their Conſcience from ſcruples. To him they owed the ſatisfaction of their deſires, and legitimation of their iſſue, and title to their Poſſeſſions.

36. So the device of Indulgences did greatly raiſe the veneration of him; for who would not adore him, that could looſe bands, and free his Soul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPOSITION VI.

The next *Suppoſition* is this, *That in Fact the* Roman *Biſhops continually from Saint* Peter's *time, have enjoyed and exerciſed this Sovereign Power.*

THIS is a Queſtion of Fact, which will beſt be decided by a particular conſideration of the ſeveral Branches of Sovereign Power, that ſo we may examine the more diſtinctly whether in all Ages the Popes have enjoyed and exerciſed them, or not.

And if we ſurvey the particular Branches of Sovereignty, we ſhall find that the Pope hath no juſt title to them, in reaſon, by valid Law, or according to ancient Practice, whence each of them doth yield a good argument againſt his pretences.

I. If the Pope were Sovereign of the Church, he would have power to convocate its ſupreme Councils and Judicatories; and would conſtantly have exerciſed it.

This power therefore the Pope doth claim; and indeed did pretend to it a long time ſince, before they could obtain to exerciſe it: *It is manifeſtly apparent* (ſaith Pope *Leo* X. with approbation of his *Lateran* Synod) *that the Roman Biſhop for the time being (as who hath authority over all Councils) hath alone the full right and power of indicting, tranſlating and diſſolving Councils*; and long before him, *To the Apoſtolical authority* (ſaid Pope *Adrian* I.) *by our Lord's command, and by the merits of St.* Peter, *and by the decrees of the Holy Canons and of the venerable Fathers, a right and ſpecial power of convocating Synods hath many-wiſe been committed*; and yet before him, *The authority* (ſaith Pope *Pelagius* II.) *of convocating Synods hath been delivered to the Apoſtolical See by the ſingular privilege of Saint* Peter.

Diſtinct. 17.
Cùm etiam ſolum Rom. Pontificem pro tempore exiſtentem, tanquam auctoritatem ſuper omnia Concilia habentem, Conciliorum indicendorum, tranſferendorum ac diſſolvendorum plenum jus & poteſtatem habere —— manifeſtè conſtet. Con. Later. *Seſſ.* 11. (*p.* 152.) *Ann.* —— *Cui juſſione Domini, & meritis B. Petri Apoſtoli ſingularis congregandarum Synodorum authoritas & Sanctorum Canonum ac Venerandorum Patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita eſt poteſtas.* P. Hadrian I. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 565. (*Anno* 785.)
Cùm generalium Synodorum convocandi auctoritas Apoſtolicæ Sedi B. Petri ſingulari privilegio ſit tradita —— P. Pelag. II. *Epiſt.* 8. (Bin. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 476.) *Anno* 587. *quare an. hac Epiſtola ſit* Pelagii II.
Negat Launoius.

But it is manifeſt, that the Pope cannot pretend to this power by vertue of any old Eccleſiaſtical Canon; none ſuch being extant or produced by him: Nor can he alledge any ancient Cuſtom; there having been no general Synod before *Conſtantine*: and as to the practice from that time, it is very clear, that for ſome Ages the Popes did not aſſume or exerciſe ſuch a power, and that it was not taken for their due. Nothing can be more evident, and it were extreme impudence to deny that the Emperors at their pleaſure, and by their authority did congregate all the firſt General Synods; for ſo the oldeſt Hiſtorians in moſt expreſs terms do report, ſo thoſe Princes in their Edicts did aver, ſo the Synods themſelves did declare. The moſt juſt and pious Emperors, who did bear greateſt love to the Clergy, and had much reſpect for the Pope, did call them without ſcruple; it was deemed their right to do it, none did remonſtrate againſt their practice, the Fathers in each Synod did refer thereto, with allowance, and commonly with applauſe; Popes themſelves did not conteſt their right, yea commonly did petition them to exerciſe it.

Theſe things are ſo clear and ſo obvious, that it is almoſt vain to prove them; I ſhall therefore but touch them.

In general *Socrates* doth thus attest to the ancient practice; *We* (saith he) *do continually include the Emperors in our History, because upon them, ever since they became Christians, Ecclesiastical Affairs have depended, and the greatest Synods have been and are made by their appointment:* and *Justinian* in his prefatory type to the Fifth General Council beginneth thus: *It hath been ever the care of Pious and Orthodox Emperors, by the assembling of the most religious Bishops, to cut off Heresies, as they did spring up, and by the right faith sincerely preach'd, to keep the Holy Church of God in peace:* and to do this was so proper to the Emperors, that when *Ruffin* did affirm St. *Hilary* to have been excommunicated in a Synod, St. *Hierome* to confute him, did ask; *tell me, What Emperor did command this Synod to be congregated?* implying it to be illegal or impossible that a Synod should be congregated without the Imperial command.

Σωτηρίας ἀφ' ἧς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ πραγματείᾳ διὰπαντὸς ὁμιλοῦμεν, διότι ἀφ' ἧς τὰ Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πράγματα πρὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται. Socr. 5. *procem.*

Semper studium fuit Orthodoxis & piis imperatoribus, pro tempore exortas Hæreses per congregationem religiosissimorum Episcoporum amputare, & recta fide sincerè prædicata, in pace Sanctam Dei Ecclesiam custodire —— Justin. *in Syn.* 5. *Collat.* 1. (p. 209.) *Græce p.* 368. *magis emphatice.*

Particularly *Eusebius* saith of the Christian Emperor, that *as a common Bishop appointed by God, he did summon Synods of God's Ministers*; so did he *command a great number of Bishops to meet at Arles*, (for decision of the *Donatists* cause;) so did he also *command* the Bishops from all quarters to meet at *Tyre* for examination of the affairs concerning *Athanasius*; and that he did convocate the great Synod of *Nice* (the first and most renowned of all General Synods) all the Historians do agree, he did himself affirm, the Fathers thereof in their Synodical remonstrances did avow; as we shall hereafter, in remarking on the passages of that Synod, shew.

Δοκεῖ τις κοινὸς Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθιστάμενος συνόδους ἐκ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει. Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. *l.* 44.

Πλείους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ διιστάντων τόπων Ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν. Euseb. *Hist.* 10. 5. *Ep. ad* Chrestum. *Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi Imperatoris voluntate adducti*, say the Fathers in their Epistle to *P. Sylvester* himself.

Vid. Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 41, 42. 43. & Socr. 1. 28.

The same course did his Son *Constantius* follow, without impediment; for although he was a favourer of the *Arian* Party, yet did the *Catholick* Bishops readily at his call assemble in the great Synods of * *Sardica*, of † *Ariminum*, of ‖ *Seleucia*, of * *Sirmium*, of † *Milan*, *&c.* Which he, out of a great zeal to compose dissensions among the Bishops, did convocate.

* Περιέταξεν εἰς Σαρδικὼν συνελθεῖν Ἐπισκόπους. Theod. 2. 4. Soz. 3. 11. Socr. 2. 16. 20. Athan. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 761. Hil. *in fragm. p. Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam Episcopos congregari.* Sulp. 2. 52. † Ἐκ τοῦ τὰ ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσεως καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας προστάγματος, &c. Syn. Arim. Ep. ad Const. Socr. 2. 37. ‖ Socr. 2. 39. ἦν — ἡνίκα τὰ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε πρόσταγμα. Ann. 381. * Ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον Ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Socr. 2. 29. Soz. 4. 6. † Πρόσταγμα ἦλθε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. Socr. 1. 36. Soz. 4. 9.

After him the Emperor *Valentinian*, understanding of dissensions about divine matters, to compose them did indict a Synod in *Illyricum*.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξε. Theod. 4. 7.

A while after, for settlement of the Christian State (which had been greatly disturbed by the Persecution of *Julian* and of *Valens*, and by divers Factions,) *Theodosius* I. did *command* (saith *Theodoret*) *the Bishops of his Empire to be assembled together at Constantinople*; the which meeting accordingly did make the Second General Synod; in the congregation of which the Pope had so little to do, that *Baronius* saith, it was celebrated against his will.

Σύνοδον ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκρότησε. Soz. 7. 7. Socr. 5. 8.

Μόνης τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συνελθεῖν προσέταξεν. Theod. 5. 7.

Repugnante Damaso celebrata, &c. Baron. *Anno* 553. § 224.

Afterwards, when *Nestorius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, affecting to seem wiser than others in explaining the mystery of Christ's Incarnation, had raised a jangle to the disturbance of the Church: For removing it, the Emperor *Theodosius* II. did *by his edict command the Bishops to meet at Ephesus*; who there did celebrate the Third General Council: in the beginning of each *Action* it is affirm'd, that the Synod was *convocated by the Imperial decree*; the Synod it self doth often profess it; the Pope's own Legate doth acknowledge it; and so doth *Cyril* the President thereof. Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα. *Syn.* Eph. *Act.* 1. *p.* 291.

Πρόσταγμα τῆς βασιλείας εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. Socr. 7. 34. Evagr. 1. 3.

Ἐκ θεσπίσματος τῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.

The holy Synod assembled by the Grace of God, according to the Decree of our most Religious Emperors, *&c.*

—— ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις κράτεσι συναχθεῖσα. *p.* 297.

Τὰ προστεταγμένα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων κρατῶν, *&c. Act.* 5. *p.* 347.

Τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων. *p.* 404.

Ἥτινα σύνοδον οἱ χριστιανώτατοι καὶ φιλανδροπότατοι βασιλεῖς ὥρισαν.

Which Synod our most Christian and gracious Emperors appointed, saith *Philip*, the Pope's Legate. *Act.* 3. *p.* 330.

Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων συναχθεῖσῃ ——

To the holy Synod assembled by the Grace of God, and the Command of our Emperors, *&c.* So do *Cyril* and *Memnon* inscribe in their Epistle. *Act.* 4. *p.* 337.

The

The ſame Emperor, upon occaſion of *Eutyches* being condemned at *Conſtantinople*, and the ſtirs thence ariſing, did indict the Second General Synod of *Epheſus*, (which proved abortive by the miſcarriages of *Dioſcorus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*) as appeareth by his Imperial Letters to *Dioſcorus* and the other Biſhops, ſummoning them to that Synod:---*We have decreed that the moſt holy Biſhops meeting together*, &c. *After the ſame manner the other moſt reverend Biſhops were written to, to come to the Synod.* And as Pope *Leo* doth confeſs, calling it *the Council of Biſhops which you* (Theodoſius) *commanded to be held at Epheſus.*

Ἐδοξεμίσαμεν χ̃ τοῦτο συνελθόντων ὁσιοτάτων, &c.

Τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ ἐσεσθαι χ̃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐυλαβεστάτοις Ἐπισκόποις, ὅτε ἀφιγμένοι εἰς τ̃ σύνοδον. Syn. Chalc. part 1. p. 53.

Epiſcopale concilium, quod haberi apud Epheſum præcepiſti. P. Leo. l. Ep. 25. (& 24.) ad Theod.

Anno 451. The next General Synod of *Chalcedon* was convocated by the authority of the Emperor *Marcian*; as is expreſſed in the beginning of each *Action*, as the Emperor declareth, as the Synod it ſelf in the front of its definition doth avow; *the holy, great and Oecumenical Synod gather'd together by the grace of God and the command of our moſt dread Emperors*, &c. *has determin'd as follows.*

Κατὰ θεῖον δόγμα συναθροισθεῖσα. Τῷ ἁγίαν ἁμῶν ἀθροίσαντι σύνοδον. (Act. 6. p. 345.)

Ἡ ἁγία χ̃ μεγάλη χ̃ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἡ χ̃τ̃ Θεοῦ χάριν, χ̃ δόγμα τ̃ ἐυλαβεστάτων χ̃ θεοσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχθεῖσα —— ὥρισε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Act. 6. 346.

The Fifth General Synod was alſo congregated by the authority of *Juſtinian* I. and the Emperor's Letter authorizing it, beginning (as we ſaw before) with an aſſertion (backed with a particular enumeration) that all former Synods were called by the ſame power: the Fathers themſelves do ſay, that they had *come together according to the will of God, and the command of the moſt pious Emperor.* So little had the Pope to do in it, that, as *Baronius* himſelf telleth us, it was congregated *againſt his will, or with his reſiſtance.*

Ann. 533. *Act.* p. 368. *Gr.* p. 309. *Lat.*

* *Pro Dei voluntate, & juſſione piiſſimi Imperatoris adhanc urbem convenimus. Collat.* 8.

Ut quæ reſiſtente Romano Pontifice fuerit congregata. Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 219.

The Sixth General Synod at *Conſtantinople* was alſo indicted by the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus*; as doth appear by his Letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each *Action*, as the Synod doth acknowlede, as *Leo* II. (in whoſe time it was concluded) doth affirm. The Synod in its definition, as alſo in its Epiſtle to Pope *Agatho*, doth inſcribe it ſelf *The Holy and Oecumenical Synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the altogether religious Sanction of the moſt pious, and moſt faithful great Emperor* Conſtantine; and, in their definition they ſay, *By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our moſt gracious Emperor through the divine Wiſdom being guided, as a defender of the true Faith, and an enemy to the falſe, having gather'd us together in this holy and Oecumenical Synod, has united the whole frame of the Church*, &c. In its acclamatory Oration to the Emperor it ſaith, Ταῖς θειοτάταις ὑμῶν προσταξεσιν εἴκοντες ὅ τε τ̃ πρεσβυτάτης χ̃ Ἀποστολικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀρχιεροατικώτατος πάπας χ̃ ἡμεῖς ἐλάχιστοι &c. *Act.* 18. *p.* 271. *We all acquieſcing in your moſt ſacred commands; both the moſt holy Preſident of (Rome) the moſt Ancient Apoſtolical City, and we the leaſt*, &c.

Ἡ ἁγία χ̃ μεγάλη, χ̃ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ χ̃τ̃ Θεοῦ χάριν χ̃ παυδισεβὴς δόγμα τ̃ ἐυσεβεστάτου χ̃ πιστοτάτου μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναχθεῖσα. *Act.* 18. *p.* 225. & *p.* 285. (in Epiſt. ad P. Agath.

Ταύτῃ τῇ θεολέκτῳ τ̃ εἰρήνης διδασκαλία θεοσόφως ὁ περίτατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὁδηγούμενος, ὁ τ̃ μὲ ὀρθοδοξίας ὑπέρμαχος, τ̃ δὲ κακοδοξίας ἀντίμαχος, τ̃ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν ταύτην χ̃ οἰκουμενικὴν ἀθροίσας ὁμήγυριν, τὸ τ̃ Ἐκκλησίας ὅλον ἥνωσε σύγκριμα. *Act.* 18. *p.* 256. *in definitione Synodica.*

Καὶ δὴ ἐπεγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία χ̃ μεγάλη χ̃ οἰκουμενικὴ ἔκτη σύνοδος, πῶς χ̃τ̃ Θεοῦ χάριν, τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἐναίσχ̃ ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι συνηθροίσθη πόλει —— P. Leo II. in Ep. ad Con. Imp. p. 305.

Hitherto it is evident, that all General Synods were convocated by the Imperial Authority; and about this matter divers things are obſervable.

It is obſervable in how peremptory a manner the Emperors did require the Biſhops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. *Conſtantine* in his Letter indicting

These are all the great Synods, which poſterity with clear conſent did admit as General; for the next two have been diſclaimed by great Churches (the Seventh by moſt of the *Weſtern* Churches, the Eighth by the *Eaſtern*) ſo that even † divers Popes after them did not reckon them for General Councils; and all the reſt have been only Aſſemblies of *Weſtern* Biſhops, celebrated after the breach between the *Oriental* and *Occidental* Churches.

† P. John VIII. Ep. 247. P. Nic. I. Ep. 7, 8, 10. P. Hadr. II. Ep. 26.

Πᾶσαι ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' ἐυσέβειαν Θεῦ, προστάξει τε τ̃ φιλοχείτου ὑμῶν βασιλείας συνελθοῦσα. *Act.* 7. *p.* 831. *Act.* 1. *p.* 519. *Act.* 2. *p.* 551. *Act.* 3. *p.* 586. *Act.* 4. *p.* 609. *Act.* 5. *p.* 656. *Act.* 6. *p.* 722. *Act.* 7. *p.* 812. *Defin. Synod. Act.* 7. *p.* 817.

Yet even that Second Synod of *Nice*, which is called the Seventh Synod, doth avow it ſelf to have *convened by the Emperors command*; and in the front of each *Action*, as alſo of the Synodical definition, the ſame ſtyle is retained.

indicting the Synod of *Tyre* hath theſe words; *If any one preſuming to violate our command and ſenſe*, &c.

Euſeb. *de Vit.* Conſt. 4. 42. (*Vid. in* 5. p. 30.)

Theodoſius II. ſummoneth the Biſhops to the *Epheſine* Synod in theſe terms; *We taking a great deal of care about theſe things, will not ſuffer any one if he be abſent to go unpuniſh'd; nor ſhall he find excuſe either with God or us, who preſently without delay does not by the time ſet, appear in the place appointed.*

Καὶ ἡμεῖς ϑ τῦτον πολλὴν ποιέμενοι φροντίδα ἀπολεμπάνειν ἰδίνα ὀφειλόντως ἀνεξόμεδα· ἰδεμίαν τε ἕξει πρὸς ϑεὸν, ἰδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ὁ μὴ ϑεοφιλὲς χ' ϑ πρεπεμπόμενον καιρὸν εἰς τ' ἀφορισθέντα τόπον σπουδαίως ϑεραγωγύμενος. Theod. Jun. Ep. ad Cyrill. Conc. Eph. *pars* 1. p. 26.

In like terms did he call them to the Second *Epheſine* Synod, *If any man ſhall chuſe to neglect meeting in a Synod ſo neceſſary and grateful to God, and by the ſet time do not with all diligence appear in the place appointed, he ſhall find no excuſe*, &c.

Εἰ δέ τις ϑ τῆτος ἀναγκαιότατος ὢν καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλιος παρεῖδεν ἕλοιτο σύνοδον, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει χ' ϑ πρεπεμπόμενον καιρὸν ϑ ἀφορισθέντα καταλάβοι τόπον, ἰδεμίαν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ πρὸς ϑ ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν. Theod. *in* Ep. *ad* Dioſc. *in Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. p. 53.

Marcian thus indicteth the Synod of *Nice* (after by him tranſlated to *Chalcedon*) *It properly ſeemeth good to our clemency, that an holy Synod meet in the City of* Nice, *in the Province of* Bithynia.

Τῦτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πρέσει ἡμέρλ- πλει, ἵνα ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαίων πόλει τ' Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συνχροτηθῇ. *In Epiſt. ad Epiſc. Syn.* Chalc. *pars* 1. p. 34.

Again we may obſerve, that in the Imperial Edicts or Epiſtles whereby Councils effectually were convened, there is nothing ſignified concerning the Pope's having any authority to call them; it is not as by licence from the Pope's Holineſs, but in their own Name and Authority they Act: which were very ſtrange, if the Popes had any plea then commonly approved for ſuch a power.

As commonly Emperors did call Synods by the ſuggeſtion of other Biſhops *, ſo again, there be divers Inſtances of Popes applying themſelves to the Emperors with petitions to indict Synods; whercin ſometimes they prevailed, ſometimes they were diſappointed: ſo Pope *Liberius* did requeſt of *Conſtantius* to indict a Synod for deciding the Cauſe of *Athanaſius*: *Eccleſiaſtical judgment* (ſaid he, as *Theodoret* reports) *ſhould be made with great equity; wherefore if it pleaſe your Piety, command a Judicatory to be conſtituted*; and in his Epiſtle to *Hoſius*, produced by *Baronius*, he ſaith, *Many Biſhops out of* Italy *met together, who together with me had beſeeched the moſt Religious Emperor, that he would command, as he had thought fit, the Council of* Aquileia *to meet.*

* Κύειλλ — ἐκίτως ἐδέησε πυδόμασι τὸν νέν Θεοδόσιν τὰ σκῆπτρα τ' ἑῴας διέπον ϑ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτην σύνοδον ἀγαγέσθαι. Evagr. 1. 3.

Διόπερ εἰ σοι δοκεῖ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ κεκτῆσθαι συναθῆναι, κέλευσον. Theod. 2. 16.

Multi ex Italiâ Epiſcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religioſiſſimum Imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet, ſicut ipſi placuerat, illudum concilium Aquileienſe congregari. Baron. *Ann.* 353. § 19.

So Pope *Damaſus*, having a deſire that a General Synod ſhould be celebrated in *Italy*, for repreſſing Hereſies and Factions then in the Church, did obtain the Imperial Letters for that purpoſe directed to the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, as they in their Epiſtle to the *Weſtern* Biſhops do intimate: *But becauſe expreſſing a brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us as your own Members by the moſt pious Emperor's Letters to that Synod, which by the Will of God ye are gathering at* Rome.

Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι ϑ ἀδελφικὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, σύνοδον ἐπὶ ϑ Ῥώμης Θεοῦ βουλήσει συγκροτεῖτε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη προσκαλέσασθε, διὰ τῆς ϑ θεοφιλεστάτε βασιλέως γεγραμμάτων. Theod. 5. 9.

It is a wonder that *Bellarmine* ſhould have the confidence to alledge this paſſage for himſelf. Bell. *de Pont.* R. 2. 13.

So again Pope *Innocent* I. being deſirous to reſtore St. *Chryſoſtom*, *did* (as *Sozomen* telleth us) *ſend five Biſhops and two Prieſts of the Roman Church to* Honorius *and to* Arcadius *the Emperor, requeſting a Synod, with the time and place thereof*; in which attempt he ſuffered a repulſe; for the Courtiers of *Arcadius* did repel thoſe Agents, *as troubling another Government, which was beyond their bounds*, or wherein the Pope had nothing to do, that they knew of.

Πέμπουσιν Ἐπισκόπους πέντε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο ϑ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ὀνώριον καὶ Ἀρκάδιον ϑ βασιλέας, σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, καὶ καιρὸν ταύτης καὶ τόπον. Soz. 8. 28.

Ὡς ἀφορίαν ἀρχῶν ἐνοχλήσαντας. *Ibid.*

So alſo Pope *Leo* I. (whom no Pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the Privileges and advance the Eminence of his See) did in theſe terms requeſt *Theodoſius* to indict a Synod; *whence if your piety ſhall vouchſafe to conſent to our ſuggeſtion and ſupplication, that you would command an Epiſcopal*

Humiliter ac ſapienter expoſite, ut petitioni noſtræ quâ plenariam indici Synodum poſtulamus, clementiſſimus Imperator dignetur annuere. (ſaith Pope *Leo*, to the Clergy and People of *Conſtantinople Ep.* 23.)

Unde ſi pietas veſtra ſuggeſtioni ac ſupplicationi noſtræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis Epiſcopale Concilium, citò auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia ſcandala reſecari. P. Leo I. Ep. 9.

Council to be held in Italy; *ſoon, God aiding, may all ſcandals be cut off:* upon this occaſion the Emperor did appoint a Council (not in *Italy* according to the Pope's deſire, but) at *Epheſus*; the which not ſucceeding well, Pope *Leo* again did addreſs to *Theodoſius* in theſe words, *All the Churches of our parts, all Biſhops with groans and tears doſupplicate your Grace, that you would command a General Synod to be celebrated within* Italy; to which requeſt (although back'd with the deſire of the Weſtern Emperor) *Theodoſius* would by no means conſent; for, as *Leontius* reporteth, *when* Valentinian *being importuned by Pope* Leo, *did write to* Theodoſius *II, that he would procure another Synod to be held for examining whether* Dioſcorus *had judged rightly or no,* Theodoſius *did write back to him ſaying, I ſhall make no other Synod.*

Omnes partium Eccleſiæ noſtrarum, omnes manſuetudini veſtræ cum gemitibus & lacrymis ſupplicant ſacerdotes, ut generalem Synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari. P. Leo I. Ep. 42.

Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ γαμβρὸς ὢν Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα γεγράφει Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μικρῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ σύνοδον γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γνῶναι εἰ καλῶς ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος ἢ οὔ· ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ ἄλλην σύνοδον. Leont. de Sect. Act. 4.

The ſame Pope did again of the ſame Emperor petition for a Synod to examine the cauſe of *Anatolius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople: Let your clemency*, ſaith he, *be pleaſed to grant an Univerſal Council to be held in* Italy; *as with me the Synod, which for this cauſe did meet at* Rome, *doth requeſt*; Thus did that Pope continually harp upon one ſtring, to get a General Synod to be celebrated at his own doors; but never could obtain his purpoſe, the Emperor being ſtiff in refuſing it.

* *Sanctum clementiæ veſtræ ſtudium, quo ad reparationem pacis Eccleſiaſticæ Synodum habere voluiſtis, adeò libenter accepi ut quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam poposciſſem, &c.* Leo Ep. 50.

Poposceram quidem à glorioſiſſima clementia veſtra, ut Synodum, quam pro reparanda Orientalis Eccleſiæ pace à nobis etiam petitam neceſſariam judicaſtis, aliquantiſper differri ad tempus opportunius juberetis —— P. Leo Ep. 43. 44. 50.

The ſame Pope with better ſucceſs, (as * to the thing, though not as to the place) did requeſt of the Emperor *Marcian* a Synod; for he (concurring in opinion that it was needful) *did* (ſaith *Liberatus*) *at the petition of the Pope and the Roman Princes, command a General Council to be congregated at* Nice.

Sed eo defuncto, cùm Martianus Imperii culmen ſuiſſet adeptus, pro illa Papæ & Principum Romanorum petitione Univerſale Concilium in Nicena congregari juſſit. Lib. Brev. cap. 13.

Now, if the Pope had himſelf a known right to convocate Synods, what needed all this ſupplication, or this application to the Emperors? would not the Pope have endeavoured to exerciſe his Authority? would he not have clamoured or whined at any interruption thereof? would ſo ſpiritful and ſturdy a Pope as *Leo* *have begged that to be done by another, which he had authority to do of himſelf, when he did apprehend ſo great neceſſity for it, and was ſo much provoked thereto? would he not at leaſt have remonſtrated againſt the injury therein done to him by *Theodoſius?*

* *Fortiſſimus Leo. Liber. cap.* 12.

All that this daring Pope could adventure at, was to wind in a pretence that the Synod of *Chalcedon* was congregated by his conſent; for, *it hath been the pleaſure* (of whom I pray?) *that a General Council ſhould be congregated, both by the command of the Chriſtian Princes, and with the conſent of the Apoſtolick See,* ſaith he very cunningly: yet not ſo cunningly, but that any other Biſhop might have ſaid the ſame for his See.

——*in cauſa fidei, propter quam Generale Concilium & ex præcepto Chriſtianorum Principum, & ex conſenſu Apoſtolicæ Sedis placuit congregari. Ep.* 61.

This power indeed upon many juſt accounts peculiarly doth belong to Princes; It ſuiteth to the dignity of their ſtate, it appertaineth to their duty, they are moſt able to diſcharge it. They are the Guardians of publick tranquillity, which conſtantly is endangered, which commonly is violated, by diſſenſions in religious matters; (whence we muſt pray for them, that by their care *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty,*) they alone can authorize their Subjects to take ſuch Journeys, or to meet in ſuch Aſſemblies; they alone can well cauſe the expences needful for holding Synods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain order and peace in them, can procure Obſervance to their Determinations; they alone have a Sword to conſtrain reſty and refractory Perſons (and in no caſes are Men ſo apt to be ſuch as in debates about theſe matters) to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree, to obſerve what is ſettled: They, as *nurſing Fathers of the Church*, as *Miniſters of God's Kingdom*, as *encouragers of good Works*; as the Stewards of God, entruſted with the great Talents of Power, Dignity, Wealth, enabling them to ſerve God, are obliged to cauſe Biſhops in ſuch caſes to perform their duty; according to the example of good Princes in Holy Scripture,

1 Tim. 2. 2.

Iſa. 49. 23. Sip. 6. 4. Rom. 13. 3.

Scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature; for ſo King *Joſias* did convocate a General Synod of the Church in his time, *then* (ſaith the Text) *the King ſent, and gathered together all the Elders of Judah and Jeruſalem*; In this Synod he preſided, *ſtanding in his place; and making a Covenant before the Lood*; its Reſolutions he confirmed, *cauſing all that were preſent in Jeruſalem and Benjamin to ſtand to that Covenant*; and he took care of their Execution, *making all preſent in Iſrael effectually to ſerve the Lord their God.* 2 Chron. 34. 29. &c.

So alſo did King *Hezekiah gather the Prieſts and Levites together*, did warn, did command them to do their duty, and reform things in the Church: *My Sons* (ſaid he) *be not now negligent, for the Lord hath choſen you to ſtand before him, to ſerve him, and that ye ſhould miniſter unto him, and burn incenſe.* 2 Chron. 29. 4. 15. 20. 21. &c. Verſ. 11.

Beſide them none other can have reaſonable pretence to ſuch a Power, or can well be deemed able to manage it: ſo great an Authority cannot be exerciſed upon the Subjects of any Prince without eclipſing his Majeſty, infringing his natural right, and endangering his State. He that at his pleaſure can ſummon all Chriſtian Paſtors, and make them trot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect Emperor, or in a fair way to make himſelf ſo. It is not fit therefore that any other perſon ſhould have all the Governors of the Church at his beck, ſo as to draw them from remote places whither he pleaſeth; to put them on long and chargeable Journeys; to detain them from their charge; to ſet them on what deliberations and debates he thinketh good. It is not reaſonable that any one without the leave of Princes ſhould authorize ſo great conventions of Men, having ſuch intereſt and ſway; it is not ſafe, that any one ſhould have ſuch dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to claſh with Princes, and withdraw his Subjects from their due obedience. Neither can any ſucceſs be well expected from the uſe of ſuch authority by any, who hath not power, by which he can force Biſhops to convene, to reſolve, to obey; whence we ſee that *Conſtantine*, who was a Prince ſo gentle and friendly to the Clergy, was put to threaten thoſe Biſhops, who would abſent themſelves from the Synod indicted by him at *Tyre*; and *Theodoſius* (alſo *a very mild and religious Prince*) did the like in ſummoning the two *Epheſine* Synods. We likewiſe may obſerve, that when the *Pope and Weſtern Biſhops*, in a Synodical Epiſtle, *did invite thoſe in the Eaſt to a great Synod indicted at Rome, theſe did refuſe the Journey, alledging that it would be to no good purpoſe*; ſo alſo when the *Weſtern* Biſhops did call thoſe of the *Eaſt*, for reſolving the difference between *Flavianus* and *Paulinus*, both pretending to be Biſhops of *Antioch*, what effect had their ſummons? and ſo will they always or often be ready to ſay, who are called at the pleaſure of thoſe who want force to conſtrain them; ſo that ſuch Authority in unarmed hands (and God keep Arms out of the Pope's hands) will be only a ſource of diſcords.

Τὴν περιστησι ϗ πάντας τὰς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένας ὀϊκα.

——ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος πεμψὰς σοδέρα ϗ πάντας τὰς ἀνδρώπους τὰς ὄντας ἐπὶ τ γῆς. Socr. 7. 42.

Πλὴν ἀποδημίαν παρῃτήσαντο ἐς ἑδὲν ἔχησαν λόγος. Theod. 5. 8.

Ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖτε, ϗ Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλέντες ἐς πλὴν ϛύσιν τὰς ἀπὸ τ ἀνατολῆς Ἐπισκόπες. Soz. 7. 11.

Both they and *Gratian* the Emperor wrote, calling the *Eaſtern* Biſhops into the *Weſt*.

Either the Pope is a Subject, as he was in the firſt times, and then it were too great a preſumption for him to claim ſuch a power over his Fellow-Subjects in prejudice to his Sovereign; (nor indeed did he preſume ſo far, until he had in a manner ſhaken off ſubjection to the Emperor) or he is not a Subject; and then it is not reaſonable that he ſhould have ſuch power in the Territories of another Prince.

The whole buſineſs of General Synods, was an expedient for Peace, contrived by Emperors, and ſo to be regulated by their order. Hence even in times and places where the Pope was moſt reverenced, yet Princes were jealous of ſuffering the Pope to exerciſe ſuch a power over the Biſhops their Subjects; and to obviate it, did command all Biſhops not to ſtir out of their Territories without licence; particularly our own Nation, in the Council at *Clarendon*, where it was decreed, *that they ſhould not go out of the Kingdom without the King's leave.*

Philip of *France*. Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 906. (*Ann.* 1302.)

Decretum eſt——non licere——exire Regnum abſque licentia Regis. Conc. Clarend. *vid.* Matt. Par. *Ann.* 1164.

To ſome things above-ſaid a paſſage may be objected which occurreth in the acclamation of the Sixth Synod to the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus*; wherein 'tis ſaid, that *Conſtantine* and *Sylveſter* did collect the Synod of *Nice*, *Theodoſius* I. and *Damaſus* (together with *Gregory* and *Nectarius*) the Synod of *Conſtantinople*; *Theodoſius* II.

Syn. Sext. Act. 18. *p.* 271.

Κωνσαντῖνος ὁ δεσπόζων, ϗ Σίλβεςρος ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἐν Νικαίᾳ μετ

γάλλω τε καὶ περίβλεπτον σωίλεγον σύνοδον.

——Ἀμὴ ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως ——Γρηγόριός τε καὶ Νεκτάριος ὁ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει σωϊδρύσιζον σύλλογον.

Πάλιν Νεστόριος, καὶ πάλιν Κυρίλλος, ὁ μὲν τὸ τῆς Χερσῶνος δήμου, καὶ κατεδίκαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἁγιότητος συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῷ τῶν σκήπτρων δεσπόζοντι τὴν καθαιρεσίαν κατέβαλλον——

with *Celeſtine* and *Cyril* the *Epheſine* Synod, and ſo of the reſt: To which I anſwer, that the Fathers mean only for the honour of thoſe Prelates to ſignifie, that they in their places and ways did concur and co-operate to the celebration of thoſe Synods; otherwiſe we might as to matter of Fact and Hiſtory conteſt the accurateneſs of their relation; and 'tis obſervable, that they joyn other great Biſhops then flouriſhing, with the Popes; ſo that if their ſuffrage prove any thing, it proveth more than our Adverſaries would have, *viz.* that all great Biſhops and Patriarchs have a power or right to convocate Synods.

As for paſſages alledged by our Adverſaries, that no Synod could be called, or Eccleſiaſtical Law enacted, without conſent of the Pope, they are no wiſe pertinent to this queſtion; for we do not deny that the Pope had a right to ſit in every General Synod; and every other Patriarch at leaſt had no leſs; as all reaſon and practice do ſhew: and as they of the Seventh Synod do ſuppoſe, arguing the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, which condemned the worſhip of Images, to be no General Council, *becauſe it had not the Pope's co-operation, nor the conſent of the Eaſtern Patriarchs*. *Syncellus* the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem's* Legate in the Eighth Synod, ſays, *for this reaſon did the Holy Spirit ſet up Patriarchs in the World, that they might ſuppreſs Scandals ariſing in the Church of God*: And *Photius* is in the ſame Synod told, *that the judgment paſt againſt him was moſt equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one but all the four Patriarchs.*

Ἀναγκαιοτάτων τινῶν συνοδικῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δίχα γίνεσθαι ποτὲ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν παρεκτὸς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων Πατριάρχων. *Antacta Syn. Nic. II. p.* 518.

Οὐκ ἔστι συνεργὸν τῷ τυπικαῖτα τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πάπαν ——καθὼς νόμος ἔχει τῇ συνόδῳ· ἀλλ' ἔτε συμφορηθῆναι αὐτῇ τοὺς Πατριάρχας τῶν ἑω. *Syn.* 7. *Act.* 6. *p.* 725.

Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς Πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔθετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναρυθμίσματα σκάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφανίζωνται. *Syn.* 8. *Act.* 1. *p.* 930.

Ἀπεσφαλμένως ἡ κρίσις, οὐκ ἐκ ἑνὸς μόνου ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων Πατριαρχικῶν γενομένη. *Act.* 5. *p.* 945.

Seſſ. 39. (*p.* 1109.)

That a General Synod doth not need a Pope to call it, or preſide in it, appeareth by what the Synods of *Piſa* and *Conſtance* define, for proviſion in time of Schiſms.

II. It inſeparably doth belong to Sovereigns in the General Aſſemblies of their States to preſide, and moderate affairs; propoſing what they judge fit to be conſulted or debated; ſtopping what ſeemeth unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and ſteering them to a good iſſue; checking diſorders and irregularities, which the diſtemper or indiſcretion of any perſons may create in deliberations or diſputes.

This privilege therefore the Pope doth claim; not allowing any General Council to be legitimate, wherein he in perſon, or by his Legates, doth not preſide and ſway. *All Catholicks* ſays *Bellarmine, teach this to be the chief Pontif's proper Office, that either in perſon or by his Legate he preſide, and as a chief Judge moderate all.*

Catholici omnes id munus proprium eſſe docent ſummi Pontificis, ut per ſe vel per Legatos præſideat, & tanquam ſupremus judex omnia moderetur. Bell. *de Conc.* 119.

But for this Prerogative no expreſs Grant from God, no ancient Canon of the Church, no certain Cuſtom can be produced.

Nor doth ancient practice favour the Pope's claim to ſuch a Prerogative, it appearing that he did not exerciſe it in the firſt General Synods.

Saint *Peter* himſelf did not preſide in the Apoſtolical Synod at *Jeruſalem*, where he was preſent; but rather St. *James*, as we before have ſhewed.

In all the firſt Synods, convocated by Emperors, they did either themſelves in perſon, or by honourable perſons authorized by them, in effect preſide, governing the proceedings.

In the Synod of *Nice*, *Conſtantine* was the chief Manager, Director, and Moderator of the Tranſactions; and under him other chief Biſhops did preſide; but that the Pope's Legates had any conſiderable influence or ſway there, doth by no evidence appear; as we ſhall hereafter out of Hiſtory declare.

Περιδιδὰ ἀ λόγον τοῖς περιδεσις. Euſeb. 3. 13.

In the Synod of *Sardica*, (which in deſign was a General Council, but in effect did not prove ſo, being divided by a Schiſm into two great parts) *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* did preſide, (or by reaſon of his age and venerable worth) had the firſt place aſſigned to him, and bore the Office of Prolocutor; ſo the Synod it ſelf doth imply; *All we Biſhops* (ſay they in

Πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ εὐγηρατάτου Ὁσίου,

in their Catholick Epistle) *meeting together, and especially the most ancient* Hosius, *who for his age, and for that confession, and for that he hath undergone so much pains, is worthy all reverence*; so *Athanasius* expressly doth call him; *The holy Synod* (saith he) *the Proloquutor of which was the great* Hosius, *presently sent to them*, &c. The Canons of the Synod intimate the same, wherein he proposeth matters, and asketh the pleasure of the Synod; the same is confirmed by the subscriptions of their General Epistle; wherein he is set before Pope *Julius* himself. (*Hosius from Spain, Julius of Rome, by the Presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenus.*) In this all Ecclesiastical Histories do agree; none speaking of the Pope's presiding there by his Legates.

Ἅ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ διὰ τοσοῦτον καμάτων ὑπομεμενηκέναι, πάσης αἰδοῦς ἄξιον τυγχάνοντα &c. Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 761.

Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἧς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, &c. Athan. *ad Solit.* 819.

Ἀμελεῖ Ὅσιος, καὶ πεπτωκώς, οἱ πρὸ τοῦ ὑπῆρχον ἀρχοντες τῆς ἐκ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντων.—— S. Z. 12. 15.

Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντων πρωτεύσας. Theod. 2. 15.

Τῶν μὲν Ὁσίου ἦρξε ἡ γνώμη. —— *Syn.* Chalc. *ad Imp.* Marc. *p.* 468.

Ὅσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰούλιος Ῥώμης δὲ Ἀρχιδάμος, καὶ Φιλόξενος πρεσβύτεροι, &c. *apud* Athan. *p.* 767.

In the Second General Synod at *Constantinople* the Pope had plainly no stroke; the Oriental Bishops alone did there resolve on matters, *being headed* by their Patriarchs; (of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*,) as *Sozomen* saith; *being guided by* Nectarius *and Saint* Gregory Nazianzene, as the Council of *Chalcedon* in its Epistle to the Emperor doth aver.

Baron *An.* 553. § 224. Ἡγήσιλο. Soz. 7. 7. Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος σὺν Γρηγορίῳ ἡγεμονίαν ἔσχετο. *Conc.* Chalc. *in Epist. ad Imp.* Marc. (*p.* 469.)

In the Third General Synod at *Ephesus*, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria* did preside; as Pope *Leo* himself doth testify; he is called *the Head of it*, in the Acts.

Prioris Ephesinæ Synodi, cui sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus Episcopus tunc præsedit. P. Leo *I. Ep.* 47. Κεφαλὴ τῆς συνελεχθείσης ἁγιωτάτων Ἐπισκόπων Κύριλλος. *Relat. Act. Eph. cap.* 60.

We may note, that the Bishop of the place where the Synod is held, did bear a kind of presidency in all Synods; so did Saint *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem* in the First Synod, as St. *Chrysostom* noteth; so did *Protogenes* at *Sardica*, and *Nectarius* at *Constantinople*, and *Memnon* in this of *Ephesus*. *Digress.*

It is true, that according to the Acts of that Synod, and the reports of divers Historians, Pope *Celestine* (according to a new politick device of Popes) did authorize *Cyril* to represent his person, and act as his Proctor in those affairs; assigning to him (as he saith) *jointly both the authority of his throne* (that is, his right of voting) *and the order of his place* (the first place in sitting;) but it is not consequent thence, that *Cyril* upon that sole account did preside in the Synod. He thereby had the disposal of one so considerable suffrage, or a legal concurrence of the Pope with him in his actings; He thereby might pretend to the first place of sitting and subscribing (which kind of advantages it appeareth that some Bishops had in Synods by vertue of the like substitution in the place of others) but he thence could have no authoritative Presidency; for that the Pope himself could by no delegation impart, having himself no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by any Precedent; *that* depended on the Emperor's will, or on the Election of the Fathers, or on a tacit regard to personal eminence in comparison to others present: This distinction *Evagrius* seemeth to intimate, when he saith, that the divine *Cyril* did *administer it, and the place of Celestine* (where a word seemeth to have fallen out) and *Zonaras* more plainly doth express; saying, that *Cyril Pope of Alexandria did preside over the Orthodox Fathers, and also did hold the place of Celestine*: and *Photius*; *Cyril did supply the seat, and the person of Celestine.* If any latter Historians do confound these things, we are not obliged to comply with their ignorance or mistake.

Συμφορέτωσαν σοι ἡ αἰδεσιότης τὴν ἡμετέραν θρόνην, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τὸν τόπον διαδοχήν. Celest. *ad* Cyril. *Relat. cap.* 16.

N. Yet the Fathers in their Epistle to Pope *Celestine* do only take notice of *Arcadius*, *Projectus*, and *Philippus* supplying his place. *Act. p.* 353.

Κυρίλλῳ τὸ θεοσεβὲς διέποντος καὶ τὸν Κελεστίνου τόπον. Evagr. 1. 4.

Προεστημένου τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Πατέρων τῶν ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου Πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντος ἦ καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεστίνου. Zon. *in* Syn. Eph. *Can.* 1.

Τῷ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνῳ ἐπλήρου τὴν καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον.

Indeed as to Presidency there we may observe, that sometimes it is attributed to *Cyril* alone, as being the first Bishop present, and bearing a great sway; sometimes to Pope *Celestine*, as being in representation present, and being the first Bishop of the Church in Order; sometimes to both *Cyril* and *Celestine*; sometimes to *Cyril* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who as being very active, and having great influence on the proceedings, are styled the Presidents and Rulers of the Synod. The which sheweth, that Presidency was a lax thing, and no peculiarity in right or usage annexed

Ἧς ἡγεῖτο μακάριος Πατὴρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος. *Con.* Chalc. *Act.* 4. *p.* 302. Συνόδου καθηγητής. *Cler.* Const. *in Syn.* Eph.

p' 418. *Cui præſuit* Cyrillus. *Syn.* Chalc. nexed to the Pope; nor did altogether depend on his grant or repreſentation, to which *Memnon* had no title.

Act 1. *p.* 173. Ἧς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελεστῖνος καὶ Κύριλλος. *Syn.* Chalc. *defin. in Act.* 5. *p.* 338. & *Act.* 4. *p.* 301. The Biſhops of *Iſauria* to the Emperor *Leo*, ſay, that *Cyril* was partaker with Pope *Celeſtine*, &c. *Dum B. Celeſtino incolumis Eccleſiæ Romanorum particeps*—— *Part.* 3. *Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 522.

Τῆς συνόδου πεῖσθαι. Eph. *Act.* 4. *p.* 338. (*p.* 420. & 422.)

Πρέσβεσι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. *Act.* 5. *p.* 347.

Ἡμέτεροι πρόεδροι *Relat. Syn. p.* 406. Ἔξαρχοι τῆς συνόδου. *Relat. p.* 411.

Σύνοδος, ἡ συνεδρεύει καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.

Relat. and Imp. p. 422. Συνεδρεύσαντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτέρας, &c. *Act.* 2. *p.* 322. Τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον συνεδρεύοντα ἡμῖν. *Act.* 4. *p.* 340.

The Pope himſelf and his Legates are divers times in the Acts ſaid συνεδρεύειν, *to ſit together* with the Biſhops; which confidence doth not well comport with his ſpecial right to Preſidency.

Yea it is obſervable that the *Oriental* Biſhops, which with *John* of *Antioch* did oppoſe the *Cyrillian* Party in that Synod, did charge on *Cyril*, that *he*, (*as if he lived in a time of Anarchy*) *did proceed to all irregularity*; and that *ſnatching to himſelf the Authority, which neither was given him by the Canons, nor by the Emperors Sanctions, did ruſh on to all kind of diſorder, and unlawfulneſs*; whence it is evident, that in the judgment of thoſe Biſhops (among whom * were divers worthy and excellent perſons) the Pope had no right to any authoritative Preſidency.

Ὡς ἐν ἀβασιλεύτοις καιροῖς χωρεῖ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀθεσμίαν——

Ἁρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν μήτε παρὰ τῶν Κανόνων αὐτῷ δεδομένην, μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων θεσπισμάτων, ὁρμᾷ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀταξίας καὶ ἀθεσμίας. *Relat. ad Imper. Act.* Eph. *p.* 380.

* The Biſhops of *Syria* being then the moſt learned in the World; as *John* of *Antioch* doth imply. *p.* 377.

The word *Preſidency* indeed hath an ambiguity, apt to impoſe on thoſe who do not obſerve it; for it may be taken for a privilege of Precedence, or for authority to govern things; the firſt kind of preſidence the Pope without diſpute, when preſent at a Synod, would have had among the Biſhops (as being the *Biſhop of the firſt See*, as the Sixth Synod calleth him; and *the firſt of Prieſts*, as *Juſtinian* called him) and in his abſence his Legates might take up his Chair (for in General Synods each See had its Chair aſſigned to it, according to its order of dignity by cuſtom.) And according to this ſenſe the Patriarchs, and chief Metropolitans, are alſo often (ſingly or conjunctly) ſaid to preſide: as ſitting in one of the firſt Chairs.

Πρωτόθρονος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. *Syn.* 6. *p.* 285.

Τῶν τε συνθρόνων αὐτῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ἁγιωτάτων Πατριαρχῶν. *Ibid. p.* 297.

Πρῶτος ἱερέων. Juſtin. *Cod. Tit.* 1.

But the other kind of Preſidency was (as thoſe Biſhops in their complaint againſt *Cyril* do imply, and as we ſhall ſee in practice) diſpoſed by the Emperor, as he ſaw reaſon; although uſually it was conferred on him, who among thoſe preſent, in dignity did precede the reſt: This is that authority, αὐθεντία, which the *Syrian* Biſhops complained againſt *Cyril* for aſſuming to himſelf, without the Emperor's Warrant, and whereof we have a notable Inſtance in the next General Synod at *Epheſus*. For,

In the Second *Epheſine* Synod, (which in deſign was a General Synod, lawfully convened, for a publick cauſe of determining truth, and ſettling peace in the Church; but which, by ſome miſcarriages, proved abortive:) although the Pope had his Legates there, yet by the Emperor's order *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* did preſide, *We* (ſaid *Theodoſius* in his Epiſtle to him) *do alſo commit to thy godlineſs the authority, and the pre-eminency of all things appertaining to the Synod now aſſembled*; and in the Synod of *Chalcedon* it is ſaid of him, that *he had received the authority of all affairs, and of Judgment*; and Pope Leo I. in his Epiſtle to the Emperor ſaith, that *Dioſcorus* did *challenge to himſelf the principal place*; (inſinuating a complaint, that *Dioſcorus* ſhould be preferred before him, although not openly conteſting his right.)

Καὶ μὲ (συγλῶ) καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἐπίσκοπος τόπον πληρῶν Λέοντος, τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Ἐπισκόπου. Evag. 1. 10.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ νῦν συναθροιζομένῃ συνόδῳ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 59.

Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων εἰληφὼς πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσεως. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 160.

Ἧς ἔξαρχος καθεσυκὼς Διόσκορος. Evag. 1. 10.

—— *Si is qui ſibi locum principalem vindicabat, Sacerdotalem moderationem cuſtodire voluiſſet* —— Leo *I. Ep.* 25, 26, &c.

The Emperor had indeed ſome reaſon not to commit the Preſidency to Pope *Leo*, becauſe he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cauſe, having declared in favour of *Flavianus*, againſt *Eutyches*; whence *Eutyches* declined his Legate's intereſſing in the judgment of his cauſe, ſaying, *they were ſuſpected to him, becauſe they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard.* And *Dioſcorus*, being Biſhop of the next See, was taken

Ὑποπτοί μοι γεγόνασι, &c. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 80.

taken for more indifferent, and otherwiſe a perſon (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation; *He did* (ſaith the Emperor) *ſhine by the Grace of God, both in honeſty of life, and orthodoxy of faith*; and *Theodoret* himſelf, before thoſe differences aroſe, doth ſay of him, that he was by common fame *reported a man adorned with many other kinds of virtue, and that eſpecially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind.*

——τῇ σῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ ἐλλαμπόμην διὰ τιμὴν τὴν Θεῷ χάριν ἐπίτε τῷ ἦθει σεμνότητι, καὶ τῇ ὀρθοτάτῃ πίστει. Theod. Ep. ad Dioſc. in Syn. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 59.

Πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις ἔνεστιν ἀρετῆς κοσμεῖσθαι τὸν σὸν ἁγιωσύνην ἀκόμην—— ἐκ ἧκιστα δ' ἀπαύγασε δέδωκε τὸ τῆς φρονήματος μέτριον. Theod. Ep. 60.

It is true, that the Legates of Pope *Leo* did take in dudgeon this preferment of *Dioſcorus*; and (if we may give credence to *Liberatus*) *would not ſit down in the Synod, becauſe the preſeſſion was not given to their Holy See*; and afterwards in the Synod of *Chalcedon* the Pope's Legate *Paſchaſinus* (together with other Biſhops) did complain, that *Dioſcorus* was preferred before the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; but notwithſtanding thoſe ineffectual mutinies, the Emperor's will did take place, and according thereto *Dioſcorus* had, (although he did not uſe it ſo wiſely and juſtly as he ſhould) the chief managery of things.

Eccleſia Romana Diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis aſſidere non paſſi ſunt, eò quòd non data fuerit profeſſio ſanctæ Sedi eorum. Liber cap. 12.

Παχασῖνος ἔφη—ἡμεῖς Θεῷ θέλοντι καὶ Κυρίῳ τῷ Ἀνατολίου πρώτου ἔχοντι. ἔτοι πέμπτον ἔταξεν τὸ μακάριαν φλαυιανόν. Syn. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 62.

It is to be obſerved, that to other chief Biſhops the Preſidency in that Synod is alſo aſcribed, by vertue of the Emperor's appointment; *Let the moſt reverend Biſhops* (ſay the Imperial Commiſſaries in the Synod of *Chalcedon*) *to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the Royal Sovereignty granted, ſpeak why the Epiſtle of the moſt Holy Archbiſhop* Leo *was not read:* and, *You* (ſay they again) *to whom the power of judging was given*; and of *Dioſcorus*, *Juvenalis* (Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*) *Thalaſſius* (of *Cæſarea*) *Euſebius* (of *Ancyra*) *Euſtathius* (of *Berytus*) *Baſilius* (of *Seleucia*) it is by the ſame Commiſſioners ſaid, that they *had received the authority, and did govern the Synod which was then*; and *Elpidius*, the Emperor's Agent in the *Epheſine* Synod it ſelf did expreſly ſtyle them *Preſidents*; and Pope *Leo* himſelf calleth them *Preſidents and Primates of the Synod.*

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς ἡ αὐθεντία τότε τῶν περιστοιμένων αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐδέδοτο κορυφῆς, λεγέτωσαν. —— Syn. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 65.

Ὑμεῖς, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς δικάζειν ἐδέδοτο—— Ibid. p. 77.

Τὸς ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότας, καὶ ἡγεμόνας τότε συνόδου—— Act. 2. p. 202. & Act. 4. p. 288. (Evagr. 24 ἔξαρχοι)

Κοινῆς ἁπάντων φωνῆς συνθεμένης τε καὶ ὑπογραψάσης τὸν ὑμῶν τῶν περιδρόμων λόγον—— Ibid. p. 70.

Siquidem penè omnes, qui in conſeſſum Præſidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut evecti. Leo. Ep. 51.

Ibi Primates Synodi nec reſiſtentibus, &c. P. Leo I. Ep.

Whence it appeareth, that at that time, according to common opinion and practice, authoritative Preſidency was not affixed to the *Roman* Chair.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon*, Pope *Leo* did indeed aſſume to himſelf a kind of Preſidency by his Legates; and no wonder that a man of a ſtout and ardent Spirit (impregnated with high conceits of his See, and reſolved with all his might to advance its intereſts, as his Legates themſelves did in effect declare to the world) ſhould do ſo; having ſo favourable a time, by the misbehaviour of *Dioſcorus* and his adherents; againſt whom the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, and other Fathers of the Synod, being incenſed, were ready to comply with *Leo* (who had been the Champion and Patron of their Cauſe) in allowing him extraordinary reſpect, and whatever advantages he could pretend to.

In his fratribus——me Synodo veſtra fraternitas exiſtimet præſidere. P. Leo I. Ep. 47.

Ὧν σὺ μὲν ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνευες, ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὅλων τάξιν ἐπέχουσι. Syn. Chalc. Epiſt. ad Leon. p. 473.

Yet in effect the Emperor by his Commiſſioners did preſide there; they propounding and allowing matters to be diſcuſſed; moderating debates by their interlocution, and driving them to an iſſue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing thoſe things, which the Pope's Legates at *Trent*, or otherwhere in the height of his power, did undertake.

Act. 1. p. 50. & p. 202. Act. 2. p. 211.

To them ſupplicatory addreſſes were made for ſuccour and redreſs by perſons needing it; (as for inſtance) *Command* (ſaid *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum*) *that my ſupplications may be read.*

Κελεύσατε τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναγνωσθῆναι. Act. 1. p. 50.

Of them leave is requeſted for time to deliberate; *Command* (ſaith *Atticus* in behalf of other Biſhops) *that reſpite be given, ſo that within a few days, with a calm mind, and undiſturbed reaſon, thoſe things may be formed which ſhall be pleaſing to God and the Holy Fathers.*

Κελεύσατε ἐνδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀκυμάντῳ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀταράχῳ λογισμῷ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι τυποθῆναι. Act. 1. p. 219.

Accordingly they order the time for conſultation; *Let*, ſaid they, *the hearing be deferred for five days, that in the mean time your Holineſs may meet at the Houſe of the moſt*

Ὑποτεθήτω ἡ ἀκρόασις ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ συνελθεῖν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἁγιωσύνην εἰς τὸν τῆς ἁγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀνατολίου, καὶ κοι-

Holy

περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλεύσωσιν, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφιβάλλοντες διδαχθῶσι. Act. 4. p. 289.

Holy Archbiſhop Anatolius, *and deliberate in common about the faith, that the doubtful may be inſtructed.*

They were acknowledged Judges; and had thanks given them for the iſſue by perſons concerned; *I* (ſaid *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*) *do thank your Honour for your right judgment*; And in the cauſe between *Stephanus* and *Baſſianus* concerning their title to the Biſhoprick of *Epheſus*; they having declared their ſenſe, *the Holy Synod cryed, This is right judgment*; *Chriſt hath decided the caſe, God judgeth by you:* And in the reſult, upon their declaring their opinion; *the whole Synod exclaimed, This is a right judgment, this is a pious order.*

Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ σου μεγαλοπρεπέστατε ὑπερ. Act. 13. p. 420.

Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐψήφισεν, αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδίκασε διὰ σοῦ ὑποδείξας, ὁ Θεὸς διὰ σοῦ δικάζει. Act. 12. p. 409.

Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐψήφισεν, αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, ἐπὶ εὐσεβὴς τάξις. Ibid. p. 414.

When the Biſhops, tranſported with eagerneſs and paſſion, did tumultuouſly clamour, they gravely did check them ſaying, *Theſe vulgar exclamations neither become Biſhops, nor ſhall advantage the parties.*

Αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ οὔτε ἐπισκόποις πρέπουσιν, οὔτε τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν. Act. 1. p. 55.

In the great conteſt about the privileges of the *Conſtantinopolitan* See, they did arbitrate and decide the matter, even againſt the ſenſe and endeavours of the Pope's Legates; the whole Synod concurring with them in theſe acclamations; *this is a right ſentence, we all ſay theſe things, theſe things pleaſe us all, things are duly ordered; let the things ordered be held.*

——κατὰ συνοδικοῦ ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. Syn. Chal. ad Leon. Ep. p. 475.

Οἱ συλλειτουργοὶ Ἐπίσκοποι ἐψήφισαν, αὕτη δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, πάντα δεόντως ἐτυπώθη, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατείτω. Act. 16. p. 464.

The Pope's Legates themſelves did avow this authority in them; for, (*If* ſaid *Paſchaſinus*, in the caſe of the *Egyptian* Biſhops) *your authority doth command, and ye injoin that ſomewhat of humanity be granted to them*, &c.

Εἰ πρεσάτει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀξία, καὶ κελεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον——Act. 4. p. 315.

And in another caſe, *If, ſaid the Biſhops, ſupplying the place of the Apoſtolical See, your Honours do command, we have an information to ſuggeſt.*

Οἱ συλλειτουργοὶ Ἐπίσκοποι ἐπέχοντες τὸν τόπον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς θρόνου ἔφην, εἰ πρεσάτει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν. Act. 16. p. 451.

Neither is the Preſidency of theſe *Roman* Legates expreſſed in the Conciliar Acts; but they are barely ſaid * συνελθεῖν (to concur) and † συνεδρεύειν (to ſit together) with the other Fathers; and accordingly although they ſometimes talked high, yet it is not obſervable that they did much there; their Preſidency was nothing like that at *Trent*, and in other like Papal Synods. It may be noted that the Emperor's Deputies are always named in the firſt place, at the entrance of the Acts, before the Pope's Legates, ſo that they who directed the Notaries, were not Popiſh. In effect the Emperor was Preſident, though not as a Judge of Spiritual matters; yet as an Orderer of the Conciliar tranſactions; as the Synod doth report it to *Leo*; *the faithful Emperors*, ſaid they, *did preſide* (or govern it) *for good order ſake.*

* Act. 5. Act. 7. Act. 8. p. 366. Act. 9. Act. 11. Act. 13. 14.
† Act. 3. (p. 230.)

Βασιλεῖς ὑμῶν οἱ πιστοὶ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἤρχον. Relat. Syn. ad Leon. 473.

In the Fifth General Synod, Pope *Vigilius* indeed was moved to be preſent, and (in his way) to preſide; but he out of ſtate policy declined it; wherefore the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* was the Eccleſiaſtical Preſident, as in the beginning of every Collation doth appear; whence clearly we may infer, that the Pope's Preſidency is no-wiſe neceſſary to the being of a General Council.

Ideo petimus Præſidente nobis noſtrâ beatitudine, ſub tranquillitate, & manſuetudine Sacerdotali, ſanctis propoſitis Evangeliis, communi tractatu, &c. Coll. 1. p. 212. (& in Conſt. Vigil.)

In the Sixth General Synod, the Emperor in each Act is expreſly ſaid to preſide, in Perſon or by his Deputies; although P. *Agatho* had his Legates there.

Περιαθημένου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως, Κωνσταντίνου, &c.

In the Synod of *Conſtance* ſometimes the Cardinal of *Cambray*, ſometimes of *Hoſtia* did preſide (by order of the Synod it ſelf) and ſometimes the King of the *Romans* did ſupply that place; ſo little eſſential was the Pope's Preſidency to a Council deemed even then, when Papal Authority had mounted to ſo high a pitch.

Dominus Rom. Rex indutus veſtibus Regalibus receſſit de Sede ſua ſolita, & tranſivit ad aliam Sedem poſitam in fronte Altaris, tanquam Præſidens pro tunc in Concilio. Syn. Conſt. Seſſ. 14. (p. 1044.)

Nor is there good reaſon why the Pope ſhould have this privilege, or why this Prerogative ſhould be affixed to any one See; ſo that (if there be cauſe; as if the Pope be unfit, or leſs fit; if Princes, or the Church cannot confide in him; if he be ſuſpected of prejudice or partiality: if he be party in cauſes or controverſies to be decided; if he do himſelf need correction) Princes may not aſſign, or the Church with allowance of Princes may not chuſe any other Preſident, more proper in their judgment for that charge; in ſuch caſes the publick welfare of Church and State is to be regarded.

Were

Were an Erroneous Pope (as *Vigilius* or *Honorius*) fit to govern a Council, gathered to conſult about defining Truth, in the matter of their Error?

Were a Lewd Pope (as *Alexander* VI. *John* XII. *Paul* III. innumerable ſuch, ſcandalouſly vicious) worthy to preſide in a Synod convocated to preſcribe ſtrict Laws of Reformation?

Were a Furious, Pugnacious Pope (as *Julius* II——) apt to moderate an Aſſembly drawn together for ſettlement of Peace?

Were a Pope engaged in Schiſm (as many have been) a proper Moderator of a Council, deſign'd to ſuppreſs Schiſm?

Were a *Gregory* VII. or an *Innocent* IV. or a *Boniface* VIII. an allowable manager any where of Controverſies about the Papal Authority?

Were now indeed any Pope fit to preſide in any Council wherein the Reformation of the Church is concerned, it being notorious that Popes as ſuch do moſt need Reformation, that they are the great obſtructors of it, that all Chriſtendom hath a long time a Controverſie with them for their detaining it in bondage?

In this and many other caſes we may reject their Preſidency, as implying iniquity; according to the Rule of an old Pope; *I would know of them where they would have that judgment they pretend, examin'd: what by themſelves, that the ſame may be Adverſaries, Witneſſes and Judges? to ſuch judgment as this even humane affairs are not to be truſted, much leſs the integrity of the divine Law.*

Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam poſſit agitari, an apud ipſos, ut iidem ſint inimici, & teſtes, & judices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divina legis integritas. P. Gel. *Ep.* 4.

It is not reaſonable that any perſon ſhould have ſuch a Prerogative which would be an engine of miſchief: for thereby (bearing ſway in general Aſſemblies of Biſhops) he would be enabled and irreſiſtibly tempted to domineer over the World, to abuſe Princes, and diſturb States; to oppreſs and enſlave the Church; to obſtruct all Reformation; to enact Laws; to promote and eſtabliſh Errors ſerviceable to his Intereſt; the which effects of ſuch power exerciſed by him in the Synod of *Trent*, and in divers other of the latter General Synods, experience hath declared.

Nic. II. Ludg. Lat. IV. & V.

If the Pope were Sovereign of the Church, the Legiſlative power wholly or in part would belong to him; ſo far at leaſt, that no Synod, or Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory could without his conſent determine or preſcribe any thing: His approbation would be required to give life and validity to their Decrees; He ſhould at leaſt have a negative, ſo that nothing might paſs againſt his will: This is a moſt eſſential ingredient of Sovereignty; and is therefore claimed by the Pope, who long hath pretended that no Decrees of Synods are valid without his conſent, and confirmation.

But the Decrees made by the Holy Popes, of the chief See of the Roman *Church, by whoſe authority and ſanction all Synods and holy Councils are ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed, why do you ſay, that you do not receive and obſerve them?*

Laſtly, as you know nothing is accounted valid or to be receiv'd in univerſal Councils, but what the See of Saint Peter *has approv'd: ſo on the other ſide, whatever ſhe alone has rejected, that only is rejected.*

We never read of any Synod that was valid, unleſs it were confirm'd by the Apoſtolick Authority.

We truſt no true Chriſtian is now ignorant that no See is above all the reſt more oblig'd to obſerve the Conſtitution of each Council which the conſent of the univerſal Church hath approv'd, than the prime See which by its authority confirms every Synod, and by continued moderating preſerves them according to its principality, &c.

Decretalia autem, quæ à ſanctis Pontificibus prima Sedis Romanæ Eccleſia ſunt inſtituta, cujus auctoritate atque ſanctione omnes Synodi, & ſancta Concilia roborantur, & ſtabilitatem ſumunt, cur vos non habere, vel obſervare dicitis? Papa Nic. I. *Ep.* 6. (*ad* Photium)

Denique ut in univerſalibus Conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorſus acceptum, niſi quod Sedes B. Petri probavit (ut ipſi ſcitis) habetur? ſicut è contrario quod ipſa ſola reprobavit, hoc ſolummodo conſiſtat hactenus reprobatum. P. Nich. I. *Ep* 7.

——*Nulla unquam Synodus rata legatur, quæ Apoſtolicâ auctoritate non fuerit ſulta.* P. Pelag. II. *Ep.* 8. (*Diſt.* 17.)

Confidimus quòd nullus jam veraciter Chriſtianus ignoret uniuſcujuſque Synodi conſtitutum, quod univerſalis Eccleſia probavit aſſenſus, non aliquam magis exequi Sedem præ cæteris oportere, quàm primam; quæ & unamquamque Synodum ſua auctoritate confirmat, & continuatâ moderatione cuſtodit, pro ſuo ſcilicet principatu, &c. P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 13. (*ad Epiſc.* Dard.) *vid. p.* 647. *tract. de Anath.*

God hath promiſed to bleſs particular Synods. *Matt.* 18. 19.

What particular or formal confirmation did Saint *Peter* yield to the Aſſembly at *Jeruſalem*?

That in ſome of the firſt General Synods he was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenour and air of things, or by the little regard expreſſed toward him, ſufficiently clear. There is not in the Synodical Epiſtles of *Nice*, or of *Sardica*, any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively all thoſe Decrees may be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent, which do thwart theſe pretences; for if theſe are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for ſuch; and being ſuch we cannot ſuppoſe the Pope willingly to have conſented in derogation to them.

Wherefore the *Nicene* Canons eſtabliſhing Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other Metropolitans with him, may be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent.

Perſuaſioni tuæ in nullo penitus ſuffragatur, quorundam Epiſcoporum ante 60 ut fatus, annos, nunquamque à prædeceſſoribus tuis ad Apoſtolicæ Sedis tranſmiſſa notitiam —— Leo Ep. 53. (*ad* Anat.) *Conc.* Conſtant. *Can.* 3. *Concil.* Chalc. *Can.* 9, 17, 28. *Syn.* Trull. *Can.* 36.

The Canons of the Second General Council, and of all others confirming thoſe; as alſo the Canons of all Synods, which advanced the See of *Conſtantinople*, his Rival for Authority, above its former ſtate, firſt to a proximity in Order, then to an equality of Privileges with the See of *Rome*, may, as plainly contrary to his intereſt and ſpirit, be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent: And ſo divers Popes have affirmed; if we may believe Pope *Leo*, (as I ſuppoſe) the Canons of the Second Council were not tranſmitted to *Rome*, they did therefore paſs, and obtain in practice of the Catholick Church, without its conſent or knowledge. Pope *Gregory* I. ſaith, *that the* Roman *Church did not admit them*, wherein it plainly diſcorded with the Catholick Church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them; and in deſpight to the Canon of that Synod, advancing the Royal City to that eminency, Pope *Gelaſius* I. would not admit it for ſo much as a Metropolitan See; O proud inſolency, O contentious frowardneſs, O rebellious contumacy againſt the Catholick Church and its peace? (Such was the humour of that See, to allow nothing which did not ſute with the intereſt of its Ambition.)

Romana autem Eccleſia eoſdem Canones vel geſta Synodi illius hactenus non habet nec accipit; in hoc autem eandem Synodum accepit quod eſt per eam contra Macedonium definitum. P. Greg. *M. Ep.* 6. 31.

The ſame Pope *Leo* I. doth affirm *Ep.* 53.

——ejus civitatis quæ non ſolùm inter Sedes numeratur, ſed nec inter Metropolitanorum jura cenſetur, &c. P. Gelaſ. *I.* 13. (*ad Ep.* Dard.)

But farther, divers Synodical Decrees did paſs expreſly againſt the Pope's mind and will: I paſs over thoſe at *Tyre*, at *Antioch*, at *Ariminum*, at *Conſtantinople*, in divers places of the *Eaſt*, (the which do yet evince that commonly there was no ſuch Opinion entertain'd of this privilege belonging to the Pope) and ſhall inſtance only in General Synods.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. Πάντα ἡ σύνοδ& ἐκύρωσε. (*in fine Actorum. p.* 464.) *Inde enim fratres noſtri, ab Apoſtolicæ Sedis directi qui vice meâ Synodo præſidebant, probabiliter atque conſtanter illicitis auſibus obſtiterunt, aperiè reclamantes, &c.* Leo I. Ep. 53, 54.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon equal privileges* were aſſigned to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as the Biſhop of *Rome* had; this with a general concurrence *was decreed and ſubſcribed*, although the *Pope's Legates did earneſtly reſiſt, clamour and proteſt againſt it*; The Imperial Commiſſioners, and all the Biſhops not underſtanding, or not allowing the Pope's negative voice.

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι ἐδόκουν, ἐδεῖς ἐναγκάζων. (*Act.* 16. *p.* 469. againſt P. *Leo's* aſſertion, that the conſent was extorted.) Τὸ ἐν πολλῷ κρατῆσαν ἔθ& —— χ& συνοδικῷ ἐκυρώσαμεν ψήφῳ, (ſay the Fathers to Pope *Leo p.* 475.) By a Synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient Cuſtom.

And whereas Pope *Leo* (moved with a jealouſie, that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him, ſhould aſpire to get above him) did fiercely diſpute, exclaim, inveigh, menace againſt this Order, ſtriving to defeat it, pretending to annull it, labouring to depreſs the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* from that degree, which both himſelf, and his Legates in the Synod had acknowledged due to him: In which endeavour divers of his Succeſſors did imitate him: *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Doryleum*, ſaid, *I have willingly ſubſcrib'd, becauſe I have read this Canon to the moſt holy Pope of* Rome, *the Clergy of* Conſtantinople *being preſent, and he receiv'd it.*

Ep. 53, 54, 55, 61, 62.

Εὐσέβιος Ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαέων εἶπεν, ἐκὼν ὑπέγραψα· ἐπειδὴ ἀνέγνων τὸν Κανόνα πᾶσιν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Πάπᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτόν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 16. (*p.* 462.) *ſupra.*

Yet could not he or they accompliſh their deſign; the veneration of that nod and conſent of Chriſtendom overbearing their oppoſition; the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſitting in all the ſucceeding General Synods in the ſecond place, without any contraſt; ſo that at length Popes were fain to acquieſce in the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople's* poſſeſſion of the ſecond place in dignity among the Patriarchs.

In

In the Fifth General Synod Pope *Vigilius* did make a Conſtitution, in moſt expreſs terms prohibiting the Condemnation of the *three Chapters* (as they are called) and the anathematization of perſons deceaſed in peace of the Church; *We dare not our ſelves*, ſays he, *condemn* Theodorus, *neither do we yield to have him condemn'd by any other*; and in the ſame Conſtitution he orders and decrees, *That nothing be ſaid or done by any to the injury or diſcredit of* Theodoret *Biſhop of* Cyrus, *a Man moſt approv'd in the Synod of* Chalcedon; *and the ſame*, ſays he, *have the Decrees of the Apoſtolical See determined, that no man paſs a new judgment upon perſons dead, but leave them as death found them. Laſtly by that Conſtitution he ſpecially provides that (as he had before ſaid) nothing might be derogated from perſons dying in the Peace and Communion of the Univerſal Church, by his condemning that perverſe opinion.*

Eum (Theodorum) noſtrâ non audemus damnare ſententiâ, ſed nec ab aliis quopiam condemnari concedimus. Vig. Conſt. p. 186. *Statuimus atque decernimus nihil adverſus jura atque obtrectationem probatiſſimi in Chalcedonenſi Synodo viri, hoc eſt Theodareti Epiſcopi Cyri, ſub taxatione nominis ejus à quoquam fieri vel proferri.* Ibid.

Idémque regulariter Apoſtolicæ Sedis definiunt conſtituta, nulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare perſonis; ſed in hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque ſupremus dies invenit.——

Hac præſentis Conſtitutionis diſpoſitione quàm maximè providemus, ne (ſicut ſuprà diximus) perſonis, quæ in pace & communione univerſalis Eccleſiæ quieverunt, ſub hac damnati à nobis perverſi dogmatis occaſione aliquid derogetur. Ibid.

Yet did the Synod (in ſmart terms reflecting on the Pope, and giving him the lye, not regarding his opinion or authority) decree, that perſons deceaſed were liable to be anathematized; they did anathematize *Theodorus*, they did expreſly condemn each of the *Chapters*; they threatned depoſition or excommunication on whoever ſhould oppoſe their Conſtitutions; * they anathematize whoever doth not anathematize *Theodorus*.

Quoniam autem poſt hæc omnia impietatis illius defenſoris injuriis contra creatorem ſuum dictis gloriantes dicebant, non oportere eum poſt mortem anathematizare——qui hæc dicunt, nullam curam Dei judicatorium faciunt, nec Apoſtolicarum pronunciationum, nec paternarum traditionum. Col. 8. p. 289.

Condemnamus autem & anathematizamus unà cum omnibus aliis hæreticis & Theodorum. Coll. 8. p. 291.

Quod dicitur à quibuſdam, quòd in communicatione & pace defunctus eſt Theodorus, mendacium eſt, & calumnia magis adverſus Eccleſiam. Coll. 5. p. 250.

Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæ piè diſpoſuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel ſcribere, ſiquidem Epiſcopus vel Clericus ſit iſte, tanquam aliena à Sacerdotibus & ſtatu Eccleſiaſtico faciens, denudabitur Epiſcopatu vel Clericatu: ſi autem Monachus vel Laicus ſit, anathematizabitur. (Coll. 8. p. 293.)

* *Si quis defendit——& non anathematizat eum——anathema ſit.* Ibid.

But Pope *Vigilius* did refuſe to approve their Doctrine and Sentence; and therefore (which was the caſe of many other Biſhops, * as *Baronius* himſelf doth confeſs and argue) was driven into baniſhment; wherein he did expire.

——*contra ipſius (Pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (Synodo) pariter ſententia dicta.* Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 219. *Non conſentientes depoſiti, in exilium miſſi ſunt.* Lib. cap. 24. * Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 223.

Yet Poſterity hath embraced this Synod as a legitimate and valid General Synod; and the Popes following did profeſs the higheſt reverence thereto, equally with the preceding General Synods: ſo little neceſſary is the Pope's conſent or concurrence to the validity of Synodical definitions.

Greg. *Ep.* 1. 24. *Quintam quoque Synodum pariter veneror, &c.* 1. 24.
Pelag. *II. Ep.*——
Agatho *Syn.* 6. *Act.* 4.
Leo *Syn.* 6. *Act.* 18.
Hadrian. *ad* Nectar.

Upon this *Baronius* hath an admirable reflexion: *Here ſtay* (ſaith he) *O Reader, and conſider the matter attently* (Ay, do ſo I pray) *That it is no new thing, that ſome Synod, in which the Pope was not even preſent by his Legates, but did oppoſe it, ſhould yet obtain the title of an Oecumenical Synod; whenas afterward the Pope's Will did come in, that it ſhould obtain ſuch a title.*

Hic ſiſte, Lector, atque rem attentè conſidera; non eſſe hoc novum, ut aliqua Synodus, cui nec per Legatos ipſe Pontifex interfuerit, ſed adverſatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit Oecumenicæ cùm poſtea ut hujuſmodi titulum obtineret, Romani Pontificis voluntas acceſſit. Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 224.

So in the opinion of this Doctor, the Pope can eaſily change the nature of things, and make that become a General Synod which once was none; yea which, as it was held, did not deſerve the name of any Synod at all. O the Vertue of Papal Magick! or rather, O the Impudence of Papal Advocates!

Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plenè conſenties, ipſam non Oecumenicæ tantùm, ſed nec privatæ Synodi meruiſſe nomen. Id. *Ann.* 553. § 219.

The Canons of the Sixth General Council, exhibited by the *Trullane* (or *Quiniſext*) Synod clearly and expreſly do condemn ſeveral Doctrines and Practices of *Rome*; I ask whether the Pope did confirm them? they will to be ſure, as they are concerned to do, anſwer No: and indeed Pope *Sergius*, as *Anaſtaſius* in his Life reporteth, did refuſe them; yet did they paſs for legitimate in the whole Church; for in their General Synod (the ſecond *Nicene*) without contradiction, one of them is alledged (out of the very original Paper, wherein the Fathers had ſubſcribed)

Can. 2, 7, 13, 36, 55, 58, 67.

——*in quibus diverſa capitula Romanæ Eccleſiæ contraria ſcripta inerant.* Anaſt. *in Vit.* Joh. *VII.*

Καινὸν τ ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου. Syn. Nic. II. Act. 4. (631.)

Πρωτότυπον χάρτης ὅδιν, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρες. Ibid.

Τῆς δ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου, μ πάνυ τ ἐνθέσμως καὶ θεοσδῶς ἐκφωνηθέντων δογμάτων παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας Κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι. Act. 3. p. 592.

* Ταύτη τῇ μαρτυρείᾳ τ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c. ib. (p. 363.)

Act. 6. p. 732. (Dist. 16. cap. 5. &c.)

Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per ſuprafatos Metropolitas direxit ad Principem. Anaſt. *in Vit.* Joh. VII.

as a *Canon of the Holy General Sixth Synod*; and avowed for ſuch by the Patriarch *Taraſius*, both in way of argument of defence and of profeſſion, in his *Synodical Epiſtle* to the Patriarchs; where he ſaith, that *together with the divine Doctrines of the Sixth Synod he doth alſo embrace the Canons enacted by it*;) of which *Epiſtle* Pope *Adrian* in his Anſwer thereto doth recite a part containing thoſe words, and * applaud it for Orthodox; ſignifying no offence at his embracing the *Trullane* Canons. And all thoſe 102 Canons are again avowed by the Synod in their *Antitheſis* to the Synod of *Conſtantinople*. In fine, if we believe *Anaſtaſius*, Pope *John* VII. did, *being timorous, out of humane frailty direct theſe Canons, without amendment, by two Metropolites, to the Emperor*, that is, he did admit them ſo as they ſtand.

But it may be inſtanced, that divers Synods have asked the Pope's conſent for ratification of their Decrees and Acts.

So the Fathers of the Second General Synod, having in an *Epiſtle* to Pope *Damaſus* and the Weſtern Biſhops, declared what Conſtitutions they had made, in the cloſe ſpeak thus—*In which things, being legally and canonically ſettled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquieſce out of ſpiritual charity and fear of the Lord*——

Οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκριτικόσι καὶ τ ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου, &c. Theod. 5. 9.

So the Synod of *Chalcedon* did, with much reſpect, ask from Pope *Leo* the confirmation of Sanctions. *That you may know how that we have done nothing for favour or out of ſpite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done.*

Ἵνα δ γνῶτε ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείᾳ κυβερνώμενοι πνεύματι, πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τ πεπραγμένων τ δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύνεσιν ὑμετέραν, καὶ τ πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν. Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leon. I. p. 476.

Of the Fifth Synod Pope *Leo* II. ſaith, —*that he agreed to what was determin'd in it, and confirms it with the authority of the Bleſſed Saint* Peter.

Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς θεοδόσοις σωαινεῖ, καὶ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου βεβαιοῖ. P. Leo II. Ep. (p. 306.)

To theſe allegations we reply, That it was indeed the manner of all Synods, (for notification of things, and promulgation of their Orders; for demonſtration and maintenance of concord, for adding weight and authority to their determinations, for engaging all Biſhops to a willing compliance in obſerving them, for atteſtation to the common intereſt of all Biſhops in the Chriſtian Truth, and in the governance and edification of the Church) having framed Decrees concerning the publick State, to demand in faireſt terms the conſent to them of all Catholick Biſhops, who were abſent from them, to be atteſted by their ſubſcription.

So did *Conſtantine* recommend the *Nicene* Decrees to all Biſhops, undertaking that they would aſſent to them.

Ἀσμένως δέχεσθε τ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολὴν —— de Vit. Const. 3. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς δ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀξιοῖ ἀρέσαι ὑπερχόμενος. Ibid. 3. 19.

So (more expreſly) the Synod of *Sardica*, in their Epiſtle to all Biſhops of the Catholick Church; *Do ye alſo, our Brethren and Fellow-miniſters, the more uſe diligence, as being preſent in ſpirit with our Synod, to yield conſent by your ſubſcription, that concord may be preſerved every where by all the Fellow-miniſters.*

Σπουδάσατε δ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοί, ὡς τῷ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθε δι' ὑπογραφῆς ὑμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν πάντων τ πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τ ὁμοφρονίαν διασώζεσθαι, Syn. Sard. Epiſt. apud Athan. in Apol. 2. p. 766.

So did Pope *Liberius* requeſt of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, *that the faith delivered at* Nice *might be confirmed by the ſubſcription of all Biſhops.*

Ἐζήτει καὶ τ μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὁρισθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς τῶν πάντων Ἐπισκόπων κρατυνεῖσθαι. Soz. 4. 11.

So did *Athanaſius procure a Synod at* Alexandria, *to confirm the Decrees at* Sardica, *and in* Paleſtine *concerning him.*

Σύνοδον γοῦν ἀθρόαν παρεσκεύαζε τ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐπισφραγίσαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδαῖς καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδογμένοις. Soz. 4. 1.

So the *Macedonian* Biſhops are ſaid to have authorized their Agents *to ratify the faith of Conſubſtantiality.*

Ἐντελόμενοι —— κυρῶσαι τ τῆς ὁμοουσίου πίστιν. Socr. 4. 12.

Many ſuch Inſtances occur in ſtory, by which it may appear, that the Decrees of Synods concerning Faith, or concerning any matters of common intereſt, were preſented to all Biſhops, and their conſent requeſted or required; becauſe, ſay the *Roman* Clergy in St. *Cyprian*, *a decree cannot be firm, which has not the conſent of many.*

——*quoniam nec firmum decretum poteſt eſſe, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere conſenſum.* Cler. Rom. *apud* Cyp. Ep. 31.

Whence

Whence it is no wonder, if any Synods did thus proceed toward ſo eminent a Biſhop as was he of *Rome*, that they ſhould endeavour to give him ſatisfaction; that they ſhould deſire to receive ſatisfaction from him of his conſpiring with them in Faith, of his willingneſs to comply in obſerving good Rules of Diſcipline; that (as every vote had force, ſo) the ſuffrage of one in ſo great dignity and reputation might adjoin ſome regard to their judgment.

Παρακαλῶ τοίνυν, τιμήσαν ἅμα καὶ σὲ ἡμᾶς ἧς πρέπει. *Syn.* Chalc. *ad* Leon. *p.* 476.

The Pope's confirmation of Synods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and aſſent, the which did confirm by addition of Suffrage; as thoſe who were abſent, by their Subſcription are ſaid to confirm the Decrees of Councils; every ſuch conſent being ſuppoſed to encreaſe the authority; whence the number of Biſhops is ſometimes reckoned according to the ſubſcriptions of Biſhops abſent; as the Council of *Sardica* is ſometimes related to conſiſt of three hundred Biſhops, although not two hundred were preſent, the reſt concurring by ſubſcription to its definitions.

Κατὰ τὴν συνοδικὴν ἐπιψηφισαμένου ἡμῶν —— *Epiſt. Syn.* Chalc. *ad* Leon. *p.* 475.

Socr. 2. 20. & Valeſ. *Ann. Ibid.*

Other Biſhops in yielding their ſuffrage, do expreſs it by *I confirm*; *I define*, *I decree.*

Sententias fratrum omnes ſequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes obſervandas eſſe decernimus. Conc. Rom. *P.* Hil. *p.* 579.

But the effectual confirmation of Synods, which gave them the force of Laws, was in other hands, and depended on the Imperial Sanction.

So *Juſtinian* affirmeth generally: *All theſe things at divers times following, our above-named Predeceſſors of pious memory, corroborated and confirm'd by their Laws what each Council had determin'd, and expell'd thoſe Hereticks who attempted to reſiſt the definitions of the aforeſaid four Councils, and diſturb the Churches.*

His itaque omnibus per diverſa tempora ſubſecutis, pradictæ recordationis noſtri Patres ea quæ in unoquoque Concilio judicata ſunt, legibus ſuis corroboraverunt, & confirmaverunt; & hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor Conciliorum reſiſtere, & Eccleſias conturbare conati ſunt, expulerunt. Juſtin. *in Conc. V. Coll.* 1. (*p.* 210.)

So particularly *Conſtantine* (as *Athanaſius* himſelf reporteth) *did by Law confirm the decrees of the great Synod of Nice*; and *Euſebius* aſſureth the ſame, *He* (ſaith he) *did ratifie the decrees of the Synod by his authority*; His Letters extant, which he ſent about the World, exhorting and requiring all to conform to the conſtitutions of that Synod.

Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γεγραμμένα, ὡς συνεδρείᾳ κοινοῦ, ἐκύρωσε νόμῳ. Athan. *apud* Theod. 2. 4.

Τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπισφραγίζετο. Euſeb. *de Vit.* Conſt. 3. 23.

Προθύμως καὶ διατάξεσιν ὡρίσατο. Euſeb. *ibid.* 3. 20.

So *Theodoſius* did confirm the Decrees of the Second General Synod; *adding* (ſaith *Sozomen*) *his confirmatory Suffrage to their Decree*; the which he did at the ſupplication of the Fathers, addreſſed to him in theſe terms: *We therefore do beſeech your Grace, that by your pious Edict the ſentence of the Synod may be authorized; that as by the Letters of convocation you did honour the aſſembly, ſo you would alſo confirm the reſult of things decreed.*

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τῇ συνόδῳ ἐδόξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο. Soz. 7. 9.

Δεόμεθα τοίνυν σῆς ἡμερότητος γεάμμασι σῆς εὐσεβείας σπουδάσαι σὺν δόξῃ σῇ ψῆφον, ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς σοῖς κλήσεως γεάμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκας, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δόξασιν ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος. *Præf. ad Can. Conc.* Conſt. (*apud* Bin. *p.* 660.)

The Third General Synod was alſo confirmed by *Theodoſius* II. as *Juſtinian* telleth us, *The above-named* Theodoſius *of pious memory, maintaining what had been ſo juſtly determined againſt* Neſtorius *and his impiety, made his condemnation valid.*

Sed prædictus pia recordationis Theodoſius vindicans ea, quæ ita rectè contra Neſtorium, & ejus impietatem fuerant judicata fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem. Juſtin. *in Quinto Conc. Coll.* 1.

And this Emperor aſſerted this privilege to himſelf, as of right and cuſtom belonging to him; writing to the Synod in theſe words; *for all things, ſo as may pleaſe God, without contentiouſneſs and with truth being examin'd, ought ſo to be eſtabliſhed by our religiouſneſs.*

Χρὴ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ μέλλον ἀρέσκειν δίχα φιλονεικίας καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας ἐξεταζόντα ἔτω βέβαια ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας βεβαιωθῆναι. Epiſt. Theod. *ad Syn.* Eph. *in Actis Conc. p.* 375.

The other abortive Synod at *Epheſus* was alſo confirmed by *Theodoſius* Junior, *Dioſcorus* in his defence alledged in theſe words, which ſhew the manner of practice in this caſe; *We then indeed did judge the things, which were judged; the whole Synod did accord with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and ſubſcribed; and they were referred to the moſt religious Emperor* Theodoſius *of happy memory; and he did by a general Law confirm all things judged by the Holy and Oecumenical Synod.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐκείνως τὰ κεκριμένα ἐκρίναμεν· συνήνεσεν ἡμῖν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ κατέθετο οἰκείας φωνάς, καὶ ὑπέγραψε καὶ ἀνηνέχθη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ ἡ θεία λῆξις Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε πάντα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ. Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 59.

So

So alſo did the Emperor *Marcian* confirm the Synod of *Chalcedon*; as himſelf telleth us in his Royal Edict: *We* (ſaith he) *having by the ſacred Edict of our ſerenity confirmed the Holy Synod, did warn all to ceaſe from diſputes about Religion:* with which Pope *Leo* ſignifieth his compliance in theſe terms; *But becauſe by all means your piety and moſt religious will muſt be obey'd, I have willingly approv'd the Synodical Conſtitutions about confirming the Catholick Faith and condemning Hereticks, which pleaſed me.*

Ἱερῷ τ ὑμετέρας ἡμερότητος διατάγματι τ ἁγίαν βεβαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν ἅπαντας, ὥστε τ περὶ θρησκείας παύσασθαι διαλέξεων. Conc. Chalc. Part. 3. 478.

Quia verò omnibus modis obediendum eſt pietati veſtræ religioſiſſimæque voluntati, Conſtitutionibus Synodalibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei Catholicæ & hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci ſententiam meam. P. Leo I. Ep. 59. (ad Mart. Aug.)

Juſtinian did with a witneſs confirm the Fifth Synod, puniſhing with baniſhment all who would not ſubmit to its determinations.

In the Sixth Synod the Fathers did requeſt the Emperor, according to cuſtom, to confirm its definitions, in theſe words; *To what we have determined ſet your Seal, your Royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all by your ſacred Edicts and holy Conſtitutions according to cuſtom.*

Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἱεραῖς σφραγῖδα θρόνε τ ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον βασιλικὴν ὑπογράφωσιν, κ διὰ θείων ἐδίκλων, κ ἵν ἦ κ ἔθους εὐσεβῶν διατάξεων τ πάντων ἀπάντων βεβαίωσιν. Syn. VI. Act. 18. p. 275.

We beg that by your ſacred ſigning of it, you would give force to what we have defined and ſubſcribed.

Αἰτοῦμεν διὰ θείας ὑμῶν ὑπογραφῆς τὸ κῦρος θραβεῦσαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑφανθέντι συνταγέντι ὅρῳ. Ibid. p. 283.

We intreat the power of our Lord guided by God's wiſdom to confirm, for the great ſtrength and ſecurity of the Orthodox Faith, the copies of our determinations read in the hearing of your moſt ſerene Majeſty, and ſubſcribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five Patriarchal Sees with your pious confirmation.

Αἰτούμεθα τὸ θεῖον τοῦ δεσπότου κράτος πρὸς μείζονα τ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειάν τε κ βεβαίωσιν ἰσοτύπως ἐναπογράφους ὅρους τ ἀναγνωσθέντος τ παρουσίαν τ γαληνοτάτης ὑμῶν κράτεις θρν ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς πέντε Πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις κ τ εὐσεβῆ ὑμῶν ὑποσημείωσιν. Ibid. p. 284.

Accordingly he did confirm that Synod by his *Edict*; *All theſe things being thus ordered by this Sixth Holy and Oecumenical Synod, We decree that none whoſoever trouble himſelf farther about the Faith, or advance any new inventions about it.*

Τῶν τοίνυν ἅπαντων ὑπὸ τ ἁγίας ταύτης κ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου διατυπωθέντων, ſancimus, ὥστε μηδένα τ πάντων ἕτερόν τι περὶ τ πίστιν ἐγχειρεῖν, ἢ καινοτομεῖν δόγματος ἐφόρεμα μηχανήσασθαι, &c. Ibid. Edict. Conſt. p. 294.

So he told Pope *Leo* II. in his *Epiſtle* to him; *This divine and venerable determination the Holy Synod has made, to which we alſo have ſubſcribed, and confirmed it by our Religious Edicts, exhorting all our People who have any love for Chriſt, to follow the Faith written.*

Θεῖον κ σεβάσμιον ὅρον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐκθέσθαι, ᾧ κ συνυπεγράψαμεν, κ δι' εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν διατάξεων τοῦτον ἐπεκυρώσαμεν, πρτρέψαντες ἅπαντα τ φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένῃ πίστει συνέπεσθαι, &c. Ibid. p. 298. & p. 302.

Pope *Leo* tells his name-ſake *Leo* the Emperor, *This he muſt always remember, that the Imperial power was given him not only to rule the World, but more eſpecially to protect the Church.*

Debes incunctanter advertere Regiam poteſtatem tibi non ſolùm ad mundi Regimen, ſed maximè ad Eccleſiæ præſidium eſſe collatam, &c. Leo M. Ep. 75.

So by long preſcription, commencing with the Firſt General Synod, did the Emperor enjoy this Prerogative; and with good reaſon, He having an unqueſtionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the Church, deſigned by thoſe Conventions; he being the Guardian of concord among his Subjects, and Protector of their Liberties, which might be nearly concerned in Conciliar Proceedings; the power of enacting Laws being an incommunicable branch of Sovereign Majeſty; He alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the obſervance of Decrees, without which they would in effect ſignify little.

Becauſe alſo commonly the Decrees of Synods did in a manner retrench ſome part of the Royal Prerogative, tranſlating or imparting to others Cauſes before appropriate to his Juriſdiction (as in the caſe of Appeals, and of prohibiting Addreſſes to Court, ordered in the *Sardican* and other Synods; of exempting Clergymen from ſecular Juriſdiction, from taxes and common burthens, *&c.*) which ought not to be done without his licence and authority.

So that the *Oriental* Biſhops had good reaſon to tell the Emperor, that *it was impoſſible without his authority to order the matters under conſideration with good law and* [illegible]

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἡγούμεθα διὰ τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος ἐντάκτως κ εὐθέσμως τὰ περικείμενα τυποῦσθαι. Rel. Orient. ad Imp. Act. Syn. Eph. p. 372.

It is no-wiſe reaſonable that any other ſhould have this power, it being inconſiſtent with publick peace that in one State there ſhould be two Legiſlative powers; which might claſh the one with the other, the one enacting Sanctions prejudicial to the intereſt and will of the other: wherefore the Pope being then a Citizen of *Rome*, and a Subject to the Emperor, could not have a Legiſlative power,

or

or a negative vote in Synods, but that wholly did belong to the Imperial authority.

But it is supposed, that some Synods have been declared invalid for want of the Pope's confirmation; for to the Decrees of the Synod in *Ariminum* it was excepted, that they were null, because the Bishop of *Rome* did not consent to them: *There could not* (say the *Roman* Synod in *Theodoret*) *be any prejudice from the number of those assembled in* Ariminum, *it being plain, that neither the* Roman *Bishop, whose suffrage ought first to have been received, nor* Vicentius, *who for so many years did hold his Episcopacy blameless, nor others agreed to such things.* To which exception I answer, that

Τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συνεντίων ταῦτα δικύειν ὄντων, ὡς μήτε Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκόπου, μήτε τῆ ἄλλων συνθεμένων αὐτοῖς, ἢ ὡς πολλῶν τῆ αὐτόθι συνελθόντων ἀπαρεσάντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν διδαγμένοις. Soz. 6. 23.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ περικειμά τι ἀδωκήθη πλῆθος ἀπὸ τε ἀριθμῦ τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συναχθέντων, ὅποτε συνέκυρε, μήτε τῦ Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκόπου, ὃ περὶ πάντων ἦδει τῆ γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, ὅτε Οὐικεντίν ὃς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τῆ Ἐπισκοπὴν ἀμέμπτως ἐφύλαξεν, ὅτε τῦ ἄλλων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγκαταθεμένων. —— Theod. 2. 22.

1. That which is alledged against the Synod of *Ariminum*, is not the defect of the Pope's confirmation subsequent, but of his consent and concurrence before it, or in it; * which is very reasonable, because he had a right to be present, and to concur in all such Assemblies, especially being so eminent a Bishop.

* *P. Liberius* being absent, detained from it by violence in banishment.

2. The same exception every Bishop might alledge, all having alike right and common interest to Vote in those Assemblies.

3. Accordingly the assent of other Bishops, particularly of those eminent in dignity or merit, is also alledged in exception; which had been needless, if his alone dissent had been of so very peculiar force.

4. The Emperor, and many other Bishops, did not know of any peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

Again, it may be objected, that Popes have voided the Decrees of the Synods, as did Pope *Leo* the Decrees of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, concerning the privileges of the *Constantinopolitan* See, in these blunt words: *But the agreements of Bishops repugnant to the Holy Canons made at* Nice, *your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the blessed Apostle Saint* Peter, *by a general determination we disannul*; and in his *Epistle* to those of that Synod, *For however vain conceit may arm it self with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulness sufficiently strengthened with the name of Councils: yet whatever is contrary to the Canons of the above-nam'd Fathers will be weak and void.* Lastly, in his Epistle to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, he says, *He has such a reverence for the* Nicene *Canons, that he will not permit or endure that what those holy Fathers have determined, be by any novelty violated.*

Consensiones vero Episcoporum, Sanctorum Canonum apud Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unitâ nobiscum vestrâ fide pietate, in irritum mittimus, & per authoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus. P. Leo I. Ep. 55. (ad Pulcher. Aug.)

Quantumlibet enim extortis assentationibus sese instruat vanitatis elatio, & appetitus suos Conciliorum æstimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit, quicquid à præditorum Patrum Canonibus discreparit. Ep. 61. (ad Syn. Chalced.)

Tanta apud me est Nicenorum Canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ sunt à sanctis Patribus constituta nec permiserim nec patiar aliquâ novitate violari. Leo Ep. 62. (ad Max. Antioch.)

This behaviour of Pope *Leo* (although applauded and imitated by some of his Successors) I doubt not to except against in behalf of the *Synod*, that it was disorderly, factious and arrogant; (proceeding indeed from ambition and jealousie) the leading act of high presumption in this kind, and one of the seeds of that exorbitant ambition, which did at length overwhelm the dignity and liberty of the Christian Republick: Yet for somewhat qualifying the business, it is observable, that he did ground his repugnancy and pretended annulling of that Decree (or of Decrees concerning Discipline) not so much upon his authority to cross General Synods, as upon the inviolable firmness and everlasting obligation of the *Nicene* Canons; the which he (although against the reason of things, and rules of Government) did presume no Synod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this opposition of his did prove ineffectual by the sense and practice of the Church, maintaining its ground against his pretence.

P. Gelas. Ep. 13. (*ad Epist.* Dard.) *p.* 642. *& in Tract. de* Anathem. (*pag.* 647.)

P. Pelag. II. Ep. 5. (*ad* Eliam.) *p.* 474. —— Greg. *M. Ep.*

It is an unreasonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one man (no wiser or better commonly than others) should be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the same Office and Order with him; so that he should be able to overthrow and frustrate the result of their meetings and consultations, when it did not square to his conceit or interest; especially seeing there is not the least appearance of any right he hath to such a Privilege, grounded in Holy Scripture, Tradition or Custom; for seeing that Scripture hath not a syllable about General Synods, seeing that no Rule about them is extant in any of the first Fathers

thers till after 300 years, ſeeing there was not one ſuch Council celebrated till after that time, ſeeing in none of the Firſt General Synods any ſuch Canon was framed in favour of that Biſhop, what ground of right could the Pope have to preſcribe unto them, or thwart their proceedings? Far more reaſon there is, (in conformity to all former Rules and Practice) that he ſhould yield to all his Brethren, than that all his Brethren ſhould ſubmit to him: and this we ſee to have been the judgment of the Church, declared by its Practice in the caſes before touched.

IV. It is indeed a proper endowment of an abſolute Sovereignty, immediately and immutably conſtituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will declared in way of Precept, Proclamations, concerning the Sanction of Laws, the abrogation of them, the Diſpenſation with them, ſhould be obſerved.

This Privilege therefore in a high ſtrein the Pope challengeth to himſelf; aſſerting to his Decrees and Sentences the force and obligation of Laws; ſo that the body of that Canon Law, whereby he pretendeth to govern the Church, doth in greateſt part conſiſt of Papal Edicts, or Decretal Epiſtles, imitating the Reſcripts of Emperors, and bearing the ſame force.

In *Gratian* we have theſe Aphoriſms from Popes concerning this their Privilege.

No perſon ought to have either the will or the power to tranſgreſs the precepts of the Apoſtolick See.

——Thoſe things which by the Apoſtolick See have at ſeveral times been written for the Catholick Faith, for ſound Doctrines, for the various and manifold exigency of the Church, and the manners of the faithful, how much rather ought they to be preferr'd in all honour, and by all men altogether, upon all occaſions whatſoever, to be reverently received?

Thoſe Decretal Epiſtles which moſt holy Popes have at divers times given out from the City of Rome, *upon their being conſulted with by divers Biſhops, we decree that they be received with veneration.*

If ye have not the Decrees of the Biſhops of Rome, *ye are to be accuſed of neglect and careleſneſs; but if ye have them, yet obſerve them not, ye are to be chidden and rebuk'd for your temerity.*

All the Sanctions of the Apoſtolick See are ſo to be underſtood, as if confirmed by the voice of Saint Peter *himſelf.*

Becauſe the Roman *Church, over which by the will of Chriſt we do preſide, is propoſed for a mirrour and example; whatſoever it doth determine, whatſoever that doth appoint, is perpetually and irrefragably to be obſerved by all men.*

We, who according to the plenitude of our power, have a right to diſpenſe above Law or Right.

This See——that which it might do by its ſole Authority, it is often pleaſed to define by conſent of its Prieſts.

Nulli fas eſt vel velle vel poſſe tranſgredi Apoſtolicæ Sedis præcepta. P. Greg. IV. *Diſt.* 19. *cap.* 5.

——Quanto potius quæ ipſa (ſedes Apoſtolica) pro Catholicâ fide profanis (l. pro ſanis) dogmatibus, pro variis & multifariis Eccleſiæ neceſſitatibus & fidelium moribus diverſo tempore ſcripſit omni debent honore præferri, & ab omnibus prorſus in quibuſlibet opportunitatibus diſcretione vel diſpenſatione magiſtrâ reverenter aſſumi? P. Nic. I. *Epiſt. Diſt.* 19 *c.* 1.

Decretales Epiſtolas, quas beatiſſimi Papæ diverſis temporibus ab urbe Roma pro diverſorum Patrum conſultatione dederunt, venerabiliter ſuſcipiendas decernimus. P. Gelaſ. I. (in decreto) *lit. a* Nic. P. *Ep* 42. *ad Epiſc. Galliæ. Diſt.* 19. *c.* 1.

Si decreta Romanorum Pontificum non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria eſtis arguendi; ſi vero habetis & non obſervatis, de temeritate eſtis corripiendi & increpandi. P. Nic. I. *Ep.* 6. *ad* Phot. *Diſt.* 20. *cap.* 2.

Sic omnes Apoſtolicæ Sedis Sanctiones accipiendæ ſunt, tanquam ipſius Divini Petri voce firmatæ ſunt. P. Agatho, *Diſt.* 19. *c.* 2. *Vid. Syn. VI. Act.* 4 *f.* 35.

Quia in ſpeculum, & exemplum S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ, cui nos Chriſtus præeſſe voluit, propoſita eſt, ab omnibus quicquid ſtatuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo & irrefragabiliter obſervandum eſt. P. Steph. (*Diſt.* 19. *cap.* 3.) P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 9. *de diſpenſ.* (*p.* 633.)

Qui ſecundum plenitudinem poteſtatis de jure poſſumus ſupra jus diſpenſare. P. Inn. III. *Decret.* Greg. *Lib.* 3. *tit.* 8. *c.* 4.

Sedes hæc——quod ſingulari etiam auctoritate perficere valet, multorum ſæpe ſacerdotum decernit definire conſenſu. P. Nic. I. *Ep.* 18. (*ad* Carolum R.) Leo I. *Ep.* 1. *cap.* 5. P. Hilarius *in Conc.* Rom. *p.* 578. *Cauſ.* 25. *Qu.* 1. *cap.* 4. P. Urb. *Cauſ.* 25. *Qu.* 1. *cap.* 6. P. Anaſ. *ad Imp.* Anaſt. P. Siric. *Ep.* 1. (*p.* 692.)

But this power he doth aſſume and exerciſe merely upon Uſurpation, and unwarrantably; having no ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Originally the Church hath no other general Law-giver beſide our *one Lord* and *one Law-giver.* Eph. 4. 5. Jam. 4. 12.

As to practice we may obſerve,

1. Anciently (before the Firſt general Synod) the Church had no other Laws, beſide the Divine Laws; or thoſe * which were derived from the Apoſtles by Traditional cuſtom; or thoſe which each Church did enact for it ſelf in provincial Synods; or which were propagated from one Church to another by imitation and compliance; or which in like manner were framed and ſettled.

* ἀγραφα ἔθη. *Syn.* Conſtantinop. *Can.* 2.

Whence according to different Traditions, or different Reaſons and Circumſtances of things, ſeveral Churches did vary in points of Order and Diſcipline.

The Pope then could not impoſe his Traditions, Laws, or Cuſtoms upon any Church; if he did attempt it, he was liable to ſuffer a repulſe; as is notorious in the caſe, when Pope *Victor* would (although rather as a Doctor than as a Law-giver) have reduced the Churches of *Aſia* to conform with the *Roman* in the time of

of celebrating *Eaſter*; wherein he found not only ſtout reſiſtance, but ſharp reproof.

In St. *Cyprian's* time every Biſhop had a free power according to his diſcretion to govern his Church; and it was deemed a Tyrannical enterpriſe for one to preſcribe to another, or to require obedience from his Collegues; as otherwhere by many clear allegations out of that Holy man we have ſhewed. *For none of us* (ſaith he) *makes himſelf a Biſhop of Biſhops, or by a tyrannical terrour compels his Collegues to a neceſſity of obedience; ſince every Biſhop according to the licence of his own liberty and power hath his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another, than he himſelf can judge another.*

Neque enim quiſquam noſtrûm Epiſcopum ſe eſſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus pro licentiâ libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, támque judicari ab alio non poſſit, quam nec ipſe poteſt alterum judicare. Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.

If any new Law were then introduced, or Rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of Biſhops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the reſt out of modeſty and peaceableneſs did yield compliance; according to that ſaying of the *Roman* Clergy to St. *Cyprian* (upon occaſion of the debate concerning the manner of admitting lapſed perſons to communion) *that Decree cannot be valid, that hath not the conſent of the major part.*

Quoniam nec firmum Decretum poteſt eſſe, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuiſſe conſenſum. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. (Epiſt. 31.)

The whole validity of ſuch Laws or Rules did indeed wholly ſtand upon preſumption of ſuch conſent; whereby the common liberty and intereſt was ſecured.

2. After that by the Emperors Converſion the Church enjoying ſecular protection and encouragement, did reduce it ſelf as into a cloſer union and freer communication of parts, ſo into a greater uniformity of practice; eſpecially by means of great Synods, wherein (the Governors and Repreſentatives of all Churches being called unto them and preſumed to concur in them) were ordained Sanctions, taken to oblige all. The Pope had indeed a greater ſtroke than formerly, as having the firſt place in order, or *privilege of honour* in Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, where he did concur; yet had no caſting vote, or real advantage above others: all things paſſing by majority of Vote: This is ſuppoſed as notorious in the acts of the Fifth Council: *This* (ſay they) *is a thing to be granted, that in Councils we muſt not regard the interlocution of one or two, but thoſe things which are commonly defined by all, or by the moſt.*

Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eâdem omnes cenſurâ & diſciplinæ conſenſione ſociati. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. Ep. 31.

Πρωτεῖα τιμῆς.

Illo certè conſtituto, quòd in conciliis non unius vel ſecundi interlocutionem attendere oportet, ſed hæc quæ communiter ab omnibus vel amplioribus definiuntur. Concil. 5. Collat. 6. p. 263.

So alſo in the Fifth Council, *George*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſaith, that *ſeeing every where the Council of the multitude, or of the moſt doth prevail, it is neceſſary to anathematize the perſons before mentioned.*

Ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἤτοι τῷ πολλῶν πανταχοῦ ἡ βελὴ κρείττων, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὀνόμασι τὰ λεχθέντα πέντε πρόσωπα ἀναθεματισθῆναι. VI. Syn. Act. 16. p. 249.

3. Metropolitan Biſhops in their Provinces had far more power, and more ſurely grounded, than the Pope had in the whole Church (for the Metropolitans had an unqueſtioned authority, ſettled by cuſtom, and confirmed by Synodical Decrees) yet had not they a negative voice in Synodical debates: for it is decreed in the *Nicene* Synod, that in the deſignation of Biſhops (which was the principal affair in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations) *plurality of votes ſhould prevail.*

Κρατείτω τὸ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Conc. Nic. Can. 6.

It is indeed there ſaid, that none ſhould be ordained χωρὶς γνώμης, *without the opinion of the Metropolitan*; but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the tranſaction ſhould not paſs in his abſence, or without his knowledge, advice and ſuffrage: for ſo the Apoſtolical Canon (to which the *Nice* Fathers there did allude and refer, meaning to interpret it) doth appoint, that the *Metropolitan* ſhould *do nothing* ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, *without the opinion of all*, that is without ſuffrage of the moſt, concluding all; (for ſurely that Canon doth not give to each one a negative voice.) And ſo the Synod of *Antioch* (held ſoon after that of *Nice*, which therefore beſt knew the ſenſe of the *Nicene* Fathers, and how the cuſtom went) doth interpret it, decreeing, that *a Biſhop ſhould not be ordained without a Synod, and the preſence of the Metropolitan of the Province*; in which Synod yet they determine, that *plurality of votes ſhould carry it*; no peculiar advantage in the caſe being granted to the *Metropolitan.*

Κατὰ κανόνα Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι. Apoſt. Can. 34.

Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι ἄνευ συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Syn. Ant. Can. 19.

——κρείττων τὸ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Ibid.

Κρατείτω τὸ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Syn. Nic. Can. 6.

Seeing therefore Provincial Synods were more ancient than General, and gave pattern to them; if we did grant the ſame Privilege to the *Pope* in *General* Synods, as the *Metropolitans* had in *Provincial* (which yet we cannot do with any good reaſon or ground) yet could not the Pope thence pretend to an authority of making Laws by himſelf.

4. It was then a paſſable opinion, that *He* as one, was in reaſon obliged to yield to the common judgment of his Collegues and Brethren; as the Emperor *Conſtantius* told Pope *Liberius*, that *the vote of the plurality of Biſhops ought to prevail.*

Τῶν γὰρ πλείονων Ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύειν ὀφείλει. Theod. 2. 16.

5. When Pope *Julius* did ſeem to croſs a rule of the Church, by communicating with perſons condemned by Synods, the Fathers of *Antioch* did *ſmartly recriminate againſt him, ſhewing they were not to receive Canons from him.*

Τοίνυν κοινῇ σφοδρότερον δὶ ἔριδος ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δικαίως μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. Socr. 2. 15.

6. So far was the Pope from preſcribing Laws to others, that he was looked upon as ſubject to the Laws of the Church no leſs than others; as the *Antiochene* Fathers did ſuppoſe, *complaining to Pope* Julius *of his tranſgreſſing the Canons*; the which charge he doth not repel by pretending exemption, but by declaring that he had not offended againſt the Canons, and retorting the accuſation againſt themſelves; as the *African* Fathers ſuppoſed, when they told Pope *Celeſtine*, that he could not admit perſons to communion, which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a Decree of the *Nicene* Synod; as the *Roman* Church ſuppoſed it ſelf, when it told *Marcian* that they could not receive him without leave of his Father who had rejected him. This the whole tenour of Eccleſiaſtical Canons ſheweth, they running in a general ſtyle, never excepting the Pope from the Laws preſcribed to other Biſhops.

Τίνας οὖν ἐροῦμεν κανόνας τοιοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψαντο —— P. Julii *Epiſt. apud* Athanaſ. *in Apol.* 2. p. 748.

Τί ἐκείνων οἱ ἔξω κανόνας παρέζαντες, ἡμᾶς, &c. p. 748.

Μηδὲ τοὺ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀκοινωνήτους &c. *Epiſt. ad* P. Celeſt. 1.

Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Epiph. *Hær.* 42.

7. The privilege of diſpenſing with Laws had then been a ſtrange hearing, when the Pope could in no caſe diſpenſe with himſelf for infringing them, without bringing clamour and cenſure upon him.

It was then a *Maxim* becoming the mouth of a Pope, *Univerſa pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit cuſtodiri, niſi ſua Canonibus reverentia intemerata ſervetur.* P. Leo I. *Ep.* 62.

The Tranquillity of an univerſal peace cannot otherwiſe be kept, unleſs due reverence be paid to the Canons.

8. It had indeed been a vain thing for Synods with ſo much trouble and ſolemnity to aſſemble, if the Pope without them could have framed Laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the reſults of them by diſpenſation.

P. Hil. *Ep.* 2. *N. B.*

9. Even in the growth of *Papal* Dominion, and after that the Seeds of *Roman* ambition had ſprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not Popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the univerſal Canons, or exemption from them; but pretended to be the chief obſervers, guardians, defenders and executors of them; or of the Rights and Privileges of Churches eſtabliſhed by them; for while any footſteps of ancient liberty, ſimplicity and integrity did remain, a claim of paramount or lawleſs Authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope *Zoſimus* I. denieth that he could alter the Privileges of Churches.

P. Innoc. I. *Ep.* 2. 12. P. Hil. *Ep.* 4. P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 9. *p.* 634. *Ep.* 13. *p.* 639. *De Anathem. p.* 645.

P. Zoſ. I. *Ep.* 7. (*ad Epiſc.* Vienn. & Narb.) *Conf.* 25. *Qu.* 1. *cap.* 7.

10. If they did talk more highly, requiring obſervance to their Conſtitutions, it was either in their own precinct, or in the Provinces where they had a more immediate juriſdiction, or in ſome corners of the *Weſt* where they had obtained more ſway, and in ſome caſes, wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience; for the Popes were commonly *wiſe in their generations*, accommodating their diſcourſe to the ſtate of times and places.

P. Siric. *Ep.* 1. Leo M. *Ep.* 1. *cap.* 5. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 9.

11. It is alſo to be obſerved, that often the Popes are ſuppoſed to ſpeak and conſtitute things by their own authority, which indeed were done by Synods, conſiſting of *Weſtern* Biſhops more cloſely adhering to that *See*, in regard to thoſe Regions; the Decrees of which Synods were binding in thoſe places, not ſo much by vertue of *Papal* authority, as proceeding from the conſent of their own *Biſhops*: how ready ſoever he was to aſſume all to himſelf, pretending thoſe Decrees as precepts of the *Apoſtolical See.*

P. Siric. *Ep.* 4. Ἅπασα καὶ δύσις σύνοδος. *Conc.* Eph. *p.* 332. Σύνοδοι ἀνέκαθεν τῇ συνόδῳ Ἀποστολικῇ ἕδρᾳ. *Syn. VI. Act.* 4. *p.* 60.

N. The Pope did in thoſe Councils aſk the *Placets*. P. Hil. *in Conc.* R. (*p.* 578.)

Whence

Whence all the Acts of modern Popes are invalid, and do not oblige, ſeeing they do not act in Synod; but only of their own Head, or with the advice of a few Partizans about them, men linked in common intereſt with them to domineer over the Church.

12. Yet even in the *Weſtern* Countries, in later times, their Decrees have been conteſted, when they did ſeem plainly to claſh with the old *Canons*, or much to derogate from the Liberties of Churches; nor have there wanted learned Perſons in moſt times, who ſo far as they durſt, have expreſſed their diſlike of this Uſurpation.

For although the Biſhop of Rome *be more venerable than the reſt that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the* Apoſtolical See, *yet it is not lawful for him in any caſe to tranſgreſs the order of Canonical governance; for as every Biſhop who is of the Orthodox Church, and the Spouſe of his own See, doth intirely repreſent the Perſon of our Saviour; ſo generally no Biſhop ought pragmatically to act any thing in anothers Dioceſe.*

Licèt namque Pontifex Romanæ Eccleſiæ ob dignitatem Apoſtolicæ Sedis cæteris in orbe conſtitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet tranſgredi in aliquo Canonici moderaminis tenorem, ſicut enim unuſquiſque Orthodoxæ Eccleſiæ Pontifex ac ſponſus propriæ Sedis uniformiter ſpeciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare Epiſcopi Diœceſi. Glab. Rod. 2. 4. *Vid.* Baron. *Ann.* 996. *ſect.* 22. 23.

13. In the times of Pope *Nicolas* I. *the* Greeks did not admit the *Roman* Decrees; ſo that Pope in an Epiſtle to *Photius* complains, *that he did not receive the Decrees of the Popes, whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Moſaical, and what the Law of Grace required.* And in another Epiſtle he expoſtulates with him for ſaying, that *they neither had nor did obſerve the Decrees made by the Holy Popes of the Prime See of the Roman Church.*

Circa Ann. 860.

Noli, quia Decreta ipſorum non ſuſceperis, amplius aſſeverare, cùm ipſi nihil niſi quod Naturalis, quod Moſaica, necnon & Gratiæ Lex juſſit, inſtituant. P. Nic. *I.* Ep. 11. (*ad* Phot.)

Decretalia autem quæ à Sanctis Pontificibus Primæ Sedis Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſunt inſtituta. —— cur vos non habere vel obſervare dicitis? *Id.* Ep. 6. (*ad* Phot.)

14. That which greatly did advance the Papal Juriſdiction, and introduced his Uſurpation of obtruding new Decrees on the Church, was the venting of the forged Decretal Epiſtles under the name of the Old Popes; which when the Pope did alledge for authorizing his practices, the French Biſhops, endeavouring to aſſert their Privilege, did alledge that *they were not contained in the whole body of their Canons.*

Vid. Hinom. *Quanquam quidam veſtrum ſcripſerint, haud illa decretalia priſcorum Pontificum in toto codicis Canonum corpore contineri deſcripta, &c.* P. Nic. *I.* Ep. 42. (*ad Gallia Epiſc.*)

15. The power of enacting and diſpenſing with Eccleſiaſtical Laws touching exteriour Diſcipline, did of old belong to the Emperor. And it was reaſonable that it ſhould; becauſe old Laws might not conveniently ſute with the preſent ſtate of things and the publick welfare; becauſe new Laws might conduce to the good of Church or State, the care of which is incumbent on him; becauſe the Prince is bound to uſe his power and authority to promote God's Service, the beſt way of doing which may be by framing Orders conducible thereto.

Accordingly the Emperors did enact divers Laws concerning Eccleſiaſtical matters, which we ſee extant in the *Codes* of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian.*

Theſe things (ſaith the Council of *Arles*) *we have decreed to be preſented to our Lord the Emperor, deſiring his clemency that if any thing be defective, it may be ſupplied by his prudence, if any thing be unreaſonable, it may be corrected by his judgment, if any thing be reaſonably ordered, it may by his help, the divine Grace aſſiſting, be perfected.*

Hæc —— Domino Imperatori præſentanda decrevimus, poſcentes ejus clementiam, ut ſiquid hic minus eſt, ejus prudentiâ ſuppleatur, ſi quid ſecus quàm ſe ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; ſi quid rationabiliter taxatum eſt, ejus adjutorio divinâ opitulante clementiâ perficiatur. Conc. Arel. 4. *c.* 26. *Ann.* 813. (*ſub* Carolo M.)

We may obſerve that Popes did allow the validity of Imperial Laws. Pope *Gregory* I. doth alledge divers Laws of divers Emperors concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs as authentick and obligatory Rules of practice.

P. Greg. *I.* Ep. 11. 56.

16. Divers Churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themſelves.

Such as the Church of *Cyprus* in the *Epheſine* Synod did claim and obtain the confirmation of.

Such was the ancient Church of *Britain*, before *Auſtin* came into *England.*

The Welſh *Biſhops are conſecrated by the Biſhop of St.* Davids, *and he himſelf in like manner is ordained by others who are as it were his Suffragans, profeſſing no manner of ſubjection to any other Church.*

Epiſcopi Walliæ à Menevenſi Antiſtite ſunt conſecrati, & ipſe ſimiliter ab aliis tanquam ſuffraganeis eſt conſtitutus, nullâ penitus alii Eccleſiæ factâ profeſſione vel ſubjectione. Girald. Cambr. *Itin.* 2. 1.

V. Sovereign power, immediately by it ſelf when it pleaſeth, doth exerciſe all parts of Juriſdiction, ſetting it ſelf in the Tribunal; or mediately doth execute it by others, as its Officers or Commiſſioners.

Bel. 2. 18. 26. Wherefore now the Pope doth claim and exerciſe Univerſal Juriſdiction over all the Clergy; requiring of them engagements of ſtrict ſubmiſſion and obedience to him; demanding that all cauſes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their cauſes; condemning, ſuſpending, depoſing, cenſuring them, or acquitting, abſolving, reſtoring them, as he ſeeth cauſe, or findeth in his heart; He doth encourage people to accuſe their paſtours to him, in caſe any doth infringe his Laws and Orders.

Per hoc illum de tota Eccleſia judicare. — P. Gelaſ. 1. *Ep.* 4.
Cunctos ipſe judicaturus à nemine eſt judicandus. Diſt. 40. cap. 6.
Cauſ. 2. qu. 7. cap 45. &c.
Sacra ſtatuta & veneranda decreta Epiſcoporum cauſas, utpote majora negotia noſtra definiendas cenſura mandarunt. P. Nic. 1. *Ep.* 38.

But (in general) that originally or anciently the Pope had no ſuch right appropriate to him, may appear by arguments, by croſs inſtances, by the inſufficiency of all pleas, and examples alledged in favour of this claim. For,

1. Originally there was not at all among Chriſtians any Juriſdiction like to that which is exerciſed in Civil Governments, and which now the papal Court doth execute. For this our Saviour did prohibit, and Saint *Peter* forbad the Presbyters

1 Pet. 5. κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων. And St. *Chryſoſtome* affirmeth the Epiſcopal power not to be αὐθεντία, or ἀρχή. And Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory doth inform us, that ſuch a Juriſdiction was lately introduced in the Church, as by other great Biſhops, ſo eſpecially by the Biſhop of *Rome*. *For* (ſaith *Socrates*) *from that time the Epiſcopacy of* Alexandria, *beyond the Sacerdotal Order, did aſſume a domineering power in affairs.*

Chryſ. *in* 1 Tim. 3. 1. *in* Eph. *Orat.* 11.
Hier. *Ep.* 3. & *Ep* 62.
Iſid. Peluſ. *Ep.* 20. 125. 4. 219.
Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ Ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς τὴν ἱερατικὴν τάξεως καὶ δυνασείαν ἦδη πράγμασιν ἤλασε τὴν ἀρχήν. Socr. 7. 7.

The which kind of power the *Roman* Biſhops had long before aſſumed; for (ſaith he) *the Epiſcopacy of* Rome, *in like manner as that of* Alexandria, *had already a great while ago gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the Prieſthood.*

——τὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπὴς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πρὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυνασείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθοῦσαν. Socr. 7. 11.

At firſt the Epiſcopal power did only conſiſt in Paternal admonition, and correption of offenders, exhorting and perſuading them to amendment; and in caſe they contumaciouſly did perſiſt in diſorderly behaviour, bringing them before the Congregation, and the cauſe being there heard and proved, with its conſent impoſing ſuch penance or correction on them as ſeemed needful for the publick good, or their particular benefit; *All things* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *ſhall be examined, you being preſent and judging.* And (elſewhere) *according to your divine ſuffrages; according to your pleaſure.*

1 Cor. 5. 4, 12. —— 2 Cor. 2, 6. ——
Examinabuntur ſingula præſentibus & judicantibus vobis. Cypr. *Ep.* 12. (*fratribus in plebe.*)
Secundùm veſtra divina ſuffragia. Cypr. *Ep.* 40.
Secundùm arbitrium quoque veſtrum. Ibid. (*Ep.* 46)
Tertull. *Apol.* 39. *ibidem.* ——

2. Originally no one Biſhop had any Juriſdiction over another, or authority to to judge his actions; as St. *Cyprian* (who well knew the current judgment and practice of his age) in many places doth affirm: who particularly doth reflect on the *Roman* Biſhop, for preſuming to cenſure his brethren, who diſſented from him: *Let us all* (ſaith he) *expect the judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who only hath power to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of what we do.*

Expectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi nos in Eccleſiam ſuam gubernatione & de actu noſtro judicandi. Cypr. *in Conc.* Carth.

3. Even the community of Biſhops did not otherwiſe take notice of, or intermeddle with the proceedings of any Biſhop in his precinct and charge; except when his demeanour did concern the general ſtate of the Church, intrenching upon the common faith, or publick order and peace.

In other caſes for one or more Biſhops to meddle with the proceedings of their brother, was taken for an ἀλλοτριεπισκοπία, a pragmatical intruſion upon another's buſineſs; and an invaſion of that Liberty which did belong to each Biſhop, by the grant of our Lord, and the nature of his Office.

As by thoſe paſſages of St. *Cyprian*, and the declaration of the *Synod* with him doth appear.

4. In caſes needing deciſion for the publick good of the Church, the Law and Cuſtom of the Church, confirmed by the *Nicene* Synod, did order, that Juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed, and all cauſes finally determined in each *Province*; ſo that no regard is had to the Pope, no exception in favour of him being expreſſed or implied.

Can. 5.

The

The which Conſtitution, if we believe Pope *Leo* himſelf, cannot in any caſe by any power be revoked or infringed.

In venerabilis Concilii Nicæni contumelia ſæpe verſatus, alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerariè rapuiſti. P. Felix Acacio. *apud* Baron. *Ann.* 484. *ſect.* 17.

That is moſt expreſly confirmed by the Synod of *Antioch*, in the Code of the Univerſal Church, *If any Biſhop accuſed of certain crimes ſhall be condemned by all the Biſhops in the province, and all ſhall unanimouſly vote againſt him, he ſhall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous ſentence of the Biſhops of the Province ſhall remain valid.*

Εἴτις Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι καταγορευθεὶς κειθείη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσι μίαν καὶ ταὐτὴν ἐξετάσκοιεν ψῆφον, τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἑτέρων δικάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν συμφωνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχίας Ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 16.

Here is no conſideration or exception from the Pope.

5. Accordingly in practice, Synods without regard or recourſe to the Pope, did judge Biſhops upon offences charged againſt them.

6. The execution of thoſe judgments was entruſted to *Metropolitan* Biſhops; or had effect by the peoples conſent; for it being declared that any Biſhop had incurred condemnation, the people did preſently deſert him.

Every Biſhop was obliged to confer his part to the execution; as Pope *Gelaſius* affirmeth.

Quod non ſolùm præſuli Apoſtolico facere licet, ſed cuicunque Pontifici, ut quoſlibet & quemlibet locum, ſecundum regulam hæreſeos ipſius ante damnatæ à Catholica communione diſcernant. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 4.

7. If the Pope had ſuch judicial power, ſeeing there were from the beginning ſo many occaſions of exerciſing it, there would have been extant in Hiſtory many clear inſtances of it, but few can be alledged; and thoſe (as we ſhall ſee) impertinent, or inſufficient.

8. Divers Synods (great and ſmaller) did make Sanctions contrary to this pretence of the Pope; appointing the deciſion of Cauſes to be terminated in each *Diocese*; and prohibiting appeals to him; which they would not have done, if the Pope had originally, or according to common law or cuſtom, a ſupreme judicial power.

9. The moſt favourable of the ancient Synods to Papal intereſt, that of *Sardica*, did confer on the Pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of cauſing Epiſcopal cauſes to be reviſed; which ſheweth that before he had no right in ſuch caſes; nor then had an abſolute power.

10. The Pope's power of judging Biſhops hath been of old diſclaimed, as an illegal and upſtart encroachment.

When the Pope firſt nibbled at this bait of ambition, St. *Cyprian* and his Biſhops did reprehend him for it.

The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* denied that Pope *Gelaſius* alone might condemn him; according to the Canons—The Pope ranteth at it, and reaſoneth againſt it; but hath no material argument or example for it, (concerning the Papal authority peculiarly) beſide the *Sardican* Canon.

Euphemium verò miror, ſi ignorantiam ſuam ipſe non perſpicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non poſſe damnari—P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 4. *Nobis opponunt Canones*—*Ib.*

11. The Popes themſelves have been judged for Miſdemeanour, Hereſie, Schiſm; as hereafter we ſhall ſhew.

12. The Popes did execute ſome judgments, only by a right common to all Biſhops; as Executors of Synodical Decrees.

Quod non ſolùm præſuli Apoſtolico facere licet. &c. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 4. (*ſupr. in arg.* 6.) *Vid. Epiſt.* 13.

13. Other Biſhops did pretend to judicature, by Privilege: as *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* did pretend that to him did belong the judgment of the Biſhop of *Antioch*.

Ἐγὼ τῷ Ἰουβενάλιῳ—τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἁγίας τῆς Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ὑπαρχῷ, καὶ τιμήσαι παρ' ὃ μάλιστα ἔχει αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιοχέων θεοφιλέστατον ἐξ Ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰδιότητος, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι. *Syn.* Eph. *Act.* 4. (p. 340.)

14. The Popes were ſubject to the Emperors; who when they pleaſed did interpoſe to direct or qualifie all juriſdictions; commanding the Popes themſelves——wherefore the Popes were not judges ſovereign, but ſubordinate.

Juſtin. *Nov.* 123. *cap.* 3. *Jubemus Epiſc. Rom.*

Pope *Gregory* I. did refer the great queſtion about the title of *Oecumenical Biſhop* to the judgment of the Emperor *Mauricius*.

——*poſcimus ut Dominus Mauritius ipſum illud negotium judicare dignaretur.* Greg. *Ep.* 4. 22.

Theſe

These things will more fully appear in the discussion of the particulars concerning the chief Branches of Jurisdiction; more especially under the Tenth *Branch* of Sovereignty.

Ἵνα μακεδόνιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἰσοστάσιον καθ' πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης παρέχει, κρίσεων καὶ συνοδείαν ἔχειν περὶ τε πίστεως, καὶ ἱερέων κείνων—*Act. Syn.* Chalc. p. 25.

They alledge that passage of *Valentinian* in his Epistle to *Theodosius*, *That the most blessed Bishop of* Rome, *to whom Antiquity hath given a Priesthood over all, hath a See and Power to judge both of Faith and Priests.*

This was suggested by Pope *Leo* and his adherents to the young Emperor—— but it signifieth no more, but that in the judgment of Priests (as of Faith) he was to have his share; or at most to be a leading person therein.

Ἵνα ὁ παρελθὼν συναχθέντων ἐν πάσῃ, τὴν οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων.—*Ibid.* p. 28.

Theodosius (a mature, grave, pious Prince) did not regard that pretence of *Leo*, nor the appeal of *Flavianus*.

Upon a Sovereign all Inferiour Magistrates depend.

VI. To the Sovereign of any State belongeth the Choice, Constitution, Confirmation, Commissionating of all inferiour Magistrates; that none uncapable, unworthy, or unfit for Offices, or disaffected to the State, be entrusted with the management of affairs.

Wherefore the Pope doth claim and exercise these Prerogatives so far as he can; pretending at least that no Bishop can be constituted without his designation, or his licence, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation or election.

Bell. 4. 24.

And these privileges by the great Advocates are upon the highest terms asserted to him.

In this matter may be distinguished,

1. The Designation of the Person by Election or otherwise.
2. The Confirmation of that.
3. The Ordination or Consecration of him to his Office; the which conferreth on him his Character and Authority.
4. The Authority by which he acteth.

Into all these the Pope hath intruded himself, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himself the collation and disposal of all Benefices, challenging a general right to dispose of all at his pleasure; but not having been able wholly to deprive Princes and Patrons of their Nominations, and Corporations of their Election; yet he hath by Reservations, Provisions, Collations of Vacancies *apud Sedem*, *Resignations, Devolutions, and other such tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage and mischief of Christendom.

Licet Ecclesiarum, Personatuum Dignitatum aliorumque Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur Pontificem pertinere, &c. Clem. *IV. in* Sexto *lib.* 3. *tit.* 4. *cap.* 2. *Vid. ib. c.* 4. 10. 12. 20. * *Ib. c.* 14. *&c.*

Although the plenary disposal of all Churches, Parsonages, Dignities and other Ecclesiastical Benefices be known to belong to the Pope of *Rome*, &c.

2. He pretendeth that no Bishop shall be ordained without his Licence.
3. He obligeth the Person Ordained to swear obedience to him.
4. He pretendeth that all Bishops are his Ministers and Deputies.

But no such Privileges have any foundation or warrant in Holy Scripture, in Ancient Doctrine, or in Primitive Usage: they are all Encroachments upon the original Rights and Liberties of the Church, derived from Ambition and Avarice; subsisting upon Usurpation, upheld by Violence.

This will appear from a Survey of Ancient Rules and Practices concerning this matter.

The first constitution after our Lord's decease of an Ecclesiastical person was that of *Matthias* into the vacant Apostolate, or *Bishoprick* of *Judas*; wherein (upon Saint *Peter*'s motion) *all the disciples* present did by consent *present two*; *out of whom God himself did elect one*, by determining the lot to fall upon *Matthias*; so that this designation being partly humane, partly divine; so far as it is humane, it went by free election of the whole fraternity; and Saint *Peter*, beside generally suggesting the matter to be done, did assume nothing peculiar to himself.

Act. 1. Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. V. 20.
Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο Vers. 23.
Ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξω. Vers. 24.

The next constitution we meet with is that of *Deacons* to assist the Apostles and Elders in discharge of inferiour Offices; wherein the Apostles did command the designation of the persons to the *multitude of the disciples*, who *elected them*; and *presented* them to the Apostles, who *by prayer, and laying on of hands did ordain them*. Nor had Saint *Peter* in this action any particular stroke.

Act. 6. 2. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν. καὶ ἐξελέξαντο. Vers. 5.

As

As to the Conſtitution of Biſhops, in the firſt Apoſtolical times the courſe was this; The Apoſtles, and Apoſtolical perſons (who were authorized by the Apoſtles to act with power, and in their ſtead) did in Churches founded by them conſtitute Biſhops, ſuch as divine inſpiration, or their grace of diſcretion did guide them to; So did Saint *John* in *Aſia*, *ſetting thoſe apart for the Clergy whom the Spirit had mark'd out.*

Καὶ καθίστησι κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην. Tit. 2. 5. Διακρίσεις πνευμάτων. 1 Cor. 12. 10. Κλήρου ἕνα γε κυλισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων σημαινομένων. Eus. 3. 23.

This was not done without the conſent of the Chriſtian people, as *Clemens Romanus* telleth us in his excellent *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*: But he doth not acquaint us (although he were himſelf Biſhop of *Rome*) that the Pope had any thing to do in ſuch Conſtitutions, or in Confirmations of them; *the whole Church* (ſaith he) *conſenting*; why doth he not add, for his own ſake, *and the Pope confirming*?

Τοὺς ἐν καταστάσει ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης Ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. Epiſt. p. 57.

In the next times, when thoſe extraordinary perſons and faculties had expired, when uſually the Churches planted were in ſituation ſomewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the Clergy and People of each Church did elect its Biſhop; in which action commonly the Clergy did propound and recommend a perſon, or perſons, and the people by their conſent approve, or by their ſuffrages elect one; a ſtrict examination of his Life and Doctrine intervening: the which Order *Tertullian* briefly doth intimate in thoſe words, *The Preſidents of the Church are certain Elders well approved, who have obtained that honour not by price, but by proof.*

Καὶ ἵνα δοκιμασθῶσιν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν, ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες. 1. Tim. 3. 10.

Præſident probati quique ſeniores, honorem iſtum non pretio, ſed teſtimonio adepti. Tertul. Apol. 39.

Plenâ diligentiâ, exploratione ſeverâ. Cypr. Ep. 68.

It may be enquired, how a Biſhop then was Ordained, in caſe his City was very remote from any other Churches?

Did they ſend for Biſhops from diſtant places to Ordain him? Or did the Presbyters of the place lay their hands on him? Or did he receive no other Ordination than that he had before of Presbyter? Or did he abide no Biſhop, till opportunity did yield Biſhops to Ordain him? Or did providence order, that there ſhould be no ſuch ſolitary Churches? The ancient *Commentatour*, contemporary to St. *Ambroſe*, and bearing his name, did conceive, that upon deceaſe of a Biſhop, the elder of the Presbyters did ſucceed into his place. * Whence had he this, out of his invention and conjecture, or from ſome Tradition and Hiſtory?

Primùm Presbyteri Epiſcopi appellabantur, ut recedente uno ſequens ei ſuccederet, &c. Vid. Diſt. 66. cap. 2.

At firſt Presbyters were called Biſhops, that one departing, the next might ſucceed him.

* In *Eph.* 4. 11.

Afterward, when the Faith was diffuſed through many Provinces, that Churches grew thick and cloſe, the general practice was this: The neighbour Biſhops (being advertiſed of a vacancy or want of a Biſhop) did convene at the place; then in the Congregation the Clergy did propound a perſon, yielding their atteſtation to his fitneſs for the charge; which the people hearing did give their ſuffrages, accepting him, if no weighty cauſe was objected againſt him; or refuſing him, if ſuch cauſe did appear: Then upon ſuch recommendation and acceptance, the Biſhops preſent did adjoin their approbation and conſent; then by their devotions, and ſolemn laying on of their hands, they did Ordain or Conſecrate him to the Function.

Of this courſe moſt commonly practiced in his time we have divers plain Teſtimonies in St. *Cyprian*, the beſt Author extant concerning theſe matters of ancient Diſcipline: *For which reaſon*, ſaith he, *that from divine tradition and Apoſtolical obſervation is to be obſerved and held, which alſo is with us, and almoſt through all Provinces, kept; that for duly celebrating Ordinations unto that people, for whom a Biſhop is ordained, all the neighbour Biſhops of the ſame* (Province or People) *ſhould reſort; and a Biſhop ſhould be choſen, the people being preſent, which moſt fully knoweth the life of each one, and hath from his converſation a thorough inſight into his practice; the which we ſee done with you in the Ordination of our Collegue* Sabinus, *that by the ſuffrage of all the Fraternity, and by the judgment of all the Biſhops, which had aſſembled in the preſence, and had ſent Letters to you about him, the Biſhoprick ſhould be deferr'd to him.*

Propter quod diligenter de traditione divinâ & Apoſtolicâ obſervatione obſervandum eſt & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque & fere per Provincias univerſas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpoſitus ordinatur, Epiſcopi ejuſdem proximi quique convenient, & Epiſcopus deligatur plebe præſente, quæ ſingulorum vitam pleniſſimè novit, & unuſcujuſque actum de ejus converſatione perſpexit; quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ noſtri ordinatione, ut de univerſæ fraternitatis ſuffragio, & de Epiſcoporum, qui in præſentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio Epiſcopatus ei deferretur. Cypr. Ep. 68.

Again,

Again, *A People obedient to the Lord's commands, and fearing God, ought to ſeparate it ſelf from a wicked Biſhop* (ſuch a notoriouſly wicked Biſhop as thoſe were of whom he treateth, who had renounced the Faith) *and not to mingle it ſelf with the ſacrifices of a ſacrilegious Prieſt; ſeeing eſpecially that it hath a power either to chuſe worthy Prieſts, or to refuſe thoſe who are unworthy; the which alſo we ſee to deſcend from divine authority, that a Biſhop ſhould be choſen, the people being preſent, before the eyes of all; and that he who is worthy and fit ſhould be approved by publick judgment and teſtimony.*

Plebs obſequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens, à peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet, nec ſe ad ſacrilegi Sacerdotis ſacrificia miſcere; quando ipſa maximè habet poteſtatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi; quod & ipſum videmus de divina auctoritate deſcendere; ut Sacerdos plebe præſente ſub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac teſtimonio comprobetur——Cypr. Ep.

Again, *when* (ſaith he concerning himſelf) *a Biſhop is ſubſtituted in the place of one deceaſed, when he is peaceably choſen by the ſuffrage of all the people*—and *whom, if according to the divine inſtructions, the whole Fraternity would obey, no Man would move any thing againſt the College of Prieſts; none after the divine judgment; after the ſuffrage of the people, after the conſent of the fellow-Biſhop, would make himſelf judge not indeed of the Biſhop, but of God.*

Suffragio totius populi Cyprianus eligitur. Oprat. 1.

Cæterùm quando Epiſcopus in locum defuncti ſubſtituitur, quando populi univerſi ſuffragio in pace deligitur——*Cui ſi ſecundum magiſteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas univerſa, nemo adverſum Sacerdotum Collegium quidquam moveret; nemo poſt divinum judicium, poſt populi ſuffragium, poſt coepiſcoporum conſenſum, judicum ſe jam non Epiſcopi ſed Dei faceret*——Cypr. Ep. 55.

Again, Cornelius *was made Biſhop by the judgment of God and his Chriſt, by the teſtimony of almoſt all the Clergy, by the ſuffrage of the people being then preſent, and by the College of Prieſts, ancient and good men*—and, Cornelius *being in the Catholick Church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the ſuffrage of the Clergy and People.*

Factus eſt autem Cornelius Epiſcopus de Dei, & Chriſti ejus judicio, de Clericorum penè omnium teſtimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, ſuffragio, & de Sacerdotum antiquorum & honorum virorum Collegio—Cypr. Ep. 52.

Cornelio in Catholica Eccleſia de Dei judicio, & Cleri ac plebis ſuffragio ordinato—— Cypr. Ep. 67.

Again, *When a Biſhop is once made, and is approved by the teſtimony and the judgment of his Collegues, and of the People*——.

Epiſcopo ſemel facto, & Collegarum ac plebis teſtimonio & judicio comprobato—— Ep. 41. (ad Cornel.)

The Author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions thus in the perſon of Saint *Peter* very fully and clearly deſcribeth the manner of Ordination of Biſhops in his times: *After one of the chief Biſhops preſent has thus prayed, the reſt of the Prieſts with all the people ſhall ſay, Amen; and after the prayer, one of the Biſhops ſhall deliver the Euchariſt into the hands of the perſon ordained, and that morning he ſhall be placed by the reſt of the Biſhops in his Throne, all of them ſaluting him with a kiſs in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epiſtles, the Acts and Goſpel, he who is ordained ſhall ſalute the Church with theſe words, The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen. And let all anſwer, And with thy ſpirit. After which words let him exhort the people.*

Conſt. Apoſt. 8. 4. *Poſtquam hæc erit precatus, &c.*

Thus it was then, in practice ſo obvious and obſervable, that a *Pagan* Emperor took good notice of it, and choſe to imitate it in conſtituting the Governors of Provinces, and other Officers; *When* (ſaith *Lampridius* of *Alexander Severus*) *he would either give rulers to Provinces or make preſidents, or ordain procurators, he ſet up their names, exhorting the people, if they had any thing againſt them, to prove it by manifeſt evidence; if they could not make their accuſation good, they were to die for it: and he ſaid 'twould be hard not to do that in the choice of Governors of Provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were entruſted, which the Chriſtians and Jews did in ſetting up thoſe who were to be ordained Prieſts.*

Ubi aliquos voluiſſet vel rectores Provinciis dare, vel præpoſitos facere, vel procuratores, id eſt rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans, populum, ut ſiquid haberet criminis probaret manifeſtis rebus; ſi non probaſſet, ſubiret pœnam capitis; dicebátque grave eſſe quum id Chriſtiani & Judæi facerent in prædicandis Sacerdotibus qui ordinandi ſunt, non fieri in Provinciarum Rectoribus, quibus & fortuna hominum committerentur & capita. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. cap. 45.

Afterward in proceſs of time, when (the gaps of diſtance being filled up, and Chriſtendom being one continued Body) Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline was improved into a more compleat ſhape, for Conſtitution of a Biſhop, all the *Biſhops* of a *Province* did convene, (or ſuch as could with convenience, the others ſignifying their mind by writing) and having approved him who was recommended by the Clergy, and allowed by the People, they did ordain him; the *Metropolitan* of the *Province* ratifying what was done.

Παλαιὰς διατάξεις. Syn. Conſtantinop. Theod. 5. 9.

So the *Nicene* Synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, did appoint, with a qualification to be generally obſerved: *It is moſt fit* (ſay they) *that a Biſhop be conſtituted by all Biſhops in the Province, but if this be hard, either becauſe of urgent neceſſity,*

Ἐπίσκοπον πρέπει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι—

length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together (those also who are absent conspiring in opinion, and yeilding their consent in writing) let the Ordination be performed, but let the ratification of what is done be assigned to the Metropolite in each Province.

τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι κατ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ—— Conc. Nic. Can. 4.
Vid. Can. Apost. 1.
Conc. Antioch. Can 19.
Conc. Laod. Can. 12.——
Conc. Afr. Can. 13.

In this Canon (the which is followed by divers Canons of other Synods) there is no express mention concerning the interest of the Clergy and people in election of the Bishops; but these things are only passed over, as precedaneous to the Constitution or Ordination, about which only the Fathers did intend to prescribe; supposing the election to proceed according to former usual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the Canon, so that the Fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, doth appear from their *Synodical Epistle*; wherein they decree concerning Bishops constituted by *Meletius*, who returning to communion with the Church did live in any City, that, *If any Catholick Bishop should happen to die, then should those who were already received ascend into the honour of him deceased, in case they should appear worthy, and the people should chuse them, the Bishop of* Alexandria *withal adding his suffrage to them, and his confirmation*; the which words with sufficient evidence do interpret the Canon not to concern the election, but the ordination of Bishops.

Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοιαῦτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος τὸν ἄξιον φαινομένους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱρεῖται, συνεπιψηφιζομένου αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἐπίσκοπον. Socr. 1. 9. Theod. 1. 9.

Thus the *Fathers* of the *second General Synod* plainly did interpret this Canon by their proceeding; for they in their *Synodical Epistle* to Pope *Damasus* and the *Western Bishops*, did assure them, that they in the Constitution of Bishops for the principal *Eastern* Sees, had followed this Order of the Synod of *Nice*, together with *the ancient law of the Church*; in agreement whereto they had ordained *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*; *with common consent, under the eyes of the most religious Emperor* Theodosius, *and of all the Clergy, the whole City adjoining also its suffrage*; and that for *Antioch, the Bishops of the Province, and of the Eastern Diocese concurring had canonically ordained* Flavianus *Bishop, the whole Church consenting as with one voice to honour the person.* Theod. 5. 9.

Παλαιὸς τε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ὁ Νικαίων πατέρων ὅρος—— Οἷς ἀκολούθως——
——μὴ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας. ὑπ' ὄψεσι καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, παντὸς τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.
——Ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἱ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

Indeed the practice generally doth confirm this, the people every where continuing to elect their Bishop: So did the People of *Alexandria* demand *Athanasius* for their Bishop. So Pope *Julius* did complain that *Gregory* was intruded into the place of *Athanasius*; *not being required by the Presbyters, not by the Bishops, not by the People.* So *Gregory Nazianzene* describeth the Elections of Bishops in his times to be carried by the power of wealthy men, and impetuousness of the people. So *Austin* intimateth the same in his Speech about designation of a Successor to himself, *I know*, says he, *that after the decease of Bishops the Churches are wont to be disturbed by ambitious and contentious men.* So the tumults at *Antioch*, in chusing a Bishop after *Eustathius*; at *Rome* after *Liberius*; at *Constantinople* after *Alexander*; at *Milain* when St. *Ambrose* was chosen.

Ath. *Apol.* 2. p. 76.

Μὴ αἰτηθέντα τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' Ἐπισκόπων, μὴ ὑπὸ λαῶν. Ath. *ibid.* p. 749.
Orat. 19. p. 310.
Epist. 21.

Scio post obitus Episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere Ecclesias perturbari—— Aust. Ep. 110.

Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. 3. 59, 60.
Socr. 1. 23.
Μετεδίει τῷ πλήθει——
Sozom. 6. 23. Marcell. *lib.* 27.
Διχῇ διακεκρίσθαι τὸ πλῆθος——
Socr. 1. 24. Soz. 3. 4. Theod. 4. 6.

So *Stephanus* Bishop of *Ephesus* in justification of himself saith, *Me forty Bishops of* Asia, *by the suffrage of the most noble and substantial Citizens, and of all the most reverend Clergy, and of all the rest of the whole City, did Ordain*; and his Competitor *Bassianus*, *Me, with great constraint and violence, the people and the Clergy, and the Bishops did instal.*

Ἐμὲ τεσσαράκοντα Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ παντὸς κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν. Conc. Chalc. *Act.* 11. p. 404.
Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐνδεχομένῳ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν Ἔφεσον ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, καὶ οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι. *Ibid.*

In the Synod of *Chalcedon*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Ancyra* saith, that *the whole City of* Gangra *did come to him, bringing their suffrages. Possidius* telleth us of St. *Austin*, that *in ordaining Priests and Clergy-men he deemed the greater consent of Christians, and the custom of the Church, was to be followed.*

Ἅπασα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν, καὶ ἐκόμισαν τὰ ψηφίσματα, *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 16. p. 462.

In ordinandis verò Sacerdotibus & Clericis consensum majorem Christianorum, & consuetudinem Ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur. Possid. *in* Aug. *Vit. cap.* 20.

Nullus invitis detur Epiſcopus; Cleri, plebis & ordinis conſenſum ac deſiderium requiratur — Celeſt. I. Ep 2.

Cùm ergo de ſummi Sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur quem Cleri plebisque conſenſus concorditer poſtulârit; ita ut ſi in aliam forte perſonam partium ſe vota diviſerint Metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui meritis & ſtudiis juvatur & meritis tantùm ut nullis invitis, & non petentibus ordinetur; ne civitas Epiſcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit & ſit minùs religioſa quàm convenit cui non licuit habere quem voluit. P. Leo I. Ep. 84. ad Anaſtaſ.

Nulla ratio ſinit, ut inter Epiſcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis ſunt electi, nec à plebibus expetiti nec à Provincialibus Epiſcopis cum Metropolitani judicio conſecrati. P. Leo I. Ep 92.

Expectarentur certè vota Civium teſtimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio Clericorum quæ in Sacerdotum ſolent ordinationibus ab his qui norunt Patrum regulas cuſtodiri. P. Leo. Ep. 89. Diſt. cap. 27.

Quam per pacem, & Deo placitam concordiam conſonis, omnium ſtudiis, qui doctor pacis futurus eſt, ordinatur. Ibid.

Per pacem & quietem Sacerdotes qui præfuturi ſunt poſtulentur; teneatur ſubſcriptio Clericorum, honoratorum teſtimonium, ordinis conſenſus & plebis; qui præfuturus eſt omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. Ibid.

P. Nich. I. Ep. 5. *Quia conſuetudinem veſtram novimus in Regia Urbe, minimò apicem Archieraticæ poteſtatis aliquem poſſe habere ſine Eccleſiaſticæ plebis aſſenſu, atque Imperiali ſuffragio.*——

P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 70. Diſt. 62.

So *Celeſtine* the First: *Let no Biſhop be given them againſt their wills; let the conſent and requeſt of the Clergy, the people and the order be expected;* and Pope *Leo* the First, *When there ſhall be an election of a Biſhop, let him be preferr'd who has the unanimous conſent of the Clergy and people; ſo that if the votes be divided, and part for another perſon, let him, by the judgment of the Metropolitan, be preferr'd whoſe merits and intereſts are greateſt, only that none may be ordained againſt their wills or without their deſire, leſt the unwilling people contemn or hate a Biſhop whom they never deſired, and become leſs religious than they ought, becauſe they could not have ſuch a Biſhop as they would.* And in other of his Epiſtles, *There is no reaſon that they ſhould be accounted Biſhops, who were neither choſen by the Clergy, nor deſired by the people, nor with the Metropolitan's order conſecrated by the Provincial Biſhops.*——

Certainly the deſires of the Citizens, and the teſtimonies of the people ſhould have been expected, with the judgment of the honourable and the choice of the Clergy, which in the Ordinations of Prieſts uſe to be obſerv'd by thoſe who knew the rules of the Fathers—When peaceably and with ſuch concord as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by agreement of all—— Let Prieſts who are to be ordained be required peaceably and quietly: let the ſubſcription of the Clergy, the teſtimony of the honourable, the conſent of the order and people be obſerved; let him who is to preſide over all, be choſen by all. And Pope *Nicholas* I. *Becauſe we know the cuſtom of your Royal City, that none can arrive at the top of the higheſt Prieſtly power without the aſſent of the Eccleſiaſtical people, and the Emperor's ſuffrage.*

Now in all theſe proceedings it is moſt apparent, that there was no regard had to the Pope, or any thought of him, out of his particular Territory; which he had as *Metropolitan*, (or afterwards as *Primate* in ſome parts of the *Weſt.*) No where elſe had he the leaſt finger in the Conſtitution of a Biſhop any where through the whole Church; no not of the leaſt Clergy-man.

Vid. P. Leo *Ep.* 84. 101. 107.

When by Saint *Cyprian* ſo largely and punctually the manner of Conſtituting Biſhops is declared; when the *Nicene* Canons and thoſe of other Synods do ſo carefully preſcribe about the Ordination of them; when ſo many reports concerning the Election of Biſhops do occur in Hiſtory, why is there not a tittle of mention concerning any ſpecial intereſt of the *Roman* Biſhops about them?

Nihil tam opus erat Apoſtolicâ confirmatione; ſatis erat electionem ab Archiepiſcopo comprobari; nunc ad ſe omnium Eccleſiarum jura traxit Romana Eccleſia. Crantz. Metrop. 7. 45.

So true is that of *Alb. Crantzius*: *There was no need then of Apoſtolical confirmation, it was ſufficient if the Election were approv'd by the Archbiſhop: now the Church of* Rome *has aſſum'd to her ſelf the rights of all Churches.*

We may by the way obſerve, that in the firſt times he had not ſo much as an abſolute power of ordaining a *Presbyter* in the Church of his own City, without leave of the Clergy and People; as may be inferred from that paſſage in *Euſebius*, where Pope *Cornelius* relateth that the Biſhop who ordained *Novatus*, *being hindred from doing it by all the Clergy and by many of the Laity, did requeſt that it might be granted to him to ordain that one perſon*; and he that ſo hardly could ordain one Prieſt in his own Church, what authority could he have to conſtitute Biſhops in all other Churches?

Διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαικῶν πολλῶν ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. P. Cornel. apud Euſ. 6. 43.

To all theſe Evidences of Fact our Adverſaries do oppoſe ſome Inſtances of Popes medling in the Conſtitution of Biſhops; as Pope *Leo* I. ſaith, that *Anatolius* did *by the favour of his aſſent obtain the Biſhoprick of* Conſtantinople. The ſame Pope is alledged as having confirmed *Maximus* of *Antioch*. The ſame doth write to the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* (his Vicar) that he ſhould *confirm the Elections of Biſhops by his authority*. He alſo confirmed *Dio-*

Bell. 2. 18. 20.

Satis eſt quòd veſtræ pietatis auxilio, & mei favoris aſſenſu Epiſcopatum tantæ Urbis obtinuit. P. Leo. Ep. 54.

De Marc. 3. 14. *ſect.* 1.

Ut ordinationem rite celebrandam tua quoque firmet authoritas. P. Leo. Ep. 84. (ad Anaſtaſ.)

nerius

natus an *African* Bishop,- *we will that* Donatus *preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his Faith.* Also *Gregory* I. doth complain of it as of an inordinate Act, that a Bishop of *Salonæ* was *ordained without his knowledge.* Pope *Damasus* did confirm the Ordination of *Peter Alexandrinus*; *The Alexandrians* (saith *Sozomen*) *did render the Churches to* Peter *being returned from* Rome *with the Letters of* Damasus, *which confirmed both the* Nicene *Decrees, and his Ordination*: But what, I pray, doth Confirmation here signifie but approbation; for did he otherwise confirm the *Nicene* Decrees? did they need other Confirmation?

Donatum —— ita Dominico volumus gregi præsidere, ut libellum fidei suæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum —— P. Leo. Ep. 87.

Salonitanæ Civitatis Episcopus, nec ac responsali meo nesciente, ordinatus est, & facta res est, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principiis venit. Greg. Ep. 4. 34.

Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐπανελθόντι ἤδη τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου, τότε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα καὶ αὐτῷ χειροτονίαν κυρώσαντος, παρέδοσαν τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Sozom. 6. 39.

To the former Instances we answer, that being well considered they do much strengthen our Argument; in that they are so few, so late, so lame, so impertinent; for if the Pope had enjoyed a power of constituting Bishops, more instances of its exercise would havebeen producible; indeed it could not be but that History would have been full of them; the constitutions of Bishops being a matter of continual use, and very remarkable. At least they might have found one instance or other to alledge before the time of that busie Pope *Leo*; in whose time, and by whose means Papal Authority began to overflow its banks. And those which they produce do no-wise reach home to the point; *Anatolius* did obtain the Bishoprick of *Constantinople by the help of the Emperor, and by the assent of the Pope's Favour:* what then? *Anatolius* being put into that *See* in the room of *Flavianus*, by the influence of *Dioscorus* (whose Responsal he had been) and having favoured the *Eutychian* Faction, Pope *Leo* might thence have had a fair colour to disavow him as uncapable of that Function and Dignity, he being so obnoxious; both having such a flaw in his Ordination, and having been guilty of great faults, adherence to the party of *Dioscorus*, and irregularly ordaining the Bishop of *Antioch*; but he *out of regard to the Emperor's intervention* did acknowledge *Anatolius* for Bishop; this was the *favourable assent*, with which he upbraideth *Anatolius*, having displeased him: and what doth this signifie?

Nos enim vestræ fidei & interventûs habentes intuitum, cùm secundùm sua consecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipsum quàm justiores esse voluimus. —— P. Leo. Ep. 55. (ad Martianum.)

Decessoris enim tui B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defensionem Catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immeritò credebatur quòd ordinatores tui contra Sanctorum Canonum Constituta viderentur sui similem consecrâsse —— *Post illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia* —— P. Leo Ep. 53. ad Anatol. Lib. cap. 12.

Again, Pope *Leo* did not reject *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* from communion, nor disclaimed his Ordination, although liable to exception: what then; is this a confirmation of him? No such matter; it was only (which in such a vixonly Pope was a great favour) a forbearance to quarrel with him, as not duly ordained; which any other Bishop might have done. If a Pope had a flaw in his Ordination, another Bishop might refuse him.

Quod nos amore paranda fidei, & paris studio retractare cessavimus. P. Leo Ep. 54. (ad Martian.) *Conc. Chalc. Act.* 10.

Again, Pope *Leo* did enjoin the Bishop of *Thessalonica* to confirm Ordinations: what is that to the purpose? It belonged to that Bishop, as a *Metropolitan*, by the Canons to confirm those in his *Province*, or as a *Primate*, to confirm those in his *Dioceses*; It belonged to him as the Pope's Vicar in those Territories, to which the Pope had stretched his Jurisdiction, to execute the Pope's Orders; but what is this to Universal Authority? It is certain, that *Illyricum* was then in a more special manner subjected to the Pope's Jurisdiction, than any of the other *Eastern* Churches; what therefore he did there, cannot be drawn into consequence as to other places.

The same may be said in answer to the complaint of Pope *Gregory*, and to any the like Instances.

Moreover, surreptitious, presumptuous, pragmatical intrusions, or usurpations of power do not suffice to found a right in this or any other case; to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such Pleas, these Observations may be considered.

There do occur divers Instances of Bishops, who did meddle in Ordinations of other Bishops so as to bear great stroke in constituting them; who did not thereby pretend to Universal Jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence [illegible] they had any reasonable claim thereto.

Thus it was objected to *Athanasius*, *that he presum'd to ordain in Cities which did not belong to him.* Eusebius *of* Constantinople did obtrude *Eusebius Emissenus* to be Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Eustathius* of *Antioch* did ordain *Evagrius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Euzoius* delivered unto *Lucius* the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*. *Lucifer*, a *Sardinian* Bishop, did ordain *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*; they for a *Salvo* say, as the Pope's Legate, but upon what ground or testimony? why did not Historians tell us so much? the Pope had then been hissed at, if he had sent Legates about such errands; it was indeed out of presumption and pragmatical Zeal to serve a Party, then ordinary in Persons addicted to all Parties, right and wrong; it not being then so expressly forbidden by the Canons as afterward.

Ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπῆγον, ὡς ἐν πόλεσι μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαις χειροτονεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. Soz. 3. 21.

Ἐπὶ τῆ Ἀλεξανδρείας περιβλήθη θρόνον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπισκόπου. Soz. 2. 5. Socr. 4. 14.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐξήσαντος Λουκίου τὴν Ἀρειανῶν τὰς ἐκεῖ Ἐκκλησίας. Socr. 4. 21.

Ἐχειροτόνησε δὲ Παυλῖνον Ἐπίσκοπον. Socr. 3. 6. Socr. 6. 2.

Soz. 2. 6.

Θεόγνιδι καὶ Ἰουνίλῳ ἐχειροτόνησε. Socr. 6. 2.

Τούτου κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν Ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέστησαν ὁ τότε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φυγαδευθέντες. Soz. 7. 9.

Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἐνθρονισάντων αὐτόν. Socr. 2. 13.

Ἦδη πρώην εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γεηγορείου κατάστασιν ἀριθμῷ. Soz. 7. 2. 3.

Ἀκακίῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πατρόφιλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξωθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν. Socr. 2. 238.

Post consecrationem Antiocheni Episcopi, quam tibimet contra Canonicam regulam vendicâsti —— P. Leo. *I. Epist* 53. (*ad* Anatol.)

2. To obviate these irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the dissensions in Faith, and especially upon occasion of *Gregory Nazienzene* being constituted Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Meletius*, and *Maximus* being thrust into the same *See* by the *Egyptians* (whose Party for a time the *Roman* Church did countenance) the second General *Synod* did ordain, that no Bishop should intermeddle about Ordinations without the bounds of his own *Diocese*.

3. In pursuance of this Law, or upon the ground of it, the Pope was sometimes checked, when he presumed to make a sally beyond his bounds in this or the like cases.

As when Pope *Innocent I.* did send some Bishops to *Constantinople* for procuring a Synod to examine the cause of St *Chrysostome*; *those of* Constantinople —— *did cause them to be dismissed with disgrace, as molesting a Government beyond their bounds.*

Τοὺς μὲν ἐπαρχείας ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐνοχλήσαντας ἀτίμως ἀπεμβλῆσαι παρεσκεύασαν. Sozom. 6. 28.

4. Even in the *Western* Parts, after that the Pope had wrigled himself into most Countries there, so as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in Ordinations; —*we do not*, says Pope *Leo* I. *arrogate to our selves a power of ordaining in your Provinces.*

Non enim nobis ordinationes vestrarum Provinciarum defendimus. P. Leo Ep. 89.

Even in some parts of *Italy* it self the Pope did not confirm Bishops till the times of Pope *Nicholas I.* as may be collected from the submission then of the Bishop of *Ravenna* to that condition, *that he should have no power to consecrate Bishops canonically elected in the* Regio Flaminia, *unless it were granted him by Letters from the Apostolical See.*

—& ne electos etiam Canonice in Flaminia Episcopos consecrandi facultatem haberet, nisi id sibi à Sede Apostolica literis concederetur. Plat. *in* P. Nichol. I.

And it was not without great opposition and struggling, that he got that power other-where than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things did afford him special advantage.

5. If Examples would avail to determine Right, there are more, and more [illegible] Instances of Emperors interposing in the Constitution of Bishops, than of Po[illegible]. As they had ground in Reason, and authority in Holy Scripture. *And Z[illegible] the Priest did the King put in the room of* Abiathar.

1 King. 2. 35.

Eusеb. *de Vit* Const. 3. 59, 60.

Περσάξαι δὲ τὰ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγγενέσθαι χάριν τὰς περσαγορίας ἂν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζωσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξίους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυλάξαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ εἰς τὴν [illegible] *tine* did interpose at the designation of a Bishop at [illegible] in the room of *Eustathius*. Upon *Gregory Nazianze[illegible]*'s recess from *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* (that excellent Emperor who

who would not have infringed right) *did command the Biſhops preſent to write in paper the names of thoſe whom each did approve worthy to be ordained, and reſerved to himſelf the choice of one*; and accordingly they obeying, he out of all that were nominated *did elect* Nectarius. * Conſtantius *did deliver the See of* Conſtantinople *to* Euſebius Nicomedienſis. ‖ *Conſtantius* was angry with *Macedonius*, becauſe he was ordain'd *without his licence.* † He *rejecting* Eleuſius *and* Sylvanus *did order others to be ſubſtituted in their places.* * When, before St. *Ambroſe*, the *See* of *Milain* was vacant, a Synod of Biſhops *there did intreat the Emperor to declare one.* † *Flavianus* ſaid to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, *Give forſooth, O King, the See of* Antioch *to whom you ſhall think good.* ‖ The Emperor did call *Neſtorius* from *Antioch* to the *See* of *Conſtantinople*; and he was (ſaith *Vincentius Lir.*) *elected by the Emperor's judgment.* The favour of *Juſtinian* did advance *Menas* to the *See* of *Conſtantinople*: and the ſame did prefer *Eutychius* thereto. He did put in Pope *Vigilius.*——

In *Spain* the Kings had the Election of Biſhops by the Decrees of the Council of *Toledo.*

That the Emperor *Charles* did uſe to confirm Biſhops Pope *John* VIII. doth teſtifie, reproving the Archbiſhop of *Virdun*, for rejecting a Biſhop, *whom the Clergy and people of the City had choſen, and the Emperor* Charles *had confirmed by his conſent.*

When *Macarius* Biſhop of *Antioch* for *Monothelitiſm* was depoſed in the ſixth Synod, the Biſhops under that throne did requeſt the Preſidents of the Synod to ſuggeſt another to the Emperor to be ſubſtituted in his room.

In *Gratian* there are divers paſſages wherein Popes declared, that they could not ordain Biſhops to Churches, even in *Italy*, without the Emperor's leave and licence. As * indeed there are alſo in later times other Decrees (made by Pop s of another kidney, or in other junctures of affairs) which forbid Princes to meddle in the elections of Biſhops; as in the ſeventh Synod, and in the eighth Synod as they call it, upon occaſion of *Photius* being placed in the See of *Conſtantinople* by the power of the Court. † And that of Pope *Nicholas* I. By which Diſcordance in practice we may ſee the conſiſtence and ſtability of Doctrine and Practice in the *Roman* Church.

The Emperors for a long time did enjoy the privilege of conſtituting or confirming the Popes: for, ſays *Platina* in the Life of *Pelagius* II. ‡ *nothing was then done by the Clergy in electing a Pope, unleſs the Emperor approv'd the election.* He did confirm P. *Gregory* I. and P. *Agatho.*

Pope Adrian *with his whole Synod did deliver to* Charles *the Great the right and power of electing the Pope, and ordaining the Apoſtolick See—He moreover defined that Archbiſhops and Biſhops in every Province ſhould receive inveſtiture from him; and that if a Biſhop were not commended and inveſted by the King, he ſhould be conſecrated by none; and whoever ſhould act againſt this Decree, him he did nooſe in the band of anathema.*

The like privilege did Pope *Leo* VIII. attribute to the Emperor *Otho* I. *We give him,* ſays he, *forever power to ordain Succeſſor and Biſhop of the chief Apoſtolick See, and change Archbiſhops,* &c. And *Platina*, in his Life, ſays, *That being weary of the inconſtancy of the* Romans, *he transferr'd all authority to chuſe a Pope from the Clergy and people of* Rome *to the Emperor.*

Now, I pray, if this power of confirming Biſhops do by Divine Inſtitution belong to the Pope, how could he part with it, or transfer it on others? Is not this a plain renunciation in Popes of their Divine pretence?

6. Ge-

διήσιν —— ᾧ Νεκτάριον αἱρεῖται. Sozom. 7. 8.

* Εὐσεβίῳ δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρέδωκεν. Sozom. 3. 4.

‖ Ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχεσεποιήθη. Soz. 3. 6.

† Τὰς μὲν ἐξέλασε τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καθιεροῦσθαι προσέταξε. Theodor. 2. 27.

* Αὐτὸν ἡ συνοδικὴ ἐξεῖς ψηφισαμένη —— Theod. 4. 7.

† Τοι γάρ τοι δὸς ᾧ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον ὦ βασιλεῦ —— Theod. 5. 23.

‖ *Viſum eſt Imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Conſtantinopolitana Eccleſia Pontificem——*

Neſtorium quaſi utilem ad docendum Conſtantinopolin Principes evocaverunt. Lib. Brev. 6. Socr. 7. 29.

Quem tanto Imperii judicio electum tanto Sacerdotum ſtudio profectum—— Vinc. Lir. *p.* 330.

Tunc Papa principii favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit Antiſtitem. Lib. cap 21.

——Ἀνεβίβασε τὸν Εὐτύχιον. Evag. 4. 38.

Conc Tolet. 12. *cap.* 6. *apud Gr. Diſt.* 63 *cap.* 25.

Quem Clerus & populus Civitatis elegerat, piæque memoriæ Carolus Imperator ſuo conſenſu firmaverat—— P. Joh. VIII. *Ep.* 70.

Αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξότητα τῇ ἀναγκαίᾳ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ᾧ——ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἕτερον ἀντὶ Μανσὴλ, διὰ τὸ μὴ χρεώδειν τοιοῦτον θρόνον. *Syn. VI. Act.* 12. (*p.* 208.)

* *Diſt.* 63. *cap.* 9. Greg. I. *Ep.* 4. 15.
cap 15.
cap. 16. 17. 18.
P. Leo. *IV. &* Steph.
Diſtinct. 63. *c.* 6. 7. *Diſtinct.* 63. *c.* 1, 2.

† *Ibid. cap.* 4.

[It is a notorious thing, that moſt Princes in the *Weſt*, as *Germany*, *France*, *England*, did inveſt Biſhops, till the time of Pope *Gregory* VII. when that boiſterous man did raiſe ſo much ſtir in Chriſtendom to diſpoſſeſs them of that right; which they enjoyed not only as Princes, but as Founders, Patrons, Benefactours, Protectours of Churches.]

‡ *Nihil à Clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat, niſi ejus electionem Imperator approbâſſet.* Plat. *in* Pelagio II. (*p* 154.)

Diſtinct. 63. Plat. *p.* 155.

Vid Joh. Diac. *&* Anaſtaſ.

Diſt. 63. *cap.* 21.

Hadrianus autem Papa cum univerſa Synodo tradiderunt jus & poteſtatem eligendi Pontificem, & ordinandi Apoſtolicam Sedem ——Inſuper Archiepiſcopos & Epiſcopos per ſingulas Provincias ab eo inveſtituram accipere definivit; & niſi à Rege laudetur & inveſtiatur Epiſcopus, à nemine conſecretur; & quicunque contra hoc decretum egerit, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit. Diſtinct. 63. *cap.* 22.

Largimur in perpetuum facultatem ſucceſſorem atque ſummæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ Pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc Archiepiſcopos ſeu Epiſcopos &c. Diſtinc. 63 *cap.* 23.

Qui ſtatim Romanorum inconſtantiæ pertæſus authoritatem omnem eligendi Pontificis à Clero populoque Romano ad Imperatorem tranſtulit —— Plat. *in* Leo *VIII. p.* 291.

Conc. Chyt. Seſſ. 4c.
Conc. Eph. Seſſ. 32. (p. 98.)
Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου ἐπικυρωθέντα — Theod. 5. 9.

6. General Synods by an authority paramount have aſſumed to themſelves the conſtitution and confirmation of Biſhops. So the Second General Synod did confirm the Ordination of *Nectarius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, (*this Ordination*, ſay they, *the Synod generally have admitted*) although the *Roman* Church did not approve the Ordination of *Nectarius*, and for a long time after did oppoſe that of *Flavianus*. So the Fifth Synod it ſeemeth did confirm the Ordination of *Theophanius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. So the Synod of *Piſa* did conſtitute Pope *Alexander* V. that of *Conſtance* Pope *Martin* V. that of *Baſil* Pope *Felix* V.

7. All Catholick Biſhops in old times might and commonly did confirm the Elections and Ordinations of Biſhops, to the ſame effect as Popes may be pretended to have done; that is, by ſignifying their approbation, or ſatisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their Faith, the atteſtation of their Manners, the legality of their Ordination, no canonical Impediment; and conſequently by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and correſpondence in all good Offices, which they expreſs by returning κοινονικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ in anſwer to their Synodical—communicatory Letters.

Thus did St. *Cyprian* and all the Biſhops of that Age confirm the Ordination of Pope *Cornelius*, being conteſted by *Novatian*; as St. *Cyprian* in terms doth affirm, *When the See of St.* Peter, *the Sacerdotal Chair was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied, and by all our conſents confirm'd*, &c.—*to confirm thy Ordination with a greater authority.*

Cùm locus Petri & gradus Cathedræ Sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate; atque omnium noſtrum conſenſione firmato. Cypr. Ep. 52. (*ad* Anton.)
Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam factam authoritate majore — Ep. 45. *ad* Corn.

To which purpoſe, each Biſhop did write Epiſtles to other Biſhops (or at leaſt to thoſe of higheſt rank) acquainting them with his Ordination and Enſtallment, making a profeſſion of his Faith, ſo as to ſatisfie them of his capacity and function.

8. But Biſhops were complete Biſhops before they did give ſuch an account of themſelves; ſo that it was not in the power of the Pope, or of any others to reverſe their Ordination; or diſpoſſeſs them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any ſuch matter: this is plain; and one inſtance will ſerve to ſhew it; that of Pope *Honorius*, and of *Sergius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who ſpeak of *Sophronius Patriarch* of *Jeruſalem*, that he was conſtituted Biſhop before their knowledge, and receipt of his Synodical Letters.

Ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν ὅτι Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθεὶς πρεσβύτερος ὕπω γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτῷ συνοδικὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα. Syn. VI. Act. 12. 198.
Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν Ἐπισκόπου καθεσταθῆναι τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν — P. Honor. Ib. 198.

9. If the deſignation of any Biſhop ſhould belong to the Pope, then eſpecially that of *Metropolitans*, who are the chief Princes of the Church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In *Africk* the moſt ancient Biſhop of the *Province* (without election) did ſucceed into that dignity. Where the *Metropoles* were fixed, all the Biſhops of the *Province* did convene, and with the conſent of the Clergy, Perſons of Quality, and the commonalty did elect him*. So was St. *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Carthage* elected. So *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, as the Fathers of *Conſtantinople* tell us. So *Stephanus* and *Baſſianus*, rival Biſhops of *Epheſus*, did pretend to have been choſen, as we ſaw before.

* *Metropolitano defuncto cùm in locum ejus alius fuerit ſubrogandus, Provinciales Epiſcopi ad Civitatem Metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium Clericorum atque omnium Civium voluntate diſcuſſâ ex Presbyteris ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, vel ex Diaconibus optimus eligatur.* P. Leo Ep. 88.

The Metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the Provincial Biſhops ought to meet in the Metropolitan City, that by the Votes of the whole Clergy and Citizens, out of the Prieſts or Deacons of the ſame Church, the fitteſt perſon may be choſen.

And for Confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any; except that Confirmation of which we ſpake, a conſequent approbation of them from all their fellow-Biſhops, as having no exception againſt them, rendring them unworthy of communion. In the Synod of *Chalcedon* it was defined that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould have equal Privileges with the Biſhop of *Rome*; yet it is expreſly cautioned there, that he ſhall not meddle in Ordination of Biſhops in any *Province*, that left to the *Metropolitan*——For a good time, even in the *Aſtern* Parts the Pope did not meddle with the Conſtituti *Metropolitans*; leaving the Churches to enjoy their Liberties. Afterwards all other Rights, he ſnatched the *Collation*, *Confirmation*, &c. of *Metropolita*

Μηδὲν ἐπισκοπεῖσθω τὰς ἐπαρχίας χειροτονίας τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος —— Act. 16. p. 464.
Tid. Concil Aur. Can. 7.
Apud de Marc. VI. 4. ſect. 8.

VI. 8.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to Censure and Correct all inferiour Magistrates in proportion to their Offences: and in case of great Misdemeanor or of Incapacity, they can wholly discharge and remove them from their Office.

This Prerogative therefore *He* of *Rome* doth claim as most proper to himself, by Divine Sanction. *Vid.* Gelas. *Ep.* 1 (*p.* 642.)

God Almighty alone can dissolve the spiritual marriage between a Bishop and his Church—Therefore those three things premised (the Confirmation, Translation and Deposition of Bishops) *are reserved to the* Roman *Bishop, not so much by Canonical Constitution, as by Divine Institution.*

Ideò tria hæc quæ præmissimus non tam Constitutione Canonica, quàm Institutione Divinâ soli sunt Romano Pontifici reservata. P. Innoc. III. in Gregor. Decret. Lib. 1. Tit. 7. cap. 2.

This power the Convention of *Trent* doth allow him; thwarting the ancient Laws, and betraying the Liberties of the Church thereby, and endangering the Christian Doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of Papal Interest.

Causæ criminales graviores contra Episcopos, etiam hæresis, quod absit, quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantùm summo Romano Pontifice cognoscantur, & terminentur. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 24. *cap.* 5.

But such a Power anciently did not, by any Rule, or Custom, in a peculiar manner belong to the *Roman* Bishop.

Ἐπίσκοπον καθαιρεῖ πάντα τὰ κληρικὰ ἄξιον ὄντα καθαιρέσεως, πλὴν Ἐπισκόπου, μόνου δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε. Const. *Ap.* 8. 28.

A Bishop may depose any Clerk who deserves it, except he be a Bishop, whom to deprive, one Bishop alone is not sufficient.

Premising what was generally touched about Jurisdiction: in reference to this Branch we remark,

1. The exercising of Judgment and Censure upon Bishops (when it was needful for general good) was prescribed to be done by Synods; Provincial, or Patriarchal (Diocesan.) In them, Causes were to be discussed, and Sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from Faith, or committed Misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the Synod of *Nice*; as the *African* Synod (wherein St. *Austin* was one Bishop) did observe, and urge in their *Epistle* to Pope *Celestine*; in those notable words, *Whether they be Clergy of an inferiour degree, or whether they be Bishops, the* Nicene *decrees have most plainly committed them to the Metropolitans charge, for they have most prudently and justly discerned that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they do first begin; and that the grace of the holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular Province.* The same Law was enacted by the Synod of *Antioch*, by the Synods of *Constantinople*, *Chalcedon*, &c. *Syn.* Nic. *Can* 5.

Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus Clericos, sive ipsos Episcopos suis Metropolitanis apertissimè committerunt: prudentissimè enim justissimèque viderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt, finienda; nec unicuique Provinciæ gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam. Syn. Afr. *Ep. ad P.* Celest. *I.*

Syn Ant. *Can.* 15.

Thus was *Paulus Samosatenus* for his error against the Divinity of our Lord, and for his scandalous demeanour, deposed by the Synod of *Antioch*. (*Ann* 296.) Euseb. 7. 30.

Thus was *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* (being accused of *Sabellianism* and of other faults) removed by a Synod of the same place; the which Sentence he quietly did bear: Thus another *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* (for his uncouth Garb, and fond Conceits against Marriage) was discarded by the Synod of *Gangra*. Thus did a Synod of *Constantinople* abdicate *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, for heterodoxy in the point concerning our Lord's Divinity. For the like cause was *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium* deposed by a Synod there, *gathered by the Emperor's command*. So was *Athanasius* tryed, and condemned (although unjustly as to the matter and cause) by the Synod of *Tyre*. So was St. *Chrysostome* (although most injuriously) deposed by a Synod at *Constantinople*. So the Bishops at *Antioch* (according to the Emperor's order) deposed *Stephanus* Bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*.

Socr. 1. 24. Ἡσυχῇ τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἤνεγκε. Soz. 2. 9. Socr. 2. 43. Soz. 3. 14. Socr. 1. 36. Socr. 2. 29. Socr. 2. 28. Theod. 2. 10.

In all these Condemnations, Censures and Depositions of Bishops (whereof each was of high rank and great interest in the Church) the Bishop of *Rome* had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. All the proceedings did go on supposition of the Rule, and Laws, that such Judgments were to be passed by Synods.

St. *Chrysostome* δεκαπέντε Ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν ---- *Deposed fifteen Bishops.* *Act.* 11. *Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 411. *Hæc* § *cum jungenda.*

2. In some cases a kind of deposing of Bishops was assumed by particular Bishops, as defenders of the Faith, and executors of Canons; their Deposition consisting in not allowing those to be Bishops, whom for erroneous Doctrine, or disorderly Behaviour (notoriously incurred) they deemed incapable of the Office, presuming their places *ipso facto* void.

Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι σεαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνενέργητον πρὸς πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἱερατικῆς. P. Celest. *in* Nest. *Sent.* Eph. *Act. p.* 195.

This

This Pope *Gelasius* I. proposed for a Rule, *That not only a Metropolitan, but every other Bishop hath a Right to separate any persons or any place from the Catholick Communion, according to the rule by which his heresy is already condemned.* And upon this account did the Popes for so long time quarrel with the See of *Constantinople*, because they did not expunge *Acacius* from the roll of Bishops, who had communicated with Hereticks. So did Saint *Cyprian* reject *Marcianus* Bishop of *Arles* for adhering to the *Novatians*. So *Athanasius* was said to have deposed *Arian* Bishops, and substituted others in their places. So *Acacius* and his Complices deposed *Macedonius*, and divers other Bishops. And the Bishops of those times καθεῖλον ἀλλήλους, factiously applying a Rule taken for granted then, *deposed one another*: So *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* deposed *Athanasius*. So *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* threatned to depose *Alexander* of *Constantinople*, if he would not admit *Arius* to communion. **Acacius* and his Complices did *extrude Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. †He also deposed and *expelled Cyril* of *Jerusalem*: *and deposed many other Bishops at *Constantinople*. ‖*Cyril* deposed *Nestorius*, and *Nestorius* deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*. *Cyril* and *Juvenalis* deposed *John* of *Antioch*. * *John* of *Antioch* with his Bishops deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*. †Yea, after the Synod of *Ephesus*; *John* of *Antioch*, *gathering together many Bishops*, *did depose* Cyril. *Stephanus* concerning *Bassianus*; *because he had entered into the Church with Swords*——*therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy Fathers*, *both by* Leo *of* Rome *the Imperial City*, *and by* Flavianus; *by the Bishop of* Alexandria, *and also by the Bishop of* Antioch. *Anatolius* of *Constantinople* did reject *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*. *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* did reject *Petrus Fullo*.

Quod enim solum præsuli Apostolico facere licet, &c. [illegible] Pontifici, ut quoslibet & quemlibet [illegible] secundum regulam hæreseos ejus ante damnatæ, à Catholica communione abjiciat. Ep. 4.

Ἐκτὸς ὢν τοῦ ἐπὶ κακοδοξίᾳ συνεστάναι ἑτέρας ἀρχὴν Ἐκκλησίας, ἢ ἰδίαν αὐτῷ ὄνομα περιφέρειν. Conc. Sard. (p. 16.)

Cypr. Ep. 67.

† Socr. 2. 24.

Πάντα τὰ παλαιὰ διατέλει αὐτῷ, κἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθαιρέσεως δίκην, εἰ μὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται τὸν Ἄρειον. Socr. 2. 27.

Ἀναθεματίσαντες. Socr. 2. 38.

† Theod. 2. 26.

* Sozom. 4. 24.

‖ Socr. 7. 34.

Κύριλλος ἡ ἅμα τῷ Ἰουβεναλίῳ, ἀμυνόμενος τὸν Ἰωάννην καθαιρεῖ καὶ αὐτόν. Ibid.

* Ἡ ἁγία συνοδος——τοῦτον μὲν καθαιρεῖ διὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα. Μέμνονα δὲ ὡς συνεργὸν αὐτῷ. Act. Syn. Eph. p. 280.

Ὡς τῷ κανόνι ὑγιεμόνας καθελεῖν ἐναπεδάτησεν. Ibid. p. 320.

† Ἰωάννης ὁ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ πολλὰς συναγαγὼν Ἐπισκόπους καθαιρεῖ Κύριλλον, ἀφ' ἧς καθῆφθο τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Socr. 7. 34.

Ἐπεὶ δὲν αὐτὸς ἐπεξῆλθε τὴν ἁγιωτάτην Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ ξιφῶν——ἐξώσθη διὰ τοῦτο ὑφὸ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ὑφὸ τε τῆς ὁσιότητος τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Ῥώμης Λέοντος, καὶ τῆς μακαριωτάτης Φλαυιανοῦ—καὶ ὑφὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ ὑφὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Syn. Chalc. Act. 11. p. 405.

Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίοις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξεώσατο αὐτόν. Ibid. p. 406.

Baron. Ann. 457. Sect. 34.

P. Felix. III. Ep. 4.

3. St. *Cyprian* doth assert the power of Censuring Bishops, upon needful and just occasion, to belong to all Bishops for maintenance of common Faith, Discipline and Peace.

Therefore, (saith he, writing to Pope *Stephanus* himself) *dear Brother, the body of Bishops is copious, being coupled by the glue of concord, and the band of unity, that if any of our College shall attempt to frame a heresie, to tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the rest may succour, and like useful and merciful Shepherds may gather together the Sheep of our Lord into the Flock.*

Ideireo enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum, concordiæ vinctus glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex Collegio nostro hæresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare, & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, & quasi pastores utiles & misericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant. Cypr. Ep. 67. (ad Steph.)

Ἀκολούθως ταῦτα ὑφὸ πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ——ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φρουτίδι συνεχόμεθα οἱ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην τῇ ἐκείνου διαδοχῇ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου κηρύττοντες——&c. Conc. Eph. Act. 2. p. 324.

Τοιγαροῦν φειδόμεθα ὅτι, καὶ πρέπειν ὅπως καμάτῳ κοινῷ τὰ ἐμπιστευθέντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἕως τοῦ νῦν συνεβέντα φυλάξωμεν. Ibid. p. 325.

The like Doctrine is that of Pope *Celestine* I. in his Epistle to the *Ephesine* Synod.

Vid. Hier. 67. & 78.

In matter of Faith any Bishop might interpose Judgment.—*Theophilus* did proceed to condemn the *Origenists* without regard to the Pope,

Epiphanius did demand satisfaction of *John* of *Jerusalem*.

4. This common right of Bishops in some cases is confirmed by the nature of such Censures, which consisted in disclaiming Persons notoriously guilty of Heresie, Schism or Scandal; and in refusing to entertain communion with them; which every Bishop, as entitled to the common Interests of Faith and Peace, might do.

Cypr. Ep. 67. Ὅσοι ὑφὸ τοῦ ὀπὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν Πατέρων τύπος διαπράττων, ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγκοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ὀπτίμια. Thalass. in Syn. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 191.

Ἔχειν γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην μεμνημένην τῆς παλαιῶν ὑφοδόσεων μηδένα συγχωρεῖν τὰ κεκωλυμένα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις τολμηρὸς φανείη, πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναντιοῦσθαι. P. Agapet ad Petr. Hier. (p. 24.)

5. Indeed in such a case every Christian had a right (yea an obligation) to desert his own Bishop. So *John* of *Hierusalem* having given suspicion of Error in Faith, * St. *Epiphanius* did write Letters to the Monks of *Palestine* not to communicate

Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν τοῖς θείοις κανόσιν ἐναδίκοις ἀρχιερεῦσιν μόνον ἁρμόττειν, τοῖς δὲ ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἐ μόνον ἠρωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ Ὀρθοδόξῳ χειστιανῷ. Menas (Tom. 4. p. 10.)

municate with him, till they were ſatisfied of his Orthodoxy. Upon which account St. *Hierome* living in *Paleſtine* did decline communication with the *Patriarch* thereof; asking him if it *were any where ſaid to him or commanded, that without ſatisfaction concerning his Faith, they were bound to maintain communion with him.* So every Biſhop, yea every Chriſtian hath a kind of Univerſal Juriſdiction.

Plebi, &c. *Deum metuens* —— } Cypr. Ep. 68.
Vid. P. Nich. 1. Ep. 8. (p. 56.)
* *Cunctis monachis ab eodem Epiphanio ſcripta venerunt, ut abſque ſatisfactione fidei nullius ei temerè communicaret.* Hier. Ep. 61. (*ad* Pammach.) *cap.* 15.
Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatum eſt, quòd ſine ſatisfactione fidei communionem tuam ſubiremus? *Ibid.*
Quòd tibi non communicemus, fidei eſt. *Ibid. cap.* 16.

6. If any Pope did aſſume more than was allowed in this caſe by the Canons, or was common to other Biſhops of his rank, it was an irregularity and an uſurpation. Nor would Examples, if any were producible, ſerve to juſtifie them; or to ground a right thereto, any more than the extravagant proceedings of other pragmatical and factious Biſhops in the ſame kind (whereof ſo many inſtances can be alledged) can aſſert ſuch a power to any Biſhop.

Theophilus. John of Antioch, Dioſcorus.

7. When the Pope hath attempted in this kind, his power hath been diſavowed as an illegal, upſtart pretence.

8 Other Biſhops have taken upon them, when they apprehended cauſe, to diſcard and depoſe Popes. So did the *Oriental* Faction at *Sardica* depoſe Pope *Julius* for tranſgreſſing, as they ſuppoſed, the Laws of the Church, in foſtering Hereticks, and criminal Perſons condemned by Synods. So did the Synod of *Antioch* threaten Depoſition to the ſame Pope. So did the Patriarch *Dioſcorus* make ſhew to reject Pope *Leo* from communion. So did St. *Hilary* anathematize Pope *Liberius.*

Novam legem, &c. Vid. de Conc. Sard. Soz. 3. 11. Soz. 3. 8. Evag. 2. 4. Hilar. *fragm.*

9 Popes, when there was great occaſion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmoſt power, have not yet preſumed by themſelves, *without joint authority of Synods,* to condemn Biſhops; ſo Pope *Julius* did not preſume to depoſe *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia,* his great Adverſary, and ſo much obnoxious by his patronizing *Arianiſm.* Pope *Innocent* did not cenſure *Theophilus* and his Complices, who ſo irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St. *Chryſoſtome,* although much diſpleaſed with them; but endeavoured to get a General Synod to do the buſineſs. Pope *Leo* I. (although a man of ſpirit and animoſity ſufficient) would not, without aſſiſtance of a Synod, attempt to judge *Dioſcorus,* who had ſo highly provoked him, and given ſo much advantage againſt him, by favouring *Eutyches,* and perſecuting the Orthodox.

An qui in hominum Imperatorem peccâſſe dicebantur, nullâ interveniente Synodo deſiti deberunt? P. Gelaſ. 1. Ep. 18.

Indeed often we may preſume that Popes would have depoſed Biſhops, if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, ſo that they could have expected ſucceſs in their attempting it. But they many times were angry when their Horns were ſhort, and ſhewed their Teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by Popes jointly with others, or in Synods, (eſpecially upon advantage, when the cauſe was juſt and plauſible) is not to be aſcribed to the authority of Popes as ſuch. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority: ſo the Synod of *Sardica* (not Pope *Julius*) caſhiered the Enemies of *Athanaſius*; ſo the Synod of *Chalcedon* (not Pope *Leo*) depoſed *Dioſcorus*; ſo the *Roman* Synod (not Pope *Celeſtine*) checked *Neſtorius*; and that of *Epheſus* depoſed him. The whole *Weſtern* Synod (whereof he was Preſident) had a great ſway.

Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὸς τετύπωκε. Cyril. *ad* Joh. Ant. *Conc.* Eph.—*p.* 197. 332. *Syn p.* 11.

60. Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, ἢ ἡ σύνοδος αὐτῆς. Conſt. *Sacra in Syn. VI. p.* 11.
Ἀγάθων Ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πάσαις ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀνωτάσας τὴν συνόδῳ τὸ Ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ.——*Ibid. p.* 60.
Ἀνάσους χρὴ δύσιν συνόδου. *Act.* Eph. *p.* 332.
Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio à me, & ab his qui ſub me conſtituti Epiſcopales Sedes gubernare noſcuntur——
P. Felix. *ad* Petrum Antioch. *apud* Baron. *Anno* 483. Sect. 68.

11. If Inſtances were Arguments of Right, there would be other pretenders to the depoſing power. Particular Biſhops would have it, as we before ſhewed.

12. The People would have the power; for they have ſometimes depoſed Popes themſelves, with effect.

So of Pope *Conſtantine Platina* telleth us, *at length he is depoſed by the people of* Rome, *being very much provoked by the indignity of the matter.*

Tandem à Sede deficitur à populo Romano irâ & indignitate rei percito. Plat. *p.* 223. P. Leo VIII. *p.* 291. Anaſtaſius Plat. *p.* 131.

13. There are many Inſtances of Biſhops being removed or depoſed by the *Imperial* Authority. This power was indeed neceſſarily annexed to the *Imperial* Dignity; for all Biſhops being Subjects of the Emperor, he could diſpoſe of their perſons, ſo as not to ſuffer them to continue in a place, or to put them from it, as they demeaned themſelves to his ſatisfaction or otherwiſe, in reference to publick utility. It is reaſonable, if they were diſloyal or diſobedient to him, that he ſhould not ſuffer them to be in places of ſuch influence, whereby they might pervert the people to diſaffection. It is fit that he ſhould deprive them of temporalties.

The example of *Solomon* depoſing *Abiathar*.

Conſtantine M. * *commanded* Euſebius *and* Theogonius *to depart out of the Cities over which they preſided as Biſhops.*

* Τὰς ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ πόλεις. Soz. 1. 21. Τότε μὲν ἔτυχε καθαιρεθῆναι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξηλάθησαν. Theodor. 1. 20.

He threatned *Athanaſius* to depoſe him —— ἐὰν γὰρ γνῶ τινὰς αὐτῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μᾶλλον συμβῆναι ἢ ἀπέρξαι τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος, ἀφαιρήσομαι τὰ καθαιρήσαντά σε ἐξ ἐμῆς κελεύσεως, καὶ τὸν τόπον μεταστήσω. Socr. 1. 27. Athanaſ. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 778.

Τὸν Παῦλον σχολάζειν ἐκέλευσεν. Socr. 2. 7. Τὸν δὲ ἔκδοτον ἡ ἀνανεωθεῖσα ἐν Ἀρειμίνῳ πίστις ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰταλίαν Ἐκκλησίας ἐκπέμπειν, πεπαῦσθαι τοῦ μὴ βιαιοῦσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα αὐτῇ, ἐξεῖναι δὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτὸν ἕτερον ἀντικαθίστασθαι. Socr. 2. 37.

Constantius depoſed *Paulus* of *Conſtantinople*.

Conſtantius ejected all that would not ſubſcribe to the Creed of *Ariminum*.

Evag. 2. 11. *Lib. cap.* 15. P. Leo I. *Epiſt.* 99.

The Emperor *Leo* depoſed *Timotheus Ælurus*, for which Pope *Leo* did highly commend and thank him.

The Emperors diſcarded divers Popes.

Conſtantius baniſhed Pope *Liberius*, and cauſed another to be put in his room.

Otho put out *John* the Twelfth.

Lib. cap. 22. Evag. 4. 41.

Juſtinian depoſed Pope *Silverius*, and baniſhed Pope *Vigilius*.

Evag. 4. 11.

Juſtinian baniſhed *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, extruded *Anthimus* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Theodoſius* of *Alexandria*.

Neither indeed was any great Patriarch effectually depoſed without their power or leave.

Flavianus was ſupported by *Theodoſius* againſt the Pope.

Dioſcorus ſubſiſted by the power of *Theodoſius* Junior.

Εἰ φίλοιτο τῷ θειοτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ. *Act.* 2. *p.* 202.

The Depoſition of *Dioſcorus* in the Synod of *Chalcedon* was voted with reſerve of, *If it ſhall pleaſe our moſt ſacred and pious Lord.*

In effect, the Emperors depoſed all Biſhops which were ordained beſide their general Laws: as *Juſtinian* having preſcribed conditions and qualifications concerning the Ordinations of Biſhops, ſubjoineth, *But if any Biſhop be ordained without uſing our forementioned conſtitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his Biſhoprick.*

Si quis autem citra memoratam obſervationem Epiſcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis Epiſcopatu depelli. Juſtin. *Novell.* 123. *cap.* 1.

14. The Inſtances alledged to prove the Pope's Authority in this caſe, are inconcludent and invalid.

They alledge the caſe of *Marcianus* Biſhop of *Arles*; concerning whom (for abetting *Novatianiſm*) St. *Cyprian* doth exhort Pope *Stephanus*, that he would direct Letters to the Biſhops of *Gaul*, and the people of *Arles*, that he being for his ſchiſmatical behaviour removed from communion, another ſhould be ſubſtituted in his room.

Cypr. *Ep.* 67. *Dirigantur in Provinciam & ad plebem Arelate conſiſtentem litera quibus abſtento Marciano alius in ejus locum ſubſtituatur* ——

The *Epiſtle*, grounding this Argument, is queſtioned by a great Critick; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, ſeeing it hath the ſtyle and ſpirit of St. *Cyprian*, and ſuiteth his Age, and I ſee no cauſe why it ſhould be forged; wherefore omitting that defence, I anſwer, that the whole matter being ſeriouſly weighed, doth make rather againſt the Pope's cauſe than for it; for if the Pope had the ſole or ſovereign Authority of rejecting Biſhops, why did the *Gauliſh* Biſhops refer the matter to St. *Cyprian?* why had *Marcianus* himſelf a recourſe to him?

St. *Cyprian* doth not aſcribe to the Pope any peculiar Authority of Judgment or Cenſure, but a common one, which himſelf could exerciſe, which all Biſhops might exerciſe. *It is* (ſaith he) *our part to provide and ſuccour in ſuch a caſe*; for *therefore is the body of Prieſts ſo numerous*, that—*by joint endeavour they may ſuppreſs Hereſies and Schiſms.*

Cui rei noſtrum eſt conſulere, & ſubvenire ——

Idcirco copioſum eſt corpus Sacerdotum —— *Quando ipſe eſt ab univerſis Sacerdotibus judicatus* ——

The

The caſe being ſuch, St. *Cyprian* earneſtly doth move Pope *Stephanus* to concur in exerciſe of Diſcipline on that Schiſmatick; and to proſecute effectually the buſineſs by his Letters; perſuading his fellow-Biſhops in *France*, *that they would not ſuffer* Marcianus *to inſult over the College of Biſhops*; (for to them it ſeemeth the tranſaction did immediately belong)

Facere te oportet planiſſimas literas ad coepiſcopos noſtros in Galliis conſtitutos, ut ad urbem Arelatum Marcianum Collegio noſtro inſultare patiantur.——

To do thus St. *Cyprian* implieth and preſcribeth to be the Pope's ſpecial duty, not only out of regard to the common Intereſt, but for his particular concernment in the caſe; that Schiſm having been firſt advanced againſt his Predeceſſors.

Multo magis tu——

St. *Cyprian* alſo (if we mark it) covertly doth tax the Pope of negligence, in not having ſoon enough joined with himſelf and the community of Biſhops in cenſuring that Delinquent.

Quod nedum videatur a te abſentus.

We may add, that the Church of *Arles* and *Gaul*, being near *Italy*, the Pope may be allowed to have ſome greater ſway there, than otherwhere in more diſtant places; ſo that St. *Cyprian* thought his Letters to quicken Diſcipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

Theſe things being duly conſidered, what advantage can they draw from this Inſtance? doth it not rather prejudice their cauſe, and afford a conſiderable objection againſt it?

We may obſerve, that the ſtrength of their argumentation mainly conſiſteth in the words *quibus abſtento*, the which (as the drift of the whole *Epiſtle*, and parallel expreſſions therein do ſhew) do ſignifie no more, than *quibus efficiatur ut abſtento*, which may procure him to be excommunicated, not *quæ contineant abſtentionem*, which *contain excommunication*, as *P. de Marca* gloſſeth; although admitting that ſenſe, it would not import much, ſeeing only thereby the Pope would have ſignified his conſent with other Biſhops; wherefore *de Marca* hath no great cauſe to blame us, that we do *not deprehend any magnificent thing in this place for the dignity of the Papal See*; indeed he hath, I muſt confeſs, better eyes than I, who can ſee any ſuch mighty things there for that purpoſe. Marc. 7. 1. 6.

As for the ſubſtitution of another in the room of *Marcianus*, that was a conſequent of the excommunication; and was to be the work of the Clergy and people of the place: for when by the common judgment of Catholick Biſhops any Biſhop was rejected, the people did apply themſelves to chuſe another.

I adjoin the Reſolution of a very learned writer of their communion, in theſe words.

In hac Marciani Epiſcopi Arelatenſis cauſa, ſi jus abſtinendi ſive excommunicandi competebat ſoli Epiſcopo Romano cur Fauſtinus Epiſcopus Lugdunenſis Cypriano Epiſcopo Carthaginienſi longe diſſito ſemel atque iterum ſignificat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipſe Fauſtinus & alii ejuſdem Provinciæ Epiſcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, & omnium Epiſcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuiſſe aut per negligentiam Stephani; aut quod magis videtur, per diſciplinam quæ tunc in Eccleſia vigebat, ut omnes quidem in circumpoſitis locis, ſed præſertim Urbium clariſſimarum Epiſcopi in commune conſulerent Eccleſiæ, viderentque nè quid detrimenti res Chriſtiana Catholica caperet. Itaque ſuper iſto Marciani Arelatenſis facinore, Lugdunenſem Epiſcopum ad Romanum & Carthaginienſem dediſſe literas, iſtum verò ut remotiſſimum dediſſe viciſſim ſuas ad Romanum, ut fratrem & Collegam, qui in propinquo facilius poſſet de negotio & cognoſcere & ſtatuere. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

In the caſe of Marcianus *Biſhop of* Arles, *if the right of excommunication did belong ſolely to the Biſhop of* Rome, *wherefore did* Fauſtinus *Biſhop of* Lyons *advertiſe* Cyprian *Biſhop of* Carthage, *who was ſo far diſtant, concerning thoſe very things touching* Marcianus, *which both* Fauſtinus *himſelf, and other Biſhops of the ſame Province, had before ſent word of to* Stephen (*Biſhop of* Rome) *who lived neareſt, being moreover of all Biſhops the chief? It muſt either be ſaid that this was done becauſe of* Stephen's *negligence*; *or what is more probable, according to the diſcipline then uſed in the Church, that all Biſhops of neighbouring places, but eſpecially thoſe preſiding over the moſt eminent* Cities, *ſhould join their counſels for the welfare of the Church, and that Chriſtian Religion might not receive the leaſt damage in any of its affairs whatſoever: Hence it was that in the caſe of* Marcianus *Biſhop of* Arles, *the Biſhop of* Lyons *writ Letters to the Biſhops of* Rome *and* Carthage; *and again, that the Biſhop of* Carthage, *as being moſt remote, did write to the Biſhop of* Rome *as being his brother and Collegue, who by reaſon of his propinquity might more eaſily know and judge of the whole matter.*

The other Inſtances are of a later date (after the Synod of *Nice*) and therefore of not ſo great weight; yea, their having none more ancient to produce, doth ſtrongly make againſt the antiquity of this Right; it being ſtrange, that no memory ſhould be of any depoſed thereby for above three hundred years, but however ſuch as they are, they do not reach home to the purpoſe.

They alledge *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch* depoſed by Pope *Damaſus*, as they affirm. But it is wonderful they ſhould have the face to mention that Inſtance; the ſtory in ſhort being this: *The Great Flavianus* (a moſt worthy and Orthodox Prelate, whom St. *Chryſoſtome* in his Statuary Orations doth ſo highly commend and celebrate) being ſubſtituted in the place of *Meletius by the Quire of Biſhops*; a party did adhere to *Paulinus*; and after his deceaſe they ſet up *Evagrius*, ordaining him (as *Theodoret*, who was beſt acquainted with paſſages on that ſide of Chriſtendom, reporteth) againſt many Canons of the Church.

Τῷ [illegible] Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνοντες —— Theod. 5. 23. Soc. 5. 15. 5. 23.

Yet with this party, the *Roman* Biſhops, *not willing to know any of theſe things*, (three of them in order, *Damaſus*, *Siricius*, *Anaſtaſius*) did conſpire, inſtigating the Emperor againſt *Flavianus*, and reproaching him as *ſupporter of a Tyrant againſt the Laws of Chriſt*.

Ἀλλ' ἅμα τῶν ἐδίων ἀδύναι θέλοντες τὴν Ἑωσφόρου μὲν κοινωνίαν ἀποσείονται καὶ Φλαβιανοῦ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐπιτίμους ἀκούουσι. Theod. *Ib.*

But the Emperor having called *Flavianus* to him, and received much ſatisfaction in his demeanour and diſcourſe, did demand and ſettle him in his place; *The Emperor* (ſaith *Theodoret*) *wondring at his courage and his wiſdom, did command him to return home, and to feed the Church committed to him*; at which proceeding when the *Romans* afterward did grumble, the Emperor gave them ſuch reaſons and advices, that they complied, and did entertain communion with *Flavianus*.

Αὐτοῦ τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τ' ἀνεσχῦσαν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τ' ἰσχνειδείσαν ποιμαίνειν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσε. Theod. *Ib.*

It is true, that upon their ſuggeſtions and clamours, the Emperor was moved at firſt to order that *Flavianus* ſhould go to *Rome*, and give the Weſtern Biſhops ſatisfaction: but after that he underſtood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance ſettled him in his *See*.

Here is nothing of the Pope's depoſing *Flavianus*; but of his embracing in a Schiſm the ſide of a Competitor, it being in ſuch a caſe needful that the Pope or any other Biſhop ſhould chuſe with whom he muſt communicate, and conſequently muſt diſclaim the other; in which choice the Pope had no good ſucceſs; not depoſing *Flavianus*, but vainly oppoſing him; wherefore this allegation is ſtrangely impertinent, and well may be turned againſt them.

Indeed in this Inſtance, we may ſee how fallible that *See* was in their judgment of things, how raſh in taking parties and fomenting diſcords; how pertinacious in a bad cauſe, how peeviſh againſt the common ſenſe of their brethren; (eſpecially conſidering, that before this oppoſition of *Flavianus* the Fathers of *Conſtantinople* had in their Letter to Pope *Damaſus* and the *Occidental* Biſhops approved, and commended him to them; highly aſſerting the legitimateneſs of his Ordination;) In fine, how little their authority did avail with wiſe and conſiderate perſons, ſuch as *Theodoſius M.* was.

Theod. 5. 9. —— εἴτε τ' ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τ' ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδεχομένους κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν —— ἥντιν' ἔγνωσαν χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸ τ' συνόδου κράτος.

Sev. 5. 15. Marc. 3. 14. Sect. 1.

De Marca repreſenteth the matter ſomewhat otherwiſe out of *Socrates*; but take the matter as *Socrates* hath it, and it ſignifieth no more, than that both *Theophilus* and *Damaſus* would not entertain communion with *Flavianus*, as being uncapable of the Epiſcopal Order, for having violated his Oath, and cauſed a diviſion in the Church of *Antioch*: what is this to judicial Depoſition? and how did *Damaſus* more depoſe him than *Theophilus*, who upon the ſame diſſatisfaction did in like manner forbear communion? whenas indeed a wiſer and better man than either of them, St. *Chryſoſtome*, did hold communion with him, and did at length (ſaith *Socrates*, not agreeing with *Theodoret*) reconcile him to them both.

They alledge the Depoſition of *Neſtorius*. But who knoweth not, that he was for heretical Doctrine depoſed in and by a General Synod? * Pope *Celeſtine* did indeed threaten to withdraw his communion, if he did not renounce his error. But had not any other Biſhop ſufficient authority to deſert a perverter of the faith? † Did not his own Clergy do the ſame, being commended by Pope *Celeſtine* for it? ‖ Did not *Cyril* in writing to Pope *Celeſtine* himſelf affirm, that he might before have de-

* Γινωσκέτω, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν οὐ δυνήσεται, ἂν μὴ—P. Celeſt. *ad* Cyril. *in Conc.* Eph. *Act. p.* 281.

Παντελῶς ἀπὸ τῆς σωτηρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τ' ἀληθ' χειρίαν συνόδου ἀπεκλείσθης, ἐὰν μὴ εὐθέως τὰ κακῶς εἰρημένα τῶν σῶν διορθώσῃ. *Ibid. Epiſt. ad* Neſt. *p.* 186.

Ἀπὸ τ' ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζουσιν. (*ad* Joh. Ant. *p.* 196.)

† Μακαρία δ' ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη, ἣ παρέχειν ὁ κύριος κελεύει τ' ἰδίας νομῆς. P. Celeſt. *ad Clerum, &c. Conſt. Act.* Eph. *p.* 190.

‖ Ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ καὶ τοι βεληθεὶς συνοδικῷ γράμματι φανερὸν αὐτὸν καταστῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντι καὶ [illegible] νῦν οὐ δυνάμεθα. Cyril. *Ep. &* Celeſt. *Act.* Eph. *p.* 177.

[illegible]lared

clared, that he could not communicate with him? Did *Neſtorius* admit the Popes judgment? no, as the Papal Legates did complain, * *He did not admit the conſtitution of the Apoſtolical chair.* Did the Pope's Sentence obtain effect? No, not any; for notwithſtanding his threats, *Neſtorius* did hold his place till the Synod; the Emperor did ſeverely rebuke *Cyril* for his fierceneſs, (and implicitly the Pope) and did order that no change ſhould be made, till the Synod ſhould determine in the caſe; not regarding the Pope's judgment: So that this inſtance may well be retorted, or uſed to prove the inſignificancy of Papal authority then.

* Τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο. Conc. Eph. Act. 3. p. 331. *Vid.* Theodoſ. 2. *Epiſt. in Conc.* Eph. p. 224, & 225.

They alledge alſo *Dioſcorus* of *Alexandria* depoſed by Pope *Leo*: but the caſe is very like to that of *Neſtorius*, and argueth the contrary to what they intend. He was, for his miſdemeanours, and violent countenancing of Hereſie, ſolemnly in a General Synod accuſed, tried, condemned and depoſed; the which had long before been done, if in the Pope, his profeſſed and provoked Adverſary, there had been ſufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmine alſo alledgeth Pope *Sixtus* III. depoſing *Polychronius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*: But no ſuch *Polychronius* is to be found in the Regiſters of Biſhops then, or in the Hiſtories of that buſie time, between the two great Synods of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*; and the Acts of *Sixtus*, upon which this allegation is grounded, have ſo many inconſiſtences, and ſmell ſo rank of Forgery, that no conſcionable Noſe could endure them; and any *prudent Man* (as *Binius* himſelf confeſſeth) *would aſſert them to be ſpurious.* Wherefore *Baronius* himſelf doth reject and deſpiſe them; who gladly would loſe no advantage for his Maſter. Yet Pope *Nicholas* I. doth precede *Bellarmine* in citing this traſh; no wonder, that being the Pope, who did avouch the wares of *Iſidore Mercator.*

Baron. *Ann.* 433. Sect. 38, 39. P. Nich. I. *Epiſt.* 8. (*ad* Mich.)

They alledge *Timotheus* the Uſurper of *Alexandria* depoſed by Pope *Damaſus*; and they have indeed the ſound of words atteſting to them; *Theſe are Heads upon which the B.* Damaſus *depoſed the Hereticks* Apollinarius, Vitalius *and* Timotheus.

Fac. Herm. p. 150.

Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τεσσαρακόσιος Δάμασος καθεῖλεν Ἀπολιναρίου, καὶ Βιτάλιου, καὶ Τιμοθέου τῶν αἱρετικῶν. *Orient. ad* Rufum. *apud* Bin. p. 396.

The truth is, that *Apollinarius*, with divers of his Diſciples, in a great Synod at *Rome*, at which *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* together with *Damaſus* was preſent, was condemned and diſavowed for heretical Doctrine; whence *Sozomen* ſaith, that *the* Apollinarian *Hereſie was by* Damaſus *and* Peter, *at a Synod in* Rome, *voted to be excluded from the Catholick Church.*

Μαθὼν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἱρεσιν εἰς πολλοὺς ἔρπειν πρῶτος Δάμασος ὁ Ρωμαίων Ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδῳ ἠμφίσης ἐν Ρώμῃ ἀλλοτείαν τῆς καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο. Soz. 6. 25.

On which account if we conclude that the Pope had an Authority to depoſe Biſhops, we may by like reaſon infer that every Patriarch and Metropolitan had a power to do the like; there being ſo many Inſtances of their having condemned and diſclaimed Biſhops ſuppoſedly guilty of Hereſie; as particularly *John* of *Antioch*, with his convention of *Oriental* Biſhops, did pretend to depoſe *Cyril* and *Memnon* as guilty of the ſame *Apollinarian* Hereſie; alledging that to *exſcind them was the ſame thing as to ſettle Orthodoxy.* The which Depoſition was at firſt admitted by the Emperor.

Τὰ καὶ τότε ἐκκόψαι ἐδόκει ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ὀρθοδοξίαν ϛῆσαι. *Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act.* Eph. p. 380: Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τῷ γνωσθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νεστορίῳ, καὶ Κυρίλλῳ, καὶ Μέμνονι καθαίρεσιν ἐδεξάμεθα. *Act.* p. 385.

The next Inſtance is of Pope *Agapetus* (in *Juſtinian*'s time, for ſo deep into time is *Bellarmine* fain to dive for it) depoſing *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* But this Inſtance being ſcanned will alſo prove ſlender and lame. The caſe was this: *Anthimus* having deſerted his charge at *Trebiſonde*, did creep into the See of *Conſtantinople* (a courſe then held irregular and repugnant to the Canons) and withal he had imbibed the *Eutychian* Hereſie. Yet for his ſupport he had wound himſelf into the Favour of the Empreſs *Theodora*, * a countenancer of the *Eutychian* Sect. Things ſtanding thus, Pope *Agapetus* (as an Agent from *Rome* to crave ſuccour againſt the *Goths* preſſing and menacing the City) did arrive at *Conſtantinople.* Whereupon the Empreſs deſired of him to ſalute and conſort with *Anthimus.* But he, by petitions of Monks, *&c.* underſtanding how things ſtood, did refuſe to do ſo, except *Anthimus would return to his own charge, and profeſs the Orthodox doctrine*: Thereupon the Emperor joined with him to extrude *Anthimus* from *Conſtantinople,*

Ann. 536. Vict. Tun.

* Evag. 4. 10.

Denique petentibus Principibus, ut Anthimum Papa in ſalutatione & communicatione ſuſciperet; ille fieri inquit poſſe, ſi ſe libello probaret orthodoxum, & ad Cathedram ſuam reverteretur. Lib. c. 21.

Τὰ καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀθέσμως τολμώμενα μαθὼν —— *Libell. Monarch.* p. 7.

Ἀλλὰ τὸν δίκαιον ἀνελόντες τὸν ἀ[illegible] τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐυσεβοῦς θρόνου, σωστὰ μυήσαντες, καὶ ἀποστείλαντες, τότε καθολικῇ [illegible] ὑμετέρας [illegible]

[illegible] 43.
[illegible] 128.
[illegible] μήτε καθολικῆς [illegible] ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα. Synodi [illegible]

Τὰ τοῦ μὲν δίκαιον καὶ κανονικῶς ἀνηρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ ψηφίδος ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου κυρῶσαι. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἐπειτα ἀπαγορεῦσαι—— Σὺ δὲ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καθέδρας τὸν ἐκεῖσε βουλῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ [illegible] καὶ τῇ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων τὴν βουλὴν διορθώσαμεν. p. 24.

ſtantinople, and to ſubſtitute *Menas*. *He* (ſay the Monks in their Libel of requeſt to the Emperor) *did juſtly thruſt this* Anthimus *from the Epiſcopal Chair of this City; your Grace affording aid and force both to the Catholick faith, and the diviue Canons.* The act of *Agapetus* was (according to his ſhare in the common Intereſt) to declare *Anthimus* in his judgment uncapable of Catholick communion, and of Epiſcopal Function, by reaſon of his heretical Opinions, and his tranſgreſſion of Eccleſiaſtical Orders; which moved *Juſtinian* effectually to depoſe, and extrude him; *You* (ſay they) *fulfilling that which he juſtly and canonically did judge, and by your general edict confirming it; and forbidding that hereafter ſuch things ſhould be attempted*—— And *Agapetus* himſelf ſaith * that it was done by *the Apoſtolical authority and the aſſiſtance of the moſt faithful Emperors.* The which proceeding was completed by Decree of the Synod under *Menas*, and that again was confirmed by the Imperial Sanction. Whence *Evagrius* reporting the ſtory, doth ſay concerning *Anthimus* and *Theodoſius* of *Alexandria*, that *becauſe they did croſs the Emperor's commands, and did not admit the decrees of* Chalcedon, *they both were expell'd from their Sees.*

* Ὅμως δ' ἐν ὰς ἀντιπρὸ τῆς (l. ἀντὶ τῶν) βασιλέως κελδομένων ἰόντες, καὶ μὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνελθόντα ἀμφὶ τῆς εἰκείων ἐξελαθέντων θρόνων. Evag. 4 11.

It ſeemeth by ſome paſſages in the *Acts*, that before *Agapetus* his intermedling, * the Monks and † Orthodox Biſhops had condemned and rejected *Anthimus*; according to the common Intereſt, which they aſſert all Chriſtians to have in regard to the common Faith.

*p. 10. † p. 16.

Κατ' ὀλιγωλιὰ καὶ ψῆφον τῆς εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων. καὶ τὰ εὐαγῆ τῆδε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης Ἐκκλησίας κλῆρε.——

Tunc Papa Principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit Antiſtitem, conſecrans eum manu ſuâ ——*Lib. cap.* 21.

Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆ γαληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπεγέλασεν ἡ ἐπιλογὴ —— *Act. p.* 24.

Καὶ τοῦτο ᾧ πιστεύομεν τῇ αὐτῆς ἀξίᾳ περιθεῖναι, ὅτι πρὸ ἐκ τῆς κεῖνον τῆς Ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἑδρᾶς ἄλλον οἱασδήποτε Ἐκκλησία Ἀνατολικὴ ἐδέξατο Ἐπίσκοπον ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθιδρύσεως χειροτονίαις —— p. 24.

As for the ſubſtitution of *Menas*, it was performed *by the choice and ſuffrage of the Emperor, the Clergy, Nobles, and People conſpiring*; the Pope only (which another Biſhop might have done) ordaining or conſecrating him; Then (ſaith *Liberatus*) *the Pope by the Emperor's favour did ordain* Menas *Biſhop, conſecrating him with his hand.*

And *Agapetus* did glory in this, as being the firſt Ordination made of an *Eaſtern* Biſhop by the hands of a *Pope: And this* (ſaid the Pope) *we conceive doth add to his dignity, becauſe the* Eaſtern *Church never ſince the time of the Apoſtle* Peter *did receive any Biſhop beſides him, by the impoſition of hands of thoſe who ſate in this our Chair.*

If we compare the Proceedings of *Agapetus* againſt *Anthimus* with thoſe of *Theophilus* againſt St. *Chryſoſtome*; they are (except the cauſe and qualities of perſons) in all main reſpects and circumſtances ſo like, that the ſame reaſon, which would ground a pretence of Univerſal Juriſdiction to one, would infer the ſame to the other.

Baronius alledgeth *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* depoſed by Pope *Felix* III. But Pope *Gelaſius* aſſerteth, that any Biſhop might, in execution of the Canons, have diſclaimed *Acacius*, as a favourer of Hereticks. And *Acacius* did not only refuſe to ſubmit to the Pope's Juriſdiction, but ſlighted it. And the Pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual; for *Acacius* died in poſſeſſion of his *See*.

Baron. *Ann.* 484. Sect. 19.
Vid. P. Felic. III. Ep. 6.
P. Gelaſ. Ep. 4.

Ad cujus præcipuè vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 13.

VIII. If Popes were Sovereigns of the Church, they could effectually, whenever they ſhould ſee it juſt and fit, * abſolve—reſtore any Biſhop excommunicated from the Church, or depoſed from his Office by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure; for Relief of the Oppreſſed, or Clemency to the Diſtreſſed, are noble Flowers in every Sovereign Crown.

* When a Biſhop was unjuſtly cenſured upon malice or miſtake —— when he did repent of his error or miſcarriage——when the caſe would upon any account bear favour or Pity——

Wherefore the Pope doth aſſume this power, and reſerveth it to himſelf as his ſpecial Prerogative; *'Tis*, ſays *Baronius*, *a privilege of the Church of* Rome *only, that a Biſhop depoſed by a Synod, may without another Synod of a greater number be reſtor'd by the Pope*; and Pope *Gelaſius* I. ſays, *That the See*

Privilegium quidem ſolius Eccleſiæ Romanæ eſſe reperitur, ut depoſitus à Synodo Epiſcopus abſque alia Synodo majoris numeri reſtitui poſſit per Romanum Pontificem. Baron. *Ann.* 449. Sect. 127.

of Saint Peter *the Apoſtle has a right of looſing whatever the Sentences of other Biſhops have bound— That the Apoſtolick See, according to frequent ancient cuſtom, had a power, no Synod preceding, to abſolve thoſe whom a Synod had unjuſtly condemned, and without a Council to condemn thoſe who deſerv'd it.*

Quorumlibet Sententiis ligata Pontificum, Sedes B. Petri Apoſtoli jus habet reſolvendi. P. Gelaſ. I. Ep. 13.

Sedes Apoſtolica frequenter more majorum, etiam ſine ulla Synodo precedente, & abſolvendi quos Synodus iniquè damnaverat, & damnandi nullâ exiſtente Synodo quos eperuit, habuit facultatem —— Ibid.

It was an old pretence of Popes, that Biſhops were not condemned, except the Pope did conſent, renouncing communion with them. So Pope *Vigilius* ſaith of St. *Chryſoſtome* and *Flavianus*, that *although they were violently excluded, yet were they not look'd upon as condemned, becauſe the Biſhops of* Rome *always inviolably kept communion with them.*

—— Qui licèt violenter excluſi ſunt, non tamen pro damnatis ſunt habiti eo quòd ſe per inviolatam eorum communionem Romi Pontifices ſervaverant. P. Vigilius in Conſtit. Athan. &c.

And before him Pope *Gelaſius* ſaith, that *the Pope by not conſenting to the condemnation of* Athanaſius, Chryſoſtome, Flavianus, *did abſolve them.*

Quem (Johannem Chryſ.) Sedes Apoſtolica etiam ſola, quia non conſenſit, abſolvit. P. Gelaſ. Ep. 3.

But ſuch a power of old did not belong to him. For,

1. There is not extant any ancient Canon of the Church, nor apparent footſteps of cuſtom allowing ſuch a power to him.

2. Decrees of Synods (*Provincial* in the former times, and *Dioceſan* afterwards) were inconſiſtent with, or repugnant to ſuch a power, for judgments concerning Epiſcopal Cauſes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be ſo by Decrees of divers Synods; and conſequently no power was reſerved to the Pope of thwarting them by Reſtitution of any Biſhop condemned in them.

3. The *Apoſtolical* Canons (which at leaſt ſerve to prove or illuſtrate ancient Cuſtom) and divers *Synodical* Decrees did prohibit entertaining communion with any perſon condemned or rejected by canonical Judgment: without exception, or reſervation of power of infringing or relaxing that Prohibition; and Pope *Gelaſius* himſelf ſays, *That he who had polluted himſelf by holding communion with a condemned perſon, did partake of his condemnation.*

Can. Apoſt. 10, 11, 12, 13. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 5. Sard. 16, 17. *Cod.* Afr. 9. *Conc.* Antioch. 6, 15. Evag. 2. 4.

Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus eſt particeps. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 13. (p. 640.)

4. Whence in elder times Popes were oppoſed and checked, when they offered to receive Biſhops rejected in particular Synods. So St. *Cyprian* declared the Reſtitution of *Baſilides* by Pope *Stephanus* to be null. So the *Antiochene* Synod did reprehend Pope *Julius* for admitting *Athanaſius* and *Marcellus* to communion, or avowing them for Biſhops, after their condemnation by Synods. And the *Oriental* Biſhops of *Sardica* did excommunicate the ſame Pope for communicating with the ſame perſons. Which Inſtances do ſhew, that the Pope was not then undoubtedly, or according to common opinion, endowed with ſuch a power.

Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

But whereas they do alledge ſome Inſtances of ſuch a power, I ſhall premiſe ſome general Conſiderations apt to clear the buſineſs, and then apply anſwers to the particular Allegations.

1. Reſtitution commonly doth ſignify no more, than acknowledging a perſon (although rejected by undue Sentence) to be *de jure* worthy of communion, and capable of the Epiſcopal Office; upon which may be conſequent an Obligation to communicate with him, and to allow him his due Character; according to the Precept of Saint *Paul, Follow righteouſneſs, faith, charity, peace with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.*

2 Tim. 2. 22.

This may be done, when any man notoriouſly is perſecuted for the Truth and Righteouſneſs. Or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppreſſion of Innocence. Or when the Proceſs is extremely irregular: as in the caſes of *Athanaſius*, of St. *Chryſoſtome*,—And this is not an act of Juriſdiction, but of Equity and Charity; incumbent on all Biſhops: and there are promiſcuous Inſtances of Biſhops practiſing it. Thus *Socrates* ſaith, that *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem did reſtore communion and dignity to* Athanaſius. And ſo *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *John* of *Antioch*, being reconciled and reduced to a good underſtanding of each other, *did reſtore to each other their Sees*; reſcinding the Cenſures, which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which ſheweth that Reſtitution is not always taken for an act of Juriſdiction; wherein one is Superior to another; for thoſe perſons were in rank and power co-ordinate.

Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν. Socr. 2. 24.

Ἀλλήλοις τοὺς θρόνους ἀπέδοσαν. Socr. 7. 33.

2. Re-

2. Reſtitution ſometimes doth import no more than a conſiderable influence toward the effects of reſtoring a perſon to Communion or Office; no judicial act being exerciſed about the caſe——*The Emperor writing that* Paulus *and* Athanaſius *ſhould be reſtored to their Sees, availed nothing*——That was a Reſtitution without effect.

Ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλέως, ὅτε ἀπεκατέστη Παῦλος καὶ Ἀθανάσιος τοῖς οἰκείοις θρόνοις, οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνυσεν. Socr. 2. 20.

Thus a Pope's avowing the Orthodoxy, or Innocence, or Worth of a perſon, after a due information about them, (by reaſon of the Pope's eminent rank in the Church, and the regard duly had to him) might ſometimes much conduce to reſtore a perſon; and might obtain the name of Reſtitution, by an ordinary ſcheme of ſpeech.

3. Sometimes perſons ſaid to be reſtored by Popes, are alſo ſaid to be reſtored by Synods, with regard to ſuch inſtance or teſtimony of Popes in their behalf. In which caſe the Judicial Reſtitution, giving right of Recovery and completion thereto, was the act of the Synod.

Note, It is an ordinary ſtyle of Votes in Synods, for the Reſtitution of a Biſhop, *I reſtore*: *Vid. Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 165. That is, I give my Vote for his Reſtitution.

4. When Caſes were driven to a legal debate, Popes could not effectually reſolve without a Synod, their ſingle acts not being held ſufficiently valid. So notwithſtanding the Declarations of Pope *Julius* in favour of *Athanaſius*, for the effectual reſolution of his caſe the great Synod of *Sardica* was convened. So whatever Pope *Innocent* I. did endeavour, he could not reſtore St. *Chryſoſtome* without a General Synod.

Nor could Pope *Leo* reſtore *Flavianus*, depoſed in the Second *Epheſine* Synod, without convocation of a General Synod, the which he did ſo often ſue for to the Emperor *Theodoſius* for that purpoſe. Pope *Simplicius* affirmed, that *Petrus Moggus having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer* (or Uſurper of the *Alexandrian* See) *could not without a common Council be freed from condemnation.*

Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum, communi concilio damnatione liberari. *Lib. c.* 18.

5. Particular inſtances do not aſcertain right to the Perſon who aſſumeth any power; for buſy-bodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperors did ſometimes reſtore Biſhops. *Conſtantine* as he did baniſh *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and others, ſo he did revoke and reſtore them; ſo ſays *Socrates*, *They were recall'd from baniſhment by the Emperor's command, and receiv'd their Churches. Theodoſius* did aſſert to *Flavianus* his right, whereof the Popes did pretend to deprive him; which did amount to a Reſtitution (at leaſt to the *Romaniſts* who do aſſert *Flavianus* to be depoſed by the Popes.) *Inſtantius* and *Priſcillianus* were by the *reſcript of the Emperor* Gratianus *reſtored to their Churches.* *Juſtinian* did order Pope *Silverius* to be reſtored, in caſe he could prove his Innocence.

Ἀνεκλήθησάν τε ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς προστάξεως, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπῆλθον. Socr. 1. 14. Theod. 5. 23.

Reſcriptum elicient, quo calcatis quæ priùs decreta erant reſtitui Eccleſiis jubebantur: hac freti Inſtantius & Priſcillianus repetivere Hiſpanias. Sulp. Sev. 2. 63. Revocari Romam Silverium juſſit, & de literis illis judicium fieri,—ut ſi falſa fuiſſent probata, reſtitueretur ſedi ſuæ. Liberat. *Breviar. cap.* 22.

7. Commonly Reſtitution was not effectual without the Emperor's conſent; whence *Theodoret*, although allowed by the great Synod, did acknowledge his Reſtitution eſpecially due to the Emperor; as we ſhall ſee in reflecting on his caſe.

Now to the particular Inſtances produced for the Pope, we anſwer,

1. They pretend, that Pope *Stephanus* did reſtore *Baſilides* and *Martialis*, *Spaniſh* Biſhops, who had been depoſed; for which they quote St. *Cyprian's* Epiſtle, where he ſays, Baſilides *going to* Rome *impoſed upon our Collegue* Stephen, *who lived a great way off and was ignorant of the truth of the matter; ſeeking unjuſtly to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick from which he had juſtly been depoſed.*

Romam pergens Stephanum Collegam noſtrum longè poſitum, & geſta rei ac tacita veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut examinet reponi ſe injuſtè in Epiſcopatum, de quo fuerat juſtè depoſitus. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

But we anſwer; The Pope did attempt ſuch a Reſtitution by way of Influence and Teſtimony, not of Juriſdiction; wherefore the reſult of his act in St. *Cyprian's* judgment was null, and blameable; which could not be ſo, if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable Sentence, paſſed by juſt Authority, is valid, and hardly liable to Cenſure. The Clergy of thoſe places, notwithſtanding that pr[illegible]

——quare etſi aliqui de Collegis noſtris extiterint, qui Deificam diſciplinam negligendam putant——

Reſtitution, did conceive thoſe Biſhops uncapable; and did requeſt the judgment of St. *Cyprian* about it; which argueth the Pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in ſuch caſes. St. *Cyprian* denieth the Pope or any other perſon to have power of reſtoring in ſuch a caſe; and exhorteth the Clergy to perſiſt *in declining the communion of thoſe Biſhops.* Well doth *Rigaltius* ask, why they ſhould write to St. *Cyprian* if the judgment of *Stephanus* was deciſive? and he addeth that indeed, *the* Spaniards *did appeal from the* Roman *Biſhop to him of* Carthage. No wonder, ſeeing the Pope had no greater authority, and probably St. *Cyprian* had the fairer reputation for wiſdom and goodneſs. Conſidering which things, what can they gain by this Inſtance? which indeed doth conſiderably make againſt them.

(*Nec cenſurâ congruit Sacerdotem mobilis atque inconſtantis animi levitate reprehendi.* Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

——*Epiſcopatum gerere & Sacerdotium Dei adminiſtrare non oportere.*

Deſideraſtis ſolitudinem veſtram vel ſolatio vel auxilio ſententiæ noſtræ ſublevari.

Nec perſonam in ejuſmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri poteſt humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit & legem tribuit divina præſcriptio.

——*quantum poſſumus adhortamur, ne vos cum profanis & maculatis Sacerdotibus communicatione ſacrilegâ miſceatis.*

Sed cur ad Cyprianum, ſi poteſtas infinita penes Romanum? Rigalt. *Ibid.*

——*datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginienſem adverſus Romanum.* Id.

2. They alledge the Reſtitution of *Athanaſius*, and of others linked in cauſe with him, by Pope *Julius*. *He*, ſays *Sozomen*, *as having the care of all by reaſon of the dignity of his See, reſtored to each his own Church.*

Οἷα ὢν πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ πεπιστευμένης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἕδρας, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε. Soz. 3. 8.

I anſwer, the Pope did not reſtore them judicially, but declaratively; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. *Julius* in his own Defence did alledge, that *Athanaſius* was not legally rejected; ſo that without any prejudice to the Canons he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account, plainly did not require any Act of Judgment.

Ὡς ὁμοδόξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο. Soz. 3. 8.

Julii *Epiſt. apud* Ath. *in Apol.* 2.

Nay, it was neceſſary to avow thoſe Biſhops, as ſuffering in the cauſe of the common Faith. Beſides, the Pope's proceeding was taxed, and proteſted againſt as irregular; nor did he Defend it by vertue of a general power that he had judicially to reſcind the Acts of Synods. And laſtly, the Reſtitution of *Athanaſius* and the other Biſhops, had no complete effect, till it was confirmed by the Synod of *Sardica*, backed by the Imperial authority; which in effect did reſtore them. This inſtance therefore is in many reſpects deficient as to their purpoſe.

3. They produce *Marcellus* being reſtored by the ſame Pope *Julius*. Socr. 1. 36.

But that inſtance, beſide the forementioned defects, hath this, that the Pope was grievouſly miſtaken in the caſe; whence St. *Baſil* much blameth him for his proceeding therein. Baſ. Ep. 10.

4. They cite the Reſtitution of *Euſtathius* (Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*) by Pope *Liberius*, out of an Epiſtle of St. *Baſil*, where he ſays, *What the moſt bleſſed Biſhop* Liberius *propoſed to him, and to what he conſented we know not; only that he brought a Letter to be reſtored, and upon ſhewing it to the Synod at* Tyana *was reſtored to his See.*

Τίνα μὲν οὖν ἃ προετέθη αὐτῷ ὑφὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου, τίνα δ' αὐτὸς συνέθετο ἀγνοοῦμεν· πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτὸν, ἣν ἀποδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ ἀποκατέστη τοῦ τόπου ——Baſ. Ep. 74.

I anſwer, that Reſtitution was only from an invalid Depoſition by a Synod of *Arians* at *Melitine*; importing only an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his Faith profeſſed by him at *Rome*; the which had ſuch influence to the ſatisfaction of the *Dioceſan* Synod of *Tyana*, that he was reſtored. Although indeed the *Romans* were abuſed by him, he not being found in faith; for *He now* (ſaith Saint *Baſil*) *doth deſtroy that faith for which he was received.*— Soz. 4. 24.

Οὗτος νῦν προφᾶσι τὴν πίστιν, ἣν παρέλαβεν. Baſil. *Ibid.*

5. They adjoin, that *Theodoret* was reſtored by Pope *Leo* I. for in the Acts of the Synod of *Chalcedon* it is ſaid, that *he did receive his place from the Biſhop of* Rome.

Τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβὼν τόπον ὑφὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλωνύμου Ῥώμης—— *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

I anſwer, the act of *Leo* did conſiſt in an approbation of the Faith, which *Theodoret* did profeſs to hold; and a reception of him to communion thereupon; which he might well do, ſeeing the ground of *Theodoret's* being diſclaimed was a miſpriſion, that he (having oppoſed *Cyril's* Writings, judged Orthodox) did err in Faith, conſenting with *Neſtorius*.

Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο—— *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 8. *p.* 368.

Theodoret's ſtate before the Second *Epheſine* Synod, is thus repreſented in the words of the Emperor: Theodoret *Biſhop of* Cyrus, *whom we have before commanded to mind*

Θεοδώρητον μὲν τὸν τῆς Ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, ὃν πάλαι ἐκελεύσαμεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτὸν μόνῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ σχολάζειν. Δεδίζομεν μὴ πείθειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν

ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου μὴ πάσης ἁγίας συνόδου συνελθούσης δέξῃ εἰς ἀυτὸν παραγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἴδιον ἀυτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου. *Vid.* Theod. *Epiſc. ad* Dioſc. *in Syn.* Chalc. *act.* 1. *p.* 53.

Pro Theodoreto autem & Euſebio nullus ordinatus eſt. Liberat. 12.

Vid. Conc. Chalc. *part.* 3. *p.* 490. *Excludi vult Epiſtolam, &c. in Imperatoris Theodoſii ſcripta.*

only his own Church, we charge not to come to the Holy Synod, before the whole Synod being met, it ſhall ſeem good to them that he come and bear his part in it.

He was not perfectly depoſed; as others were who had others ſubſtituted in their places. He was depoſed by the *Epheſine* Synod.

The Pope was indeed ready enough to aſſume the Patronage of ſo very learned and worthy a man, who in ſo very ſuppliant and reſpectful a way had addreſſed to him for ſuccour; for whom doth not Courtſhip mollify? And the majority of the Synod, (being inflamed againſt *Dioſcorus* and the *Eutychian* Party) was ready enough to allow what the Pope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the Synod (the Biſhops of *Egypt*, of *Paleſtine*, of *Illyricum*, notwithſtanding the Pope's Reſtitution (that is, his approbation in order thereto) did ſtickle againſt his admiſſion into the Synod; *crying out, have pity on us, the faith is deſtroyed, the Canons proſcribe this man: caſt out, caſt out* Neſtorius *his Maſter.* So that the *Imperial* Agents were fain to compromiſe the buſineſs, permitting him to ſit in the Synod, as one whoſe caſe was dependent, but not in the notion of one abſolutely reſtored: Theodoret's *preſence ſhall prejudice no man, each one's right of impleading being reſerved both to you and him.*

Ἐξεβόησαν, ἐλεήσατε, ἡ πίστις ἀπόλλυται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσιν, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίου ἔξω βάλε. *Ibid. p.* 54.

Πρόκειμα ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας Θεοδωρήτου ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ γινόμενον, φυλαττομένου ἑκάστοτε τὰ αὐτὰ πᾶσι λέγω καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ — *Ibid.*

He therefore was not entirely reſtored, till upon a clear and ſatisfactory profeſſion of his Faith he was acquitted by the judgment of the Synod. The effectual Reſtitution of him proceeded from the Emperor, who repealed the proceedings againſt him; as himſelf doth acknowledge; *All theſe things*, ſays he, *has the moſt juſt Emperor evacuated —— to theſe things he premiſed the redreſſing my injuries*; and the Imperial Judges in the Synod of *Chalcedon* join the Emperor in the Reſtitution— *Let the moſt reverend* Theodoret *enter and bear his part in the Synod, ſince the moſt Holy Archbiſhop* Leo, *and ſacred Emperor have reſtored his Biſhoprick to him.* Hence it may appear that the Pope's Reſtitution of *Theodoretus* was only opinionative, dough-baked, incomplete; ſo that it is but a ſlim advantage, which their pretence can receive from it.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέλυκεν ὁ δικαιότατος βασιλεύς —— Theod. *Ep.* 139. (*ad* Aſperam.)

Περιέθηκε τούτοις τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τῷ ἴσῃ —— *Ep.* 138. (*ad* Anatol.)

Εἶτα καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος Θεοδώρητος κοινωνῆσαν τῇ συνόδῳ ἐπείδαν καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ ἁγιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, καὶ ὁσιώτατος βασιλεύς —— *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

IX. It belongeth to Sovereigns to receive *Appeals* from all lower Judicatures, for the final determination of Cauſes; ſo that no part of his Subjects can obſtruct reſort to him, or prohibit his reviſion of any Judgment.

This Power therefore the Pope doth moſt ſtifly aſſert to himſelf. At the Synod of *Florence*, this was the firſt and great Branch of Authority, which he did demand of the *Greeks* explicitly to avow: —— *he will* (ſaid his three Cardinals to the Emperor) *have all the Privileges of his Church, and that Appeals be made to him.* When Pope *Alexander* III. was adviſed not to receive an Appeal in *Becket*'s Caſe, he replied in that profane alluſion, *This is my glory, which I will not give to another.* He hath been wont to encourage all People, even upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, *iter arripere* (as the phraſe is obvious in their Canon Law) to run with all haſte to his audience; *Concerning Appeals for the ſmalleſt cauſes we would have you, to hold, that the ſame deference is to be given them for how ſlight a matter ſoever they be made, as if they were for a greater.* See, if you pleaſe, in *Gratian*'s Decree, *Cauſ.* 2. *quæſt.* 6. where many Papal Decrees (moſt indeed drawn out of the ſpurious *Epiſtles* of ancient Popes, but ratified by their Succeſſors, and obtaining for current Law) are made for Appeals to the See of *Rome*.

Θέλει τὰ πενήμια πάντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸς καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν —— *Syn. Flor. Seſſ.* 25. *p.* 846.

Hæc eſt gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

De appellationibus pro minimis cauſis volumus te tenere quòd eis pro quacunque levi cauſa fiant, non minus eſt, quàm ſi pro majoribus fierent, deferendum. Alex. III. *Ep. ad* Vigorn. *Epiſc. in decret.* Greg. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 28. *cap.* 11.

Cauſ. 2. *qu.* 6. *Cauſ.* 3. *qu.* 6. *Cauſ.* 9. *qu.* 3. *cap.* 16.

It was indeed one of the moſt ancient encroachments, and that which did ſerve moſt to introduce the reſt; inferring hence a title to an univerſal Juriſdiction: *They are the Canons*, ſays Pope *Nicholas* I. *which will that all Appeals of the whole Church be brought to the examination of this See, and have decreed that no*

Ipſi ſunt Canones, qui appellationes totius Eccleſiæ ad hujus Sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipſa verò nuſquam prorſus appellari debere ſanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota Ec-

made from it, and that thus ſhe judge of the whole Church, but her ſelf goes to be judged by none other; and the ſame Pope, in another of his *Epiſtles*, ſays, *The holy ſtatutes and venerable decrees have committed the cauſes of Biſhops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us — As the Synod has appointed and uſage requires, let greater and difficult caſes be always referred to the Apoſtolick See*, ſays Pope *Pelagius* II. *They are the Canons which will have the appeals of the whole Church tryed by this See*, ſaith Pope *Gelaſius* I.

cleſia judicare ipſam ad nullius commeare judicium. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 8.

Sacra ſtatuta & veneranda decreta Epiſcoporum cauſas, utpote majora negotia, noſtra definiendas cenſuræ mandarunt. P. Nich. I. *Ep.* 38.

Majores vero & difficiles quæſtiones (ut ſancta Synodus ſtatuit, & beata conſuetudo exigit) ad Sedem Apoſtolicam ſemper referantur. P. Pelag. II. *Epiſt.* 8.

Ipſi ſunt Canones qui appellationes totius Eccleſiæ ad hujus Sedis examen voluere deferri. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 4.

But this power is upon various accounts unreaſonable, grievous and vexatious to the Church; as hath been deemed and upon divers occaſions declared by the ancient Fathers, and grave perſons in all times; upon all accounts not only blaming the horrible abuſe of Appeals, but implying the great miſchiefs inſeparably adherent to them.

The Synod of *Baſil* thus excellently declared concerning them: *Hitherto many abuſes of intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilſt many have too often been called and cited from the moſt remote parts to the Court of* Rome, *and that ſometimes for ſmall and trifling matters, and with charges and trouble to be ſo wearied, that they ſometimes think it the beſt way to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loſs, rather than be at the coſt of ſuing in ſo remote a Country.*

Concil. Baſil. *Seſſ.* 31. (*p.* 86.)
Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abuſus permulti, dum nimium frequenter à remotiſſimis etiam partibus ad Romanam Curiam, & interdum pro parvis & minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, & evocari conſueverunt, atque ita expenſis & laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur jure ſuo cedere, aut vexationem ſuam gravi damno redimere, quàm in tam longinqua regione litium ſubire diſpendia, &c. Vid. Opt.

Saint *Bernard* complaineth of the miſchiefs of Appeals in his times in theſe words, *How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole World, or make as if you were ſo? why ſleep you? when will the conſideration of ſo great confuſion and abuſe in appeals awake in you? they are made without right or equity, without due order and againſt cuſtome. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cauſe, nor perſon are conſider'd: they are every where made lightly, and for the moſt part unjuſtly:* with much more paſſionate language to the ſame purpoſe.

Bern. *de Conſid. lib.* 3. *cap.* 2.
Quouſque murmur univerſæ terræ aut diſſimulas, aut non advertis? — &c.

But in the Primitive Church the Pope had no ſuch power.

1. Whereas in the firſt times many cauſes and differences did ariſe, wherein they who were condemned and worſted, would readily have reſorted thither where they might have hoped for remedy; if *Rome* had been ſuch a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it, and we ſhould have found Hiſtory full of examples, whereas it is very ſilent about them.

2. The moſt ancient Cuſtoms and Canons of the Church are flatly repugnant to ſuch a power, for they did order cauſes finally to be decided in each Province.

So the Synod of *Nice* did Decree; as the *African* Fathers did alledge, in defence of their refuſal to allow appeals to the Pope: *The* Nicene *decrees* (ſaid they) *moſt evidently did commit both Clergymen of inferiour degrees and Biſhops to their Metropolitans.*

Decreta Nicena ſive inferioris gradûs Clericos ſive Epiſcopos ſuis Metropolitanis apertiſſimè commiſerunt. Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celeſt.

So *Theoph.* in his *Epiſtle*, — *I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant what the Canons of the* Nicene *Council command, ordaining that a Biſhop ſhould judge no cauſe out of his own diſtrict.*

Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni Concilii Canones, ſancientes Epiſcopum non judicare cauſam citrà terminos ſuos — nam — Pallad. *cap.* 7.

3. Afterward when the *Dioceſan* adminiſtration was introduced, the laſt reſort was decreed to the *Synods* of them (or to the *Primates* in them) all other appeals being prohibited, *as diſhonourable to the Biſhops of the Dioceſe; reproaching the Canons, and ſubverting Eccleſiaſtical Order*; To which Canon the Emperor *Juſtinian* referred; *For it is decreed by our Anceſtors that againſt the Sentence of theſe Prelates there ſhould be no Appeal.* So *Conſtantius* told Pope *Liberius* — *that thoſe things which had a form of Judgment paſt on them, could not be reſcinded.* This was the practice (at leaſt in the *Eaſtern* parts of the Church) in the time of *Juſtinian*: as is evident by the Conſtitutions extant in the *Code* and in the *Novels*.

Note, That the Synod of *Conſtantinople* (*Can.* 6.) mentioning Appeals to the Emperour, ſecular Judicatories, a General Synod, ſaith,

Ἀτιμάσας τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπίσκοπον, &c. *Syn.* Conſt. *Can.* 6.
Concil. Conſtantinop. *Can.* 2, 6.
Concil. Chalced. *Can.* 2. 17.
Nam contra horum Antiſtitum Sententias non eſſe locum Appellationi, & majoribus noſtris conſtitutum eſt. Cod. Lib. 1. *tit.* 4. *cap.* 29.
Τὰ ὑπὸ τύπον ἐγκύρια ἀναλύεσθαι οὐ δύνασθαι. Theod. 11. 16.
Nov. 123. *cap.* 22.
Cod. Lib. 1. *tit.* 4. *Sect.* 29. *Vid. Græc.*

Can. 123 Conc. Ant. Can. 15. Conc. Carth. Can. 32.

4. In derogation to this pretence divers *Provincial* Synods expreſly did prohibit all *Appeals* from their deciſion.

That of *Milevis*, —— *Let them appeal only to the* African *Councils, or the Primates of Provinces; and he who ſhall think of appealing beyond Sea, let him be admitted into communion by none in* Africk.

Non præsumat ullus ad Transmarina Concilia, vel ad Primates Provinciarum, ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, à nullo infra Africam in communionem ſuſcipiatur. Conc. Milev. cap. 22. Conc. Afr. Can. 72.

Non ſi de inferioribus Clericis hoc Concilii Nicæni hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de Epiſcopis voluit obſervari? Conc. Afr. Can. 105. (vel Epiſt.)

For if the Nicene *Council took this care of the inferiour Clergy, how much more did they intend it ſhould relate to Biſhops alſo?*

5. All perſons were forbidden to entertain communion with Biſhops condemned by any one Church, which is inconſiſtent with their being allowed relief at *Rome*.

6. This is evident in the caſe of *Marcion*, by the aſſertion of the *Roman* Church at that time.

7. When the Pope hath offered to receive Appeals, or to meddle in caſes before decided, he hath found oppoſition and reproof. Thus when *Feliciſſimus* and *Fortunatus*, having been cenſured and rejected from communion in *Africk*, did apply themſelves to Pope *Cornelius*, with ſupplication to be admitted by him; Saint *Cyprian* maintaineth that fact to be irregular and unjuſt, and not to be countenanced, for divers reaſons. Likewiſe, when *Baſilides* and *Martialis*, being for their crimes depoſed in *Spain*, had recourſe to Pope *Stephanus* for Reſtitution, the Clergy and People there had no regard to the judgment of the Pope; the which their reſolution Saint *Cyprian* did commend and encourage.

Cypr. Ep. 55. (ad Cornelium.)

Cypr. Ep. 68.

When *Athanaſius*, *Marcellus*, *Paulus*, &c. having been condemned by *Synods*, did apply themſelves for relief to Pope *Julius*; the *Oriental* Biſhops did highly tax this courſe as irregular; diſclaiming any power in him to receive them, or meddle in their cauſe. Nor could Pope *Julius* by any Law or Inſtance diſprove their plea: Nor did the Pope aſſert to himſelf any peculiar authority to reviſe the Cauſe, or otherwiſe juſtify his proceeding, than by right common to all Biſhops of vindicating Right and Innocence which were oppreſſed; and of aſſerting the Faith, for which they were perſecuted. Indeed at firſt the *Oriental* Biſhops were contented to refer the cauſe to Pope *Julius* as Arbitrator; which ſignifieth that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their Cauſe or his Prejudice, they ſtarted, and ſtood to the canonicalneſs of the former deciſion.

The conteſt of the *African* Church with Pope *Celeſtine*, in the Cauſe of *Apiarius* is famous; and the Reaſons which they aſſign for repelling that Appeal, are very notable and peremptory.

Refer. ad Sect. 7. Vid. Supr.

8. Divers of the Fathers alledge like reaſons for Appeals. Saint *Cyprian* alledgeth theſe:

Oportet utique eos quibus præſumus non circumcurſare, nec Epiſcoporum concordiam coharentem ſuâ ſubdolâ & fallaci temeritate collidere, ſed agere illic cauſam ſuam, ubi & accuſatores habere, & teſtes ſui criminis poſſint. Cypr. Ep. 55.

1. Becauſe there was an Eccleſiaſtical Law againſt them.

2. Becauſe they contain iniquity; as prejudicing the right of each Biſhop granted by Chriſt, in governing his flock.

3. Becauſe the Clergy and People ſhould not be engaged to run gadding about.

4. Becauſe Cauſes might better be decided there, where witneſſes of fact might eaſily be had.

5. Becauſe there is every where a competent authority, equal to any that might be had otherwhere.

6. Becauſe it did derogate from the gravity of Biſhops to alter their Cenſure.—

—Ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλέμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιποιούμενος αὐτῶν —Theod. 11. 16.

7. Pope *Liberius* deſired of *Conſtantius* that the Judgment of *Athanaſius* might be made in *Alexandria* for ſuch reaſons, *becauſe there the accuſed, the accuſers, and their defender were.*

8. St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Argument againſt *Theophilus* meddling in his caſe, may be ſet againſt *Rome* as well as *Alexandria*.

9. St. *Auſtin*, in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid Arbitration (more proper for Eccleſiaſtical cauſes) doth conjoin other Apoſtolical Churches with that of *Rome*; *For the buſineſs* (ſays he) *was not about Prieſts and Deacons or the inferiour Clergy, but the Collegues* [*Biſhops,*] *who may reſerve their cauſe entire for the judgment of their Collegues, eſpecially thoſe of the Apoſtolical Churches.* He would not have ſaid ſo, if he had apprehended that the Pope had a peculiar right of reviſing Judgments.

Neque enim de Presbyteris aut Diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis Clericis, ſed de Collegis agebatur qui poſſunt aliorum Collegarum judicio, præſertim Apoſtolicarum Eccleſiarum, cauſam ſuam integram reſervare. Aug. Ep. 162.

10. Pope *Damaſus* (or rather Pope *Siricius*) doth affirm himſelf incompetent to judge in a caſe, which had been afore determined by the Synod of *Capua*;——*but*, ſays he, *ſince the Synod of* Capua *has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it.*

Sed cùm hujuſmodi fuerit Concilii Capuenſis judicium —— advertimus quòd nobis judicandi forma competere non poſſit.

11. Anciently there were no Appeals (properly ſo called or juriſdictional) in the Church; they were, as *Socrates* telleth us, introduced by *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*; who *firſt did appeal to a greater Judicature, againſt Eccleſiaſtical rule and cuſtom.* This is an Argument, that about that time (a little before the great Synod of *Conſtantinople*) greater Judicatories, or *Dioceſan* Synods were eſtabliſhed; when as before *Provincial* Synods were the laſt reſorts.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἓν μόνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ φῶτὸ συνηθὲς τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν, ἐκκλήτους ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος. Socr. 2. 40. Καθαιρεθεὶς δ' ἓν ὅμως ἐκκλήτα βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μᾶζον ἐπεκαλέσατο δικαστήριον. *Ibid.*

Being depoſed he ſent a libel of Appeal to them who depoſed him, appealing to a greater Judicature.

12. Upon many occaſions Appeals were not made to the Pope, as in all likelihood they would have been, if it had been ſuppoſed that a power of receiving them did belong to him. *Paulus Samoſatenus* did appeal to the Emperor. The *Donatiſts* did not appeal to the Pope, but to the Emperor. Their Cauſe was by the Emperor referred not to the Pope ſingly (as it ought to have been, and would have been by ſo juſt a Prince, if it had been his right) but to him and other Judges as the Emperor's Commiſſioners. *Athanaſius* did firſt appeal to the Emperor. St. *Chryſoſtome* did requeſt the Pope's Succour, but he did not appeal to him as judge; altho' he knew him favourably diſpoſed, and the Cauſe ſure in his hand, but he appealed to a General Council; the which *Innocent* himſelf did conceive *neceſſary* for deciſion of that Cauſe.

Illos verò ab Eccleſiaſtico judicio provocâſſe, &c. Aug. Ep.

Ad Imperatorem appellaverunt. Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 16.

Quid quod nec ipſe uſurpavit; rogatus Imperator judices miſit Epiſcopos qui cum ipſo ſederent, & de tota illa cauſa quod juſtum videretur ſtatuerent. Aug. Ep. 162.

Ἀναγκαία δὴ δίαγνωσις συνοδική. Sozom. 8. 26.

[There are in Hiſtory innumerable Inſtances of Biſhops being condemned and expelled from their Sees, but few of Appeals; which is a ſign that was no approved remedy in common opinion]

Eutyches did appeal to all the *Patriarchs*. *Theodoret* did intend to appeal to all the *Weſtern* Biſhops. *Infrà.*

13. Thoſe very Canons of *Sardica* (the moſt unhappy that ever were made to the Church) which did introduce appeals to the Pope, do yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and do upon no account favour that uſe of them, to which (to the overthrow of all Eccleſiaſtical Liberty and Diſcipline) they have been perverted. For,

1. They do pretend to confer a Privilege on the Pope; which argueth that he before had no claim thereto.

2. They do qualifie and reſtrain that Privilege to certain Caſes and Forms; which is a ſign that he had no power therein flowing from abſolute Sovereignty; for it is ſtrange, that they who did pretend and intend ſo much to favour him, ſhould clip his power.

3. It is not really a power which they grant of receiving Appeals in all Cauſes; but a power of conſtituting Judges, qualified according to certain conditions, to reviſe a ſpecial ſort of Cauſes concerning the Judgment and Depoſition of Biſhops. Which Conſiderations do ſubvert his pretence to original and univerſal Juriſdiction upon Appeals.

14. Some Popes did challenge Juriſdiction upon Appeals, as given them by the *Nicene* Canons, meaning thereby thoſe of *Sardica*; which ſheweth they had no better Plea, and therefore no original Right. And otherwhere we ſhall conſider, what validity thoſe Canons may be allowed to have.

15. The

15. The General Synod of *Chalcedon* (of higher Authority than that of *Sardica*) derived Appeals, at leaſt in the *Eaſtern* Churches, into another Chanel; namely
Can. 9. 17. to the *Primate* of each *Dioceſe*, or to the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*. That this was the laſt reſort doth appear, from that otherwiſe they would have mentioned the Pope.

16. Appeals in caſes of Faith, or general Diſcipline, were indeed ſometimes made to the conſideration of the Pope; but not only to him, but to all other *Patriarchs* and *Primates*, as concerned in the common maintenance of the common Faith, or Diſcipline. So did *Eutyches* appeal to the *Patriarchs*.

Baron. *Anno* 865 —— P. Nic. I. Ep. 37. &c. *Vid.* Matt. Paris, *Ann.* 1094. Statutes of *Proviſors*. *Præmunire*, &c.

17. The Pope even in later times, even in the *Weſtern* parts hath found rubs in his Trade of Appeals. Conſider the ſcuffle between Pope *Nicholas* I. and *Hincmarus* Biſhop of *Rhemes*.

18. Chriſtian States, to prevent the intolerable vexations and miſchiefs ariſing from this practice, have been conſtrained to make Laws againſt them. Particularly *England*.

Vel oppreſſis Apoſtolicæ Sedis appellationem ſubtrahitis. Eadm. p. 113.

Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad Sedem Apoſtolicam deſtinatur. Eadm. p. 113.

Peregrina judicia modis omnibus ſubmovemus. Hen. I. *Leg.* cap. 31.

Ibi ſemper cauſa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur. Ibid.

Quod Anglici extra regnum in cauſis auctoritate Apoſtolicâ trahuntur. Matt. Paris, p. 699. 10.

In the Twelfth Age Pope *Paſchal* II. complained of King *Henry* I. *That he deprived the oppreſſed of the benefit of appealing to the Apoſtolick See.* It was one of King *Henry* I. Laws,---*none is permitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to the Apoſtolick See. Foreign judgments we utterly remove,* ---*there let the cauſe be tried, where the crime was committed.* It was one of the Grievances ſent to Pope *Innocent* IV. *That Engliſhmen were drawn out of the Kingdom by the Pope's Authority, to have their cauſes heard.*

Nor in after-times were Appeals by Law in any caſe permitted without the King's leave; although ſometimes by the facility of Princes, or difficulty of times, the *Roman* Court (ever importunate and vigilant for its profits) did obtain a relaxation or neglect of Laws inhibiting Appeals.

19. There were Appeals from Popes to General Councils very frequently. *Vid.* The Senate of *Paris* after the *Concordats* between *Lewis* XI. and Pope *Leo* X.

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ. Rom. 13. 1.

20. By many Laws and Inſtances it appeareth, that Appellations have been made to the Emperors in the greateſt Cauſes; and that without Popes reclaiming or taking it in bad part. St. *Paul* did * *appeal to Cæſar*. *Paulus Samoſatenus* did appeal to *Aurelianus*. So the *Donatiſts* did appeal to *Conſtantine*. † *Athanaſius* to *Conſtantine*. The || *Egyptian* Biſhops to *Conſtantine*. **Priſcillianus* to *Maximus*. *Idacius* to *Gratian*. So that Canons were made to reſtrain Biſhops from recourſe *ad Comitatum*.

* Act. 25.
Ad Imperatorem appellaverunt. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.
† *Apol.* 2. p. 804.
|| Ath. *Apol.* 2. p. 797, 798.
* *Ad Principem provocavit.* Sulp. Sev. 2. 64. Sulp. Sev. 2. 63. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* P. *de* Marca. 4. 4. ——

21. Whereas they do alledge Inſtances for Appeal, thoſe well conſidered do prejudice their Cauſe; for they are few, in compariſon to the occaſions of them, that ever did ariſe; they are near all of them late, when Papal encroachments had grown; ſome of them are very impertinent to the cauſe; ſome of them may ſtrongly be retorted againſt them; all of them are invalid.

If the Pope originally had ſuch a right (known, unqueſtionable, prevalent) there might have been producible many, ancient, clear, proper, concluding Inſtances.

Bell. 2. 21. All that *Bellarmine* (after his own ſearch, and that of his Predeceſſours in Controverſie) could muſter, are theſe following; upon which we ſhall briefly reflect: (adding a few others, which may be alledged by th[illegible] 2.)

Ann. 142. He alledgeth *Marcion*, as appealing to the Pope.

Epiph. *hær.* 41.
Ἐξεῦ) τῆ Ἐκκλησίας.
Ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἄνεσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.
Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου Πατρὸς σοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. μία γὰρ ἐστὶ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλήτουργῷ Πατρὶ τῷ σῷ.

The truth was, that *Marcion*, for having corrupted a Maid, was by his own Father, Biſhop of *Synope*, *driven from the Church*; whereupon he did thence *fly to Rome*, there *begging admittance to Communion, but none did grant it*; at which he expoſtulating, they replied. *We cannot without the permiſſion of thy honourable Father do this*; *for there is one Faith, and one Concord*; *and we cannot croſs thy Father our good fellow-Miniſter*: This was the caſe and iſſue; and is it not ſtrange this ſhould be produced for an Appeal, which was only a ſupplication of a fu[illegible]ve criminal to be admitted to Communion; and wherein is utterly diſclaimed any power to thwart the Judgment of a particular Biſhop or Judge, upon account of unity in common Faith and Peace? ſhould the Pope return the ſame anſwer to

every

every Appellant, what would become of his Privilege? So that they muſt give us leave to retort this as a pregnant Inſtance againſt their pretence.

He alledgeth the forementioned addreſs of *Feliciſſimus* and *Fortunatus* to Pope *Cornelius*; the which was but a factious *circumcurſation* of deſperate Wretches; the which, or any like it, St. *Cyprian* argueth the Pope in Law and Equity obliged not to regard; becauſe a definitive Sentence was already paſſed on them by their proper Judges in *Africk*, from whom in conſcience and reaſon there could be no Appeal. So *Bellarmine* would filtch from us one of our invincible Arguments againſt him. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. *Ann.* 252.

He alſo alledgeth the caſe of *Baſilides*; which alſo we before did ſhew to make againſt him; his application to the Pope being diſavowed by St. *Cyprian*, and proving ineffectual. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

Theſe are all the Inſtances which the firſt three hundred years did afford; ſo that all that time this great Privilege lay dormant.

He alledgeth the recourſe of *Athanaſius* to Pope *Julius*; but this was not properly to him as to a Judge, but as to a fellow-Biſhop, a Friend of Truth and Right, for his ſuccour and countenance againſt perſecutors of him, chiefly for his Orthodoxy. The Pope did undertake to examine his Plea, partly as Arbitrator upon reference of both Parties; partly for his own concern to ſatisfie himſelf whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the Pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent Judges; and that therefore the pretended Sentence was null; and conſequently he did not undertake the cauſe as upon Appeal. But whereas his proceeding did look like an exerciſe of Juriſdiction, derogatory to a Synodical reſolution of the caſe, he was oppoſed by the *Oriental* Biſhops, as uſurping an undue power. Unto which charge he doth not anſwer directly, by aſſerting to himſelf any ſuch authority by Law or Cuſtom; but otherwiſe excuſing himſelf. In the iſſue, the Pope's Sentence was not peremptory; until upon examining the Merits of the Cauſe it was approved for juſt as to matter by the Synod of *Sardica* Theſe things otherwhere we have largely ſhewed; and conſequently this Inſtance is deficient. *Ann.* 350. Διδασκόντες ὅτι καταλύσεως ἡ πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέσεις ἠνέιχθη. Socr. 2. 20. Socr. 2. 20.

He alledgeth St. *Chryſoſtome*, as appealing to Pope *Innocent* I. but if you read his *Epiſtles* to that Pope, you will find no ſuch matter; he doth only complain, and declare to him the iniquity of the proceſs againſt him, not as to a Judge, but as to a friend and fellow-Biſhop, concerned that ſuch injurious and miſchievous dealings ſhould be ſtopped; requeſting from him not judgment of his cauſe, but ſuccour in procuring it by a General Synod; to which indeed he did appeal, as *Sozomen* expreſly telleth us; and as indeed he doth himſelf affirm. Accordingly Pope *Innocent* did not aſſume to himſelf the judgment of his cauſe, but did endeavour to procure a Synod for it, affirming it to be *needful*; why ſo, if his own Judgment, according to his Privilege, did ſuffice? why indeed did not Pope *Innocent*, (being well ſatisfied in the caſe, yea paſſionately touched with it) preſently ſummon *Theophilus* and his adherents, undertaking the Tryal? did Pope *Nicholas* I. proceed ſo in the caſe of *Rhotaldus*? why was he content only *to write conſolatory Letters to him, and to his people*; not pretending to underſtand the deciſion of his cauſe? if the Pope had been endowed with ſuch a Privilege, it is morally impoſſible that it ſhould not have ſhone forth clearly upon this occaſion; it could hardly be that St. *Chryſoſtome* himſelf ſhould not in plain terms avow it; that he ſhould not formally apply to it as the moſt certain and eaſie way of finding relief? that he ſhould not earneſtly mind and urge the Pope to uſe his privilege: why ſhould he ſpeak of that tedious and difficult way of a *General Synod*, when ſo ſhort and eaſie a way was at hand? but the truth is, he did not know any ſuch power the Pope had by himſelf. St. *Chryſoſtome* rather did conceive all ſuch foreign Judicatures to be unreaſonable and unjuſt; for the argument which he darteth at *Theophilus* doth as well reach the *Papal* Juriſdiction upon appeals; for *It was* (ſaith he) *not congruous, that an* Egyptian *ſhould judge thoſe in* Thrace; why not an *Egyptian* as well as an *Italian*? and, *If* (ſaith he) *this*

"Ωσε (*Athanaſius & Paulus*) τὰ καθ' αὐτὸς ἡ τὰ τ πίστεως ἐπὶ Οἰκυμενικῆς συνόδε τέλ@ λαβῶν. Socr. 2. 20.

Tom. 7. *Epiſt.* 122., 123.

Περὶ τῶν ὑμετέραν ἀναδεχομεῖν ἀγάπην.

Παρακαλῶ τ ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην διανασῆναι, ἡ συναλγῆσαι ἡ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥσε σβῆναι ταῦτα τὰ κακά.

Οἰκυμενικὴν ἀπεκαλέῖτο σύνοδον. Soz. 8. 17.

Ἀλλ' ἁπάντων ὑμῶν ἡ συνόδου ἐπικαλεμένων. Theod. ſ. 34.

Οἰκυμενικὴν ἡ σύνοδον συναγέιραι σπεύδζων. Soz. 8. 26.

Ἀναγκαία ἔδι διάγνωσις συνοδικὴ. *Ibid.*

Ἰννοκέντι@ ὁ Ῥώμης, ἡ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας ὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννε, ἀλλὰ διὰ γεαμμάτων τ πόλεως τ κλῆρον παρεμύθησαν, ἡ ἐδυσχέραινον τοῖς τολμήμασι. Theoph. Soz. 8. 26.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀκλαυθον ἦν ἢ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ διαζεῦξαι.
Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ τοῦ Θ. καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπίεναι παροικίας καὶ ἐκ τούτων διαγιγνώσκειν, καὶ ὁπόθεν ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίαν πρόσοδος ἀπὸ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν, ἴσθι ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται. ——Epiſt. 122.

Scripſimus iſtis & ad Venerium Mediolanenſem, & ad Chromatium Aquilegienſem Epiſcopum. Pallad. cap 2.

Flavianus autem contra ſe prolatâ ſententiâ per ejus legatos Sedem Apoſtolicam appellavit libello. Liber. cap. 12.
Neceſſitate coactus fuit ita agere, eo quòd reliqui Patriarchæ adeſſent ——Marc. 7. 7.

this cuſtom ſhould prevail, and it become lawful for thoſe who will, to go into the Pariſhes of others; even from ſuch diſtances, and to caſt out whom any one pleaſeth, doing by their own authority what they pleaſe, know that all things will go to wreck——Why may not this be ſaid of a *Roman* as well of an *Alexandrian?* St. *Cryſoſtome* alſo (we may obſerve) did not only apply himſelf to the *Pope*, but other *Weſtern Biſhops*; particularly to the Biſhops of *Milain* and *Aquileia*; whom he called *Beatiſſimi Domini:* did he appeal to them?

He alledgeth *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* appealing to Pope *Leo:* but let us conſider the ſtory. *Flavianus* for his Orthodoxy (or upon other accounts) very injuriouſly treated and oppreſſed by *Dioſcorus*, who was ſupported by the favour of the Imperial Court; having in his caſe no other remedy, did appeal to the *Pope*; who alone among the *Patriarchs* had diſſented from thoſe Proceedings. The Pope was himſelf involved in the cauſe, being of the ſame perſuaſion; having been no leſs affronted and hardly treated (conſidering their power, and that he was out of their reach) and condemned by the ſame Adverſaries.

To him therefore as to the leading Biſhop of *Chriſtendom*, in the firſt place intereſted in defence of the common Faith, together with a Synod, not to him as ſole Judge, did *Flavianus* appeal. *He* (ſaith *Placidia* in her Letter to *Theodoſius*) *did appeal to the Apoſtolick See, and to all the Biſhops of theſe parts*; that is to the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, which were not engaged in the party of *Dioſcorus*; and to whom elſe could he have appealed?

Ὡς προσηγόμεθον —— Placidia.
Πρὸς τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων. Syn. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 26.

Κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν συνόδων. p. 25.

Valentinian in his *Epiſtle* to *Theodoſius* in behalf of Pope *Leo* ſaith, that he did appeal *according to the manner of Synods*; and whatever thoſe words ſignifie, that could not be to the Pope as a ſingle Judge; for before that time in what Synod was ever ſuch an appeal made? what cuſtom could there be favourable to ſuch a pretence?

But what his Appeal did import is beſt interpretable by the proceeding conſequent; which was not the Pope's aſſuming to himſelf the Judicature either immediately or by delegation of Judges, but endeavouring to procure a *General* Synod for it; the which endeavour doth appear in many *Epiſtles* to *Theodoſius* and to his Siſter *Pulcheria*, ſoliciting that ſuch a Synod might be indicted by his order: *All the Biſhops* (ſaith Pope *Leo*) *with ſighs and tears do ſupplicate your Grace, that becauſe our Agents did faithfully reclaim, and Biſhop* Flavianus *did preſent them a libel of appeal, you would command a General Synod to be celebrated in* Italy.

Omnes mansuetudini veſtræ cum gemitibus & lachrymis ſupplicant Sacerdotes, ut quia & noſtri fideliter reclamârunt, & ejuſdem libellum appellationis Flavianus Epiſcopus dedit, generalem Synodum jubentis intra Italiam celebrari——P. Leo Epiſt. 25.

Dioſcorus and his Party would ſcarce have been ſo ſilly as to condemn *Flavianus*, if they had known, (which, if it had been a caſe clear in Law or obvious in Practice, they could not but have known) that the *Pope*, who was deeply engaged in the ſame Cauſe, had a power to reverſe (and revenge) their proceedings. Nor would the good Emperor *Theodoſius* ſo pertinaciouſly have maintained the proceedings of that *Epheſine* Synod, if he had deemed the Pope duly Sovereign Governor and Judge; or that a right of ultimate Deciſion upon Appeal did appertain to him. Nor had the Pope needed to have taken ſo much pains in procuring a Synod, if he could have judged without it. Nor would Pope *Leo* (a Man of ſo much Spirit and Zeal for the Dignity of his *See*) have been ſo wanting to the maintenance of his right, as not immediately to have proceeded unto Trial of the Cauſe, without precarious attendance for a Synod, if he thought his pretence to ſuch Appeals as we now ſpeak of, to have been good or plauſible in the World at that time.

The next caſe is that of *Theodoret*. His words indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of Pope *Leo*, being then high in reputation, do ſound favourably; but we abſtracting from the ſound of words muſt regard the reaſon of things. His words are theſe, *I expect the ſuffrage of your Apoſtolick See, and beſeech and earneſtly entreat your Holineſs to ſuccour me who appeal to your right and juſt Judicature.*

Ἐγὼ γὰρ τῇ Ἀποστολικῇ ὑμῶν θρόνῳ πεποίθως τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν ἀγχιστείαν ἐπαμύναι μοι τῷ ὀρθὸν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλουμένῳ κριτήριον. Theod. Ep. 113. (ad P. Leonem)

He

He never had been particularly or perſonally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal as to a Judge; nor therefore is his application to the Pope to be interpreted for ſuch; but rather as to a charitable ſuccourer of him in his diſtreſs, by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him.

Vid. Ep. 112. *ad Dominum.*

Ἀλλα κἀμὲ τὰ ἐπίσολα ὁμοίως καλάμῳ καλέσφαξεν, ὅτε καλέσας εἰς δικασήριον, ὅτε παρόντα κεῖνας — μὴ τοσάτας ἰδρῶτας ἢ πόνους μὴ δικασάμενον καλέχειν λίθῳ.

Οἱ ἢ δικαιόταλοι δικασαὶ τὰ ἐπίσολα καλέκειναν ἐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον ἢ κ λίαν ἐπαινέσαντες τὰ δόγματα εἰς καληγορίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντα συγγράμματα. *Epiſt.* 138.

He only was ſuppoſed erroneous in Faith, and a perillous abettour of *Neſtorianiſm*, becauſe he had ſmartly contradicted *Cyril*; which prejudice did cauſe him to be prohibited from coming to the Synod of *Epheſus*; and there in his abſence to be denounced Heterodox.

Βασιλικοῖς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ Κύρῳ πρεσβήσαντες γράμμασιν — *Epiſt.* 145.

Vid. Theod. *Epiſt. ſupr & Ep.* 127. 129. Καί με νόμῳ ἐκβάλλε καθάπερ βασιλικός. Βασιλικοῖς γράμμασι κολυθέντες καλαλαβεῖν τ' Ἔφεσον — *Ep.* 138. 136.

Μαθεῖν ἀδιόλως παρ' ὑμῶν εἴτε χρή με πέρξαι τ' ἄδικον ταύτῃ καθαίρεσιν, ἢ μή. *Ep.* 113.

Ὥστε κ τὰς τῆς ἀναβολῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπολαῦσαι κηδεμονίας. *Ep.* 118.

His Appeal then to the Pope (having no other recourſe in whom he did confide, finding him to concur with himſelf in opinion againſt *Eutychianiſm*) was no other than (as the word is often uſed in common ſpeech, when we ſay, I appeal to your judgment in this or that caſe) a referring it to the Pope's conſideration, whether his Faith was ſound and Orthodox; capacitating him to retain his Office: the which upon his explication and profeſſion thereof (preſented in terms of extraordinary reſpects and deference) the Pope did approve; thereby (as a good Divine rather than as a formal Judge) acquitting him of Heterodoxy: the which approbation (in regard to the great opinion they had of the Pope's skill in thoſe points, and to the favour he had obtained by conteſting againſt the *Eutychians*) did bear great ſway in the Synod; ſo that, (although not without oppoſition of many, and not upon abſolute terms) he was permitted to ſit among the Fathers of *Chalcedon*.

Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν κειμήσόμενα πέρξομεν ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ.

Obſervations.

1. We do not read of any formal Trial the Pope made of *Theodoret*'s caſe; that he was cited, that his Accuſers did appear, that his Cauſe was diſcuſſed: but only a ſimple approbation of him.

2. We may obſerve that *Theodoret* did write to *Flavianus* in like terms: *We entreat your holineſs to fight in behalf of the faith which is aſſaulted, and to defend the Canons which are trampled under foot.*

Τῷ σῷ ἁγιωσύνῃ ἀβιάλως ἀμῦναι τῇ πολεμουμένῃ πίσεως ἁρμαχῆσαι, κ τῶν κυμαινόντων ἀφαγωνίσασθαι κανόνων. Theod. *Epiſt.* 86.

3. We may obſerve, that *Theodoret* expecting this favour of Pope *Leo*; and thence being moved to commend the *Roman* See to the height, and to reckon its ſpecial advantages, doth not yet mention his Supremacy of power, or Univerſality of Juriſdiction: For thoſe words, *it befitteth you to be prime in all things*, are only general words relating to the advantages which he ſubjoyneth; of which he ſaith, *for your throne is adorned with many advantages*, in a florid enumeration whereof he paſſeth over that of peculiar Juriſdiction; he nameth the magnitude, ſplendour, majeſty and populouſneſs of the City; the early faith praiſed by St. *Paul*, the Sepulchres of the two great Apoſtles, and their deceaſe there; but the Pope's being Univerſal Sovereign and Judge (which was the main advantage whereof that *See* could be capable) he doth not mention; why? becauſe he was not aware thereof, elſe ſurely he would not have paſſed it in ſilence.

Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν πρωτοδίκῃ ἁρμόττει — Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλεονεκτήμασι.

Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐπῶν ὧν κ τῶν οἰκουμένῃ Ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ κ περ ἧς ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅτι αἱρέσεως μεμύηκε δυσωδίας ἀμύητος, κ οὐδεὶς πανάγια φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκδύσεν, ἀλλὰ τ' Ἀποστολικὴν ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε. Theod. *Ep.* 116. (*ad* Renatum *Presb.*)

That holy See has the principality over the Churches in all the world for many reaſons; but eſpecially becauſe ſhe continued free from the taint of hereſie, and none otherwiſe minded ever ſate in her, ſhe having kept the Apoſtolick ſtate always unmixt.

4. We may alſo obſerve, that whatever the opinion of *Theodoret* was now concerning the Pope's power, he not long before did hardly take him for ſuch a Judge, when he did oppoſe Pope *Celeſtine*, concurring with *Cyril*, at the firſt *Epheſine* Synod. He then indeed looking on Pope *Celeſtine* as a prejudiced Adverſary, did not write to him, but to the other Biſhops of the *Weſt*, as we

Καὶ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις, τῷ Μεδιολάνου φημὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἀκυλείας, καὶ τῷ Ῥαβέννης περὶ τούτων ἐγεγράμμην, διαμαρτυρόμενος ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρείου ταύτης καινοτομίας πεπλήσθαι. Theod. *Epiſt.* 112.

ſee by thoſe words in his Epiſtle to *Domnus*; *And we have written to the Biſhops of the* Weſt, *about theſe things, to him of* Milan, *I ſay, to him of* Aquileia, *and to him of* Ravenna, *teſtifying*, &c.

5. Yea we may obſerve, that *Theodoret* did intend with the Emperour's leave to appeal or refer his cauſe to the whole body of *Weſtern* Biſhops, as himſelf doth expreſs in thoſe words to *Anatolius*, *I do pray your magnificence, that you would requeſt this favour of our dread Sovereign, that I may have recourſe to the* Weſt, *and may be judged by the moſt religious and holy Biſhops there.*

Ἀξιόλογῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν. τοῦτο αἰτῆσαι τὸν θεοσεβῆ καὶ χριστιανικὸν κορυφαῖον, ὥστε με τῆς ἑσπερίου καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκείνη θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις Ἐπισκόποις δικάσαι. Theod. 119. (*ad* Anatol.)

Bellarmine farther doth alledge the appeal of *Hadrianus* Biſhop of *Thebes* to Pope *Gregory* I. the which he received and aſſerted by excommunicating the Arch-biſhop of *Juſtiniana Prima*, for depoſing *Hadrianus* without regard to that appeal. I anſwer,

Greg. *lib.* 1. *Indict.* 11. *Ep.* 6.

1. The example is late, when the Popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits: thoſe *Maxims* had got in before the time of that worthy Pope; who thought he might uſe the power of which he found himſelf poſſeſſed.

2. It is impertinent, becauſe the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana* had then a ſpecial dependence upon the *Roman* See; from whence an Univerſal Juriſdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an Uſurpation; nor doth the opinion or practice of Pope *Gregory* ſuffice to determine a queſtion of right; for good men are liable to prejudice, and its conſequences.

To theſe Inſtances produc'd by *Bellarmine*, ſome add the Appeal of *Eutyches* to Pope *Leo*; to which it may be excepted, that if he did appeal, it was not to the Pope ſolely, but to him with the other *Patriarchs*; ſo it is expreſly ſaid in the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon* Synod; *His depoſition being read, he did appeal to the Holy Synod of the moſt Holy Biſhop of* Rome, *and of* Alexandria, *and of* Jeruſalem, *and of* Theſſalonica; the which is an argument, that he did not apprehend the right of receiving Appeals did ſolely or peculiarly belong to him of *Rome*.

Ἀναγινωσκομένης τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ἐκεκαλέσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τὴν ἁγιωτάτην Ἐπισκόπων Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης. Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 1.

Ingreſſus eſt ad Calendionem Antiochenum Patriarcham, & ſumptis ab eo interceſſionis Synodicis Literis Romanum Pontificem Simplicium appellavit, ſicut B. fecerat Athanaſius, & ſuaſit ſcribere per ſe Acacio Conſtantinopolitano Epiſcopo—— Liber. *cap.* 18. Baron. *Ann.* 483. Sect. 1.

Liberatus ſaith, that *Johannes Talaida went to* Calendion *Patriarch of* Antioch, *and taking of him interceſſory Synodical Letters, appeal'd to* Simplicius *Biſhop of* Rome, *as Saint* Athanaſius *had done, and perſuaded him to write in his behalf to* Acacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

In regard to any more Inſtances of this kind, we might generally propoſe theſe following conſiderations.

1. It is no wonder, that any Biſhop being condemned, eſpecially in cauſes relating to Faith or common Intereſt, ſhould have recourſe to the *Roman* Biſhop, or to any other Biſhop of great authority for refuge or for relief; which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation, and their power among their dependents.

2. Bad men, being deſervedly corrected, will abſurdly reſort any whither with mouths full of clamour and calumny; if not with hope of relief, yet with deſign of revenge; as did *Marcion*, as did *Felicisſimus*, as did *Apiarius* to the Pope.

3. Good men being abuſed will expreſs ſome reſentment, and complain of their wrongs, where they may preſume of a fair and favourable hearing: ſo did *Athanaſius*, *Flavianus*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret* apply themſelves to the ſame Biſhops, flouriſhing in ſo great reputation and wealth.

So did the Monks of *Egypt* (*Ammonius* and *Iſidorus*) from the perſecutions of *Theophilus* fly to the protection and ſuccour of St. *Chryſoſtome*; which gave occaſion to the troubles of that incomparable Perſonage; the which is ſo illuſtrious an inſtance, that the words of the *Hiſtorian* relating to it, deſerve ſetting down.

They

They jointly did endeavour, that the trains againſt them might be examined by the Emperor as Judge, and by the Biſhop John; *for they conceived that he having conſcience of uſing a juſt freedom, would be able to ſuccour them according to right: but he did receive the men applying to them courteouſly, and treated them reſpectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the Church* —— *He alſo writ to* Theophilus *to render communion to them, as being Orthodox; and if there were need of judging their caſe by law, that he would ſend whom they thought good to proſecute the cauſe.*

Κοινῇ τε ἐπῃδάζον πρὸς βασιλέα κατὰ τῶν Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον ἐλέγχειν τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβολάς· ὡς ἂν δι' εὐθύκαρδίαν παῤῥησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελέστερον δύνασθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ προσελθόντας αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄνδρας φιλοσόφους ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ Ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἐκώλυσε. —— ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Θεοφίλῳ κοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι, ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν· εἰ δέ τις δίκη δέοι κείνοις τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς, ὅστις ἄλλους ἂν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικασόμενον. Soz. 8. 13.

If this had been to the Pope, it would have been alledged for an Appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any Inſtance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, do reſort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder if they accoſt them in higheſt terms of reſpect, and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; ſo inducing them to regard and favour their cauſe.

5. Neither is it ſtrange, that great perſons favourably ſhould entertain thoſe, who make ſuch addreſſes to them, they always coming crouching in a ſuppliant poſture, and with fair pretences; it being alſo natural to men to delight in ſeeing their power acknowledged; and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted: for *Eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready good will to take part with thoſe who are under.* So when *Baſilides*, when *Marcellus*, when *Euſtathius Sebaſtenus*, when *Maximus* the *Cynick*, when *Apiarius* were condemned, the Pope was haſty to engage for them; more liking their application to him, than weighing their cauſe.

Φιλεῖ μάλιστα κάμπτειν τὸ περίχωρον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενές, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας ἐκκεῖται τῷ ἐλαττωμένῳ περιῤῥεπῶς. Greg. Naz. Orat. 23.

6. And when any perſon doth continue long in a flouriſhing eſtate, ſo that ſuch addreſſes are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of lawful power to receive them, doth ariſe both in him and in others; ſo that of a voluntary Friend he become an authorized Protector, a Patron, a Judge of ſuch perſons in ſuch caſes.

X. The Sovereign is fountain of all Juriſdiction; and all inferior Magiſtrates derive their Authority from his Warrant and Commiſſion, acting as his Deputies or Miniſters, according to that intimation in St. *Peter*, —— *whether to the King as Supreme, or to Governors as ſent by him.* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Accordingly the Pope doth challenge this advantage to himſelf, that he is the fountain of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; pretending all Epiſcopal power to be derived from him.

The rule of the Church (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *is Monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others*; the which Aphoriſm he well proveth from the form of creating Biſhops, as they call it, *We do provide ſuch a Church with ſuch a perſon; and we do prefer him to be Father and Paſtor and Biſhop of the ſaid Church; committing to him the adminiſtration in temporals and ſpirituals in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.*

Regimen Eccleſiæ eſt Monarchicum, ergo omnis auctoritas eſt in uno, & ab illo in alios derivatur. Bell. 4. 24. Epiph. *hær.* 42.

Providemus Eccleſiæ tali de tali Perſona, & præficimus eum in Patrem, & Paſtorem, & Epiſcopum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, committentes ei adminiſtrationem in temporalibus & ſpiritualibus; in nomine, &c. Ibid.

Pope *Pius* II. in his *Bull* of *Retractation*, thus expreſſeth the ſenſe of his *See*: *In the militant Church, which reſembleth the triumphant, there is one Moderator and Judge of all, the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, from whom, as from the Head, all power and authority is derived to the ſubject members; the which doth immediately flow into it from the Lord Chriſt.*

In Eccleſia militanti quæ inſtar triumphantis habet, unus eſt omnium moderator & arbiter Jeſu Chriſti vicarius, à quo tanquam capite omnis in ſubjecta membra poteſtas & authoritas derivatur, quæ à Chriſto Domino ſine medio in ipſum influit. P. Pius II. in *Bull. Retract.*

A Congregation of *Cardinals* appointed by Pope *Paulus* III. ſpeaking after the ſtyle and ſentiments of that *See*, did ſay to him, *Your Holineſs doth ſo bear the care of Chriſt's Church, that you have very many Miniſters, by which you manage that care, theſe are all the Clergy, on whom the ſervice of God is charged; eſpecially Prieſts, and more eſpecially Curates, and above all Biſhops.*

Sanctitas veſtra ita gerit curam Eccleſiæ Chriſti, ut Miniſtros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem ſunt Clerici omnes, quibus mandatus eſt cultus Dei; Presbyteri præſertim & maximè Curati, & præ omnibus Epiſcopi —— apud Cham. *de Pont. Oecum.* 10, 13.

Summus Pontifex caput eſt omnium Pontificum, à quo illi tanquam à capite membra deſcendunt, & de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt quos ipſe vocat in partem ſolicitudinis, non in plenitudinem poteſtatis. Durand. Minist. Offic. 2. 1. 17.

Durandus Biſhop of *Mande*, according to the ſenſe of his Age, ſaith, *The Pope is head of all Biſhops, from whom they as members from an head deſcend, and of whoſe fulneſs all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulneſs of his power.*

This pretence is ſeen in the ordinary Titles of Biſhops, who ſtyle themſelves Biſhops of ſuch a Place, *By the Grace of God and of the Apoſtolick See.* O ſhame!

N. Dei & Apoſtolicæ Sedis gratiâ Epiſcopus Colon. ——

The men of the *Tridentine* Convention (thoſe great betrayers of the Church to perpetual ſlavery, and Chriſtian truth to the prevalency of falſhood, till God pleaſeth) do upon divers occaſions, pretend to qualifie and empower Biſhops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the Epiſcopal Function, as the Pope's Delegates.

This was an expedient. *Vid. Concil.*

But contrariwiſe according to the Doctrine of Holy Scripture, and the ſenſe of the Primitive Church, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church do immediately receive their Authority and Commiſſion from God; being only his Miniſters.

Col. 1. 7. 4. 7. 1 Theſſ. 3. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 6. Tit. 1. 7. 2 Tim. 2. 24. Act 20. 28. Naz. Or. 30. Eph. 4. 11. 1 Cor. 12. 29.

The Scripture calleth them *the Miniſters of God and of Chriſt*, (ſo *Epaphras*, ſo *Timothy*, in regard to their Eccleſiaſtical function, are named) *the Stewards of God, the Servants of God, Fellow-ſervants* of the Apoſtles.

The Scripture ſaith, that *the Holy Ghoſt had made them Biſhops to feed the Church of God*; that *God had given them*, and *conſtituted them in the Church, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt*; that is, to all effects and purpoſes concerning their Office: for *the work of the Miniſtry* comprizeth all the duty charged on them, whether in way of order or of governance; as they now do precariouſly and groundleſly in reference to this caſe diſtinguiſh. And *edifying the body* doth import all the deſigned effects of their Office; particularly thoſe which are conſequent on the uſe of Juriſdiction; the which St. *Paul* doth affirm was appointed for edification, * *according* (ſaith he) *to the Authority which God hath given me for edification, and not for deſtruction.* They do † *preſide in the Lord.* They allow no other Head but our Lord, ‖ *from whom all the body*, &c.

Ordo conſertur à Deo immediatè, juriſdictio mediatè. Bell. 4. 25.

* 2 Cor. 10. 8. 13. 10.
† Ηγουμενοι εν Κυριῳ. 1 Theſſ. 5 12.
‖ Eph. 4. 16.

The Fathers clearly do expreſs their Sentiments to be the ſame.

St. *Ignatius* ſaith, that the Biſhop *doth preſide in the place of God*; and that *we muſt look upon him as our Lord himſelf* (or as our Lord's Repreſentative;) that therefore *we muſt be ſubject to him as unto Jeſus Chriſt.*

Περικαθημένος τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ. Ign. ad Magneſ.

Τὸν οὖν Ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. Ign. ad Eph. Ὅσαι Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσονται ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Ign. ad Trall.

De Dei & Chriſti ejus judicio. Cypr. Ep. 52. & alibi ſæpe. *Unus in Eccleſia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex vice Chriſti.* Cypr. Ep. 55. *Sed expectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ gubernatione, & de actu noſtro judicandi.* Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.

St. *Cyprian* affirmeth *each Biſhop to be conſtituted by the judgment of God, and of Chriſt*; and *that in his Church he is for the preſent a Judge in the place of Chriſt* —— and *that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, one and alone, hath a power both to prefer us to the Government of his Church, and to judge of our acting.*

Οὐδὲ καθηγούμενός ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον. Baſ. Conſt. Mon. cap. 22.

St. *Baſil, A Prelate is nothing elſe but one that ſuſtaineth the perſon of Chriſt.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πρεσβείας ἀνεδεξάμεθα λόγον, καὶ πομπὴν ἀφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστι τὸ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα. Chryſ. in Coloſſ. Orat. 3.

St. *Chryſoſtome, We have received the Commiſſion of Ambaſſadors, and come from God, for this is the dignity of the Epiſcopal Office.*

Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore ſumus in Sacerdotio conſtituti, illius certaminibus obviare, &c. Anatol. in Syn. Chalc. p. 512.

It behoveth us all who by divine authority are conſtituted in the Prieſthood, to prevent, &c.

Wherefore the ancient Biſhops did all of them take themſelves to be Vicars of Chriſt, not of the Pope, and no leſs than the proudeſt Pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addreſſes and compellations to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and in their ſpeech about him, to call him their *Brother*, their *Collegue*, their *Fellow-miniſter*; which had not been modeſt, or juſt, if

they

they had' been his Miniſters or Shadows. Yea the Popes themſelves, even the higheſt and haughtieſt of them, who of any in old times did moſt ſtand on their preſumed pre-eminence, did yet vouchſafe to call other Biſhops their Fellow-biſhops and Fellow-miniſters. Leo Ep. 84.

Thoſe Biſhops of *France* with good reaſon did complain of Pope *Nicholas* I. *for calling them his Clerks; whenas, if his pride had ſuffered him, he ſhould have acknowledged them for his Brethren and Fellow-biſhops.*

Sciéſque nos non tuos eſſe, ut te jactes & extollis, Clericos, quos ut fratres & Co-epiſcopos recognoſcere, ſi elatio permitteret, debueras. Ann. Pith.

In fine, the ancient Biſhops did not alledge any Commiſſion from the Pope to warrant their Juriſdiction, but from God; *If* Moſes *his Chair were ſo venerable, that what was ſaid out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Chriſt's Throne ſo? we ſucceed him, from that we ſpeak, ſince Chriſt has committed to us the miniſtry of reconciliation.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν—— S. Chryſ. *ſup.*
Εἰ ὁ Μωσέως θρόνος οὕτως ἦν αἰδέσιμος, ὡς ὁ ἐκεῖνον ἀκούειν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς διαδεξάμενα, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦτο φθεγξόμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔδοτο ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Chryſ. *in* Coloſſ. Orat. 3.

That which is committed to the Prieſt, 'tis only in God's power to give.

Ἃ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεύς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι, &c. Chryſ. *in* Joh. Orat. 83.

Since we alſo by the mercy of Chriſt our King and God, were made Miniſters of the Goſpel.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλέει τοῦ συμβασιλέως (l. παμβασιλέως) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερουργοὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀνεδείχθημεν —— Flavian *in* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 4.

This is a modern dream born out of Ambition and Flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient Divine.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine, that *Cyprian*, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Auſtin*, *&c.* did take themſelves for the Vicegerents or Miniſters of the Popes; if they did, why did they not, ſo frequent occaſion being given them, in all their Volumes, ever acknowledge it? why cannot *Bellarmine* and his Complices after all their prolling, ſhew any paſſage in them importing any ſuch acknowledgment; but are fain to infer it by far-fetched Sophiſms, from Allegations plainly impertinent or frivolous?

The Popes indeed in the Fourth Century began to practiſe a fine trick, very ſerviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was to confer on certain Biſhops, as occaſion ſerved, or for continuance, the title of their Vicar or Lieutenant, thereby pretending to impart Authority to them; whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwiſe by their own Epiſcopal or Metropolitical power they could not perform. By which device they did engage ſuch Biſhops to ſuch a dependence on them, whereby they did promote the Papal Authority in Provinces, to the oppreſſion of the ancient Rights and Liberties of Biſhops and Synods; doing what they pleaſed under pretence of this vaſt power communicated to them; and for fear of being diſplaced, or out of affection to their favourer doing what might ſerve to advance the Papacy.

Thus did Pope *Celeſtine* conſtitute *Cyril* in his room. Evagr. *Act.* Eph. *p.* 134.

Pope *Leo* appointed *Anatolius* of *Conſtantinople.*

Pope *Felix Acacius* of *Conſtantinople.* *Act. Conc. ſub.* Menna *p.* 70.

Pope *Hormiſdas Epiphanius* of *Conſtantinople.*

Pope *Simplicius* to *Zeno* Biſhop of *Seville*, *We thought it convenient that you ſhould be held up by the vicariat authority of our See.* *Congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis noſtræ te auctoritate fulciri.* Baron. *Ann.* 481. *ſect.* 46.

So did *Siricius* and his ſucceſſors conſtitute the Biſhops of *Theſſalonica* to be their Vicars in the Dioceſe of *Illyricum*, wherein, being then a member of the *Weſtern* Empire, they had got a ſpecial Juriſdiction; to which Pope *Leo* did refer in thoſe words, which ſometimes are impertinently alledged with reference to all Biſhops, but concern only *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*; *We have entruſted thy Charity to be in our ſtead, ſo that thou art called into part of the ſolicitude, not into plenitude of the authority.* *Vices enim noſtras ita tuæ credidimus charitati, ut in partem ſis vocatus ſolicitudinis, non in plenitudinem poteſtatis.* P. Leo Ep. 84. (*ad* Anaſtaſ. Theſſal.)

So did Pope *Zozimus* beſtow a like pretence of Vicarious power upon the Biſhop of *Arles*, which City was the ſeat of the temporal *Exarch* in *Gaule*. P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 93.

So to the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana prima* in *Bulgaria* (or *Dardania Europæa*) the like privilege was granted [by procurement of the Emperour *Juſtinian*, Native of that place.] After-

Afterwards temporary or occaſional Vicars were appointed (ſuch as *Auſtin* in *England*, *Boniface* in *Germany* ——) who in vertue of that conceſſion did uſurp a paramount authority; and by the exerciſe thereof did advance the Papal intereſt; depreſſing the authority of *Metropolitanes*, and *Provincial* Synods.

So at length Legates, upon occaſion diſpatched into all Countries of the *Weſt*, came to do there what they pleaſed, uſing that pretence to oppreſs and abuſe both Clergy and People very intolerably.

P. Paſch. II. *Epiſt. apud* Eadm. p. 113. &c.

Whence divers Countries were forced to make legal proviſions for excluding ſuch Legates, finding by much experience that their buſineſs was to rant and to domineer in the Pope's name, to ſuck money from the People, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expence of the Countries where they came.

* *Extrav. commun.* 1. 1. (*p.* 310) *Occulti inimici regni.* Matt. Par. *p.* 524.

* Of this *John* XXII. doth ſorely complain; and decrees that all People ſhould admit his Legates, under pain of interdicts.

Sedis Apoſtolicæ nuncii vel litera præter ſuſſum Regiæ Majeſtatis nullam in poteſtate tua ſuſceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad ſedem Apoſtolicam deſtinatur —— P. Paſch. II. Eadm. *p.* 113.

In *England* Pope *Paſchal* finds the ſame fault in his letter to King *Henry* I. *Nuncio's or letters from the Apoſtolick See, unleſs by your Majeſty's command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your juriſdiction: none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the Apoſtolick See.*

The Pope obſerving what authority and reverence the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had in this Nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, did think good to conſtitute thoſe Archbiſhops his *Legates* of courſe, (*Legatos natos*) that ſo they might ſeem to exerciſe their Juriſdiction by authority derived from him, and owing to him that mark of favour, or honour, with inlargement of power, might pay him more devotion and ſerve his intereſts.

Bell. 2. 10. *Bellarmine* doth from this practice prove the Pope's Sovereign power, but he might from thence better have demonſtrated their great cunning. It might from ſuch extraordinary deſignation of Vicegerents with far more reaſon be inferred, that ordinarily Biſhops are not his Miniſters.

XI. It is the privilege of a Sovereign, that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or depoſed, or debarr'd communion, or any-wiſe cenſured and puniſhed; for this implieth a contradiction or confuſion in degrees, ſubjecting the ſuperiour to inferiours; this were making a river run backwards; this were to damm up the fountain of juſtice; to behead the State; to expoſe Majeſty to contempt.

Bell. 2. 26. *de Conc.* 2. 17. Grat. *Diſt.* 40. *cap.* 6. Diſt. 21. *cap.* 7. *Cauſ.* 9 *qu.* 3. *cap.* 10. —— *Extrav. comm. lib.* 1. *tit* 8. *cap.* 1. P. Leo IX. *Ep.* 1. *cap.* 10. —— 17. P. Nich. I. *Ep.* 8. (*p.* 504) P. Joh. VIII. *Ep.* 75. (*p.* 31.) P. Geleſ. *Ep.* 4. (*p.* 625, 626) *Ep.* 13. (*p.* 640.) P. Greg. VII. *Ep.* 8. *Ep.* 21.

Wherefore the Pope doth pretend to this privilege, according to thoſe *Maxims* in the *Canon Law*, drawn from the ſayings of Popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike) obtaining authority of their Court.

And according to what P. *Adrian* let the 8th Synod know, *Becauſe*, ſays he, *the Apoſtolick Church of* Rome *ſtoops not to the judgment of leſſer Churches.* They cite alſo three old Synods (of *Sinueſſa*, of *Rome* under Pope *Silveſter*, of *Rome* under *Sixtus* III.) but they are palpably ſpurious, and the learned amongſt them confeſs it.

Διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥωμῆς τῇ ἥλατζόνων μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κείσει. P. Adrian. *in Syn. VIII. Act.* 7. *pag.* 963.

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it did ſuppoſe him no leſs obnoxious to judgment and correction than other Biſhops, if he ſhould notoriouſly deviate from the faith, or violate canonical diſcipline.

The Canons generally do oblige Biſhops without exception to duty, and (upon defailance) to correction: why is not he excepted, if to be excuſed, or exempted?

It was not queſtioned of old, but that a Pope, in caſe he ſhould notoriouſly depart from the faith, or notably infringe diſcipline, might be excommunicated: the attempting it upon divers occaſions doth ſhew their opinion, although it often had not effect, becauſe the cauſe was not juſt and plauſible; the truth and equity of the caſe appearing to be on the Pope's ſide.

St.

St. *Iſidore Peluſiota* denieth of any Biſhop's office, that is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, *an uncontroulable government.*

In the times of *Polycrates* and Pope *Victor*, the whole *Eaſtern* Church did forbear communion with the Pope. *Firmilian* told Pope *Stephanus*, that by conceiting he might excommunicate all other Biſhops, he had excommunicated himſelf. The Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod did threaten to excommunicate and depoſe Pope *Julius*. *They did promiſe to* Julius *peace and communion, if he did admit the depoſition of thoſe whom they had expelled, and the conſtitution of thoſe whom they had ordained; but if he did reſiſt their decrees, they denounced the contrary.* The *Oriental* Biſhops at *Sardica* did excommunicate and depoſe him. St. *Hilary* did anathematize Pope *Liberius*, upon his defection to the *Arians*. * *Dioſcorus* did attempt to excommunicate Pope *Leo*. † *Acacius* of *Conſtantinople* renounced the communion of Pope *Felix* ‖ *Timotheus Ælurus* curſed the Pope. (*a*) The *African Biſhops* did *ſynodically excommunicate Pope* Vigilius. (*b*) Pope *Anaſtaſius* was rejected by his own Clergy. (*c*) Pope *Conſtantine* by the people, and ſo was (*d*) Pope *Leo* VIII. (*e*) Divers Biſhops of *Italy* and *Illyricum* did abſtain from the Pope's communion for a long time, becauſe they did admit the fifth Synod. (*f*) *Photius* did excommunicate and depoſe Pope *Nicholas* I. (*g*) *Maurius* Biſhop of *Ravenna* did anathematize Pope *Vitalianus*. (*h*) The Emperor *Otho* II. having with good advice laboured to reclaim Pope *John* XII without effect, did *indict a Council, calling together the Biſhops of* Italy, *by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man ſhould be judged*; and the iſſue was, that he was depoſed. (*i*) Pope *Nicholas* I. deſired to be judged by the *Emperor*. The fifth Synod did in general terms condemn Pope *Vigilius*, and the Emperor *Juſtinian* did baniſh him for not complying with the decrees of it. The ſixth and ſeventh General Synods did anathematize *Honorius* by name, when he was dead, becauſe his hereſie was not before confuted; and they would have ſerved him ſo, if he had been alive. Divers Synods (that of *Worms*, of *Papia*, of *Breſcia*, of *Mentz*, of *Rome*, *&c.*) did reject Pope *Gregory* VII. Pope *Adrian* himſelf in the VIII. Synod (ſo called) did confeſs, that a Pope being found deviating from the faith, might be judged, as *Honorius* was. *Gerbertus* (afteward Pope *Sylveſter* II.) did maintain, that Popes might be held as *Ethnicks* and *Publicans*, if they *did not hear the Church*. The Synod of *Conſtance* did judge and depoſe three Popes.

The Synod of *Baſil* did depoſe Pope *Eugenius*, affirming that *The Catholick Church hath often corrected and judged Popes, when they either err'd from their faith, or by their ill manners became notoriouſly ſcandalous to the Church.*

The practice of Popes to give an account of their faith (when they entred upon their office) to the other Patriarchs and chief Biſhops, approving themſelves thereby worthy and capable of communion, doth imply them liable to judgment. Of the neglect of which practice *Euphemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* did complain.

Of this we have for example the *Synodical Epiſtles* of Pope *Gregory* I.

XII. To the Sovereign in Eccleſiaſtical affairs it would belong to define and decide controverſies in faith, diſcipline, moral practice; ſo that all were bound to admit his definitions, deciſions, interpretations. He would be the ſupreme Interpreter of the divine law, and Judge of controverſies. No point or queſtion of moment ſhould be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore

Ἐν τε χρόνοις Πολυκράτης καὶ Βίκτωρ ὡς ἡ ἀναζολὴ περὶ τὴν ὄσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηνικὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκ ἐδέχοντο. Epiph. *her.* 70. *Audianorum.*

Dum enim putas omnes abs te abſtineri poſſe, ſolum te ab omnibus abſtinuiſti. Firm. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.*

Δεχομένου μὲν Ἰουλίου τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων, εἰρήνην, καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐπιστέλλοντος· ἀντιτασσομένου δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις ταναντία προηγόρευε. Sozom. 3. 8.

Sozom. 3. 11.

Anthema tibi Papa Liberi. Hil. *fragm.*

* Ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν ὑπαγορεῦσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μεγάλης Ρώμης Λέοντος. Evagr. 2. 4.

† *Niceph* 16. 17. Baron. *Ann.* 484. §. 35.

‖ Baron. *Ann* 457. §. 25.

(*a*) *Africani Antiſtites Vigilium Rom. Epiſc. damnatorem Capitulorum Synodaliter à Catholica communione, reſervato ei pœnitentiæ loco, recludunt.* (*l.* excludunt) Vict. Tun. *poſt Conſ.* Baſil. *V. C. Ann.* 10.

(*b*) Plat. *p.* 131. & *Diſt.* 19. *cap.* 21, 22.

(*c*) Plat. *p.* 223.

(*d*) Plat. *p.* 291.

(*e*) P. Pelag. *II. Ep.* 3. 13.

(*f*) Καθαιρέσεινοὺς ἐπόμισε καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' ἐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖ) Nicolaüs. *Vit.* Ignat. *Patr. apud* Bin. *p.* 892. Baron. *Ann.* 863.

(*g*) Baron. *Ann.* 669. §. 2.

—— *Communi totius Sancti Concilii conſenſu depoſitus.* Luitprand. 6. 6.

(*h*) —— *Concilium indicit convocatis Epiſcopis Italiæ quorum judicio vita ſceleratiſſimi hominis diſjudicaretur.* Plat. *in* Joh. 13. (*pro* XII.) *vid.* Baron. *Ann* 960. & Biniumi

(*i*) Grat. *Cauſ.* 2. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 41.

Ann. 1076. *Vid.* Baron. *Ann.* 1033. §. 3.

Baron. *Ann.* 992. §. 44. Conc. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 38. (*p.* 101.)

Eccleſia Catholica ſæpenumero ſummos Pontifices ſive à fide delirantes ſive pravis moribus notoriè Eccleſiam ſcandalizantes correxit & judicavit.—— Conc. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 12.

Mos eſt Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſacerdoti noviter conſtituto formam fidei ſuæ ad ſanctas Eccleſias prærogare. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 1. *ad* Laur.

Gelaſ. *Ep.* 9. Baron. *Ann.* 492. §. 10.

Vid. tract. de Unit. Eccl.

ſore doth pretend to; taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all ſubmiſſion to his determination. Nor doth he allow any Synods to decide queſtions.

But the ancients did know no ſuch thing. In caſe of Contentions, they had no recourſe to his judgment; they did not ſtand to his opinion, his authority did not avail to quaſh diſputes. They had recourſe to the Holy Scriptures, to Catholick Tradition, to Reaſon; they diſputed and diſcuſſed points by dint of argument.

Irenæus, *Tertullian*, *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, and others, diſcourſing of the methods to reſolve points of Controverſy, did not reckon the Pope's authority for one. Divers of the Fathers did not ſcruple openly to diſſent from the opinions of Popes; nor were they wondred at, or condemned for it.

Gal. 2. 11. Ariſtot. So St. *Paul* did withſtand St. *Peter*. So *Polycarpus* diſſented from Pope *Eleutherius*. So *Polycrates* from Pope *Victor*. So St. *Cyprian* from Pope *Stephen*. So *Dionyſius Alex.* from Pope *Stephen:* all which perſons were renowned for wiſdom and piety in their times.

Higheſt Controverſies were appeaſed by Synods out of the Holy Scripture, Catholick Tradition, the Analogy of Faith, and common Reaſon, without regard to the Pope. Divers Synods in *Africk* and *Aſia* defined the point about *rebaptization* without the Pope's leave, and againſt his opinion. The Synod of *Antioch* condemned the doctrine of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, without intervention of the Pope, before they gave him notice. In the Synod of *Nice* the Pope had very ſmall ſtroke. The General Synod of *Conſt.* declared the Point of the *Divinity* of the *H. Ghoſt* againſt *Macedonius*, without the Pope; who did no more than afterward conſent: This the Synod of *Chalcedon* in their compellation to the Emperor *Marcian* did obſerve. *The Fathers met in* Sardica *to ſuppreſs the reliques of Arianiſm, communicated their decrees to the Eaſtern Biſhops; and they who here diſcovered the peſtilence of* Apollinarius, *made known theirs to the Weſtern.*

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῆς Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν Ἀπολλιναρίῳ κείσιν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν λύσσαν ἐγνώριζον. Conc. Chalc. ad Marc. Orat. p. 468.

The Synod of *Africk* defined againſt *Pelagius*, before their informing Pope *Innocentius* thereof; not ſeeking his judgment, but deſiring his conſent to that, which they were aſſured to be truth.

Divers Popes have been incapable of deciding Controverſies, themſelves having been erroneous in the queſtions controverted: as Pope *Stephanus* (in part) Pope *Liberius*, P. *Felix*, P. *Vigilius*, P. *Honorius*, &c. And in our opinion all Popes for many ages.

It is obſervable how the Synod of *Chalcedon*, in their allocution to the Emperor *Marcian*, do excuſe P. *Leo* for expounding the faith, in his *Epiſtle* (the which it ſeems ſome did reprehend as a novel method diſagreeable to the Canons;) *Let not them* (ſay they) *object to us the Epiſtle of the marvellous Prelate of* Rome, *as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not conſonant to the Scriptures, let them confute it; or if it be not conſentaneous to the Fathers who have preceded; or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious*, &c.

Ὃς ἔξωθεν τινὰ καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπενηνεγμένα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δικαίως ἂν ἐμέμψατο. Act. Syn. Chalc. p. 461.

Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τὸ θαυμαστὸν τῆς Ῥώμης προέδρου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, εἰς καινοτομίας ἔγκλημα, προσοφείτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὲν ἀσύμφωνος καὶ τῇ γραφῇ ἐλεγχέτωσαν· εἰ δὲ [illegible] τοῖς πατράσιν ὁμοδόξου· εἰ δὲ [illegible] καινοτομίαν γεγένηται.

It was not his judicial authority, which they did inſiſt upon, to maintain his Epiſtle, but the orthodoxie and intrinſick uſefulneſs of it to confute errors; upon which account they did embrace and confirm it by their ſuffrage.

XIII. If the Pope were a Sovereign of the Church, as they make him, it were at leaſt expedient that he ſhould be infallible; for why otherwiſe ſhould he undertake confidently to pronounce in all caſes, to define high and difficult Points, to impoſe his Dictates, and require aſſent from all; If he be fallible, it is very probable that often he doth obtrude errors upon us for matters of Faith and Practice.

Bell. *lib.* 4. Wherefore the true faſt friends of Papal intereſt do aſſert him to be infallible, when he dictateth as Pope, and ſetting himſelf into his Chair, doth thence mean to inſtruct the whole Church. And the Pope therefore himſelf, who countenanceth them, may be preſumed to be of that mind.

Pighius

Pighius ſaid bouncingly, *The judgment of the Apoſtolick See with a Council of domeſtick Prieſts, is far more certain than the judgment of an univerſal Council of the whole earth without the Pope.*

Longe certius eſt unius Apoſtolicæ Sedis cum Concilio domeſticorum Sacerdotum judicium, quàm ſine Pontifice judicium univerſalis Concilii totius Orbis terrarum. Pighius *de Hier. lib 6.*

This is the *Syllogiſm* we propoſe:

The ſupreme Judge muſt be infallible,

The Pope is not infallible; Therefore, &c.

The *Major* the *Jeſuits*, *Canoniſts* and *Courtiers* are obliged to prove, it being their Aſſertion; and they do prove it very wiſely and ſtrongly.

The *Minor* is aſſerted by the *French* Doctors, and they do with clear evidence maintain it.

The *Concluſion* we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is in effect Pope *Gregory*'s Argumentation; *No* Biſhop can be Univerſal Biſhop, (or Univerſal Paſtor and Judge of the Church) becauſe no Biſhop can be Infallible; for that the lapſe of ſuch a Paſtor would throw down the Church into ruine by error and impiety. *Therefore the Univerſal Church, which God forbid, falls, when he falls who is call'd Univerſal.—The ſtate and order of our Lord's family will decay, when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head.*

Univerſa ergo Eccleſia quod abſit, à ſtatu ſuo corruit, quando is qui vocatur Univerſalis, cadit. Greg. M. *Epiſt.* 4. 32.

Totius familiæ Domini ſtatus & ordo nutabit, ſi quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite. P. Leo *Ep* 87.

But that he is not infallible, much Experience and Hiſtory do abundantly ſhew.

The Ancients knew no ſuch pretender to infallibility; otherwiſe they would have left diſputing, and run to his Oracular Dictates for information. They would have only aſſerted this point againſt Hereticks. We ſhould have had Teſtimonies of it innumerable. It had been the moſt famous point of all.

In nullo aliter ſapere quàm res ſe habet, angelica perfectio eſt. Aug. *de Bapt c. Don.* 2.5. Not to think of a thing otherwiſe than 'tis, is an angelical perfection.

I will not mention Pope *Stephanus* univerſally approving the *Baptiſm* of *Hereticks* againſt the Decrees of the Synod of *Nice* and other Synods. Nor Pope *Liberius* complying with *Arianiſm.* Nor Pope *Innocent* I and his followers, at leaſt till Pope * *Gelaſius*, firſt aſſerting the *Communion of Infants* for needful. Nor Pope *Vigilius* dodging with the Fifth *Synod.* Nor Pope *Honorius* condemned by ſo many Councils and Popes for *Monothelitiſm.* But ſurely Pope *Leo* and Pope *Gelaſius* were ſtrangely deceived, when they condemned *Partaking in one kind.* Pope *Gregory* was foully out, when he condemned the † *worſhip of Images*, and when he ſo diſclaimeth againſt the title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, and when he avowed himſelf a Subject to the *Emperor Mauritius*, and when he denied the Books of *Maccabees* to be *Canonical*, and when he aſſerted the perfection of Holy Scripture. Pope *Leo* II. was miſtaken, when he did charge his infallible Predeceſſor *Honorius* of *Monotheliti ſm.* Pope *Nicholas* was a little deceived when he determined the * *attrition of Chriſt's body.* Pope *Urban* II. was out, when he allowed it † lawful for good Catholicks to commit murther on Perſons excommunicate. Pope *Innocent* IV. erred, when he called Kings, *The Pope's ſlaves.*

* P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 9. *p.* 636.

De Conſecr. diſt. 2. *cap.* 12.

† Grat. *Ep* 7. 110. *Ep.* 2. 62. *Ep.* 4. 32. 36. 38. 6. 30. *In* Joh. *lib.* 19. *cap.* 13. *In* Joh. *lib.* 18. *cap.* 14.

If many Popes had been writers, we ſhould have had more errours to charge them with.

* Grat. *de Conſecr diſt.* 2 *cap.* 42.

† Grat. *Cauſ.* 23. *qu.* 5. *cap.* 47. *Mancipia Papæ.* Matt. Paril. *anno* 1253.

Surely thoſe Popes did err, who confirmed the Synods of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*; not excepting the determinations in favour of General Councils being ſuperior to Popes. All thoſe Popes have deviliſhly erred, who have pretended to diſpoſe of Kingdoms, to depoſe Princes, to abſolve Subjects of their Oaths. Pope *Adrian* II. did not take the Pope to be infallible, when he ſaid the Pope might not be judged, excepting the caſe of *Hereſie*; and thereby excuſeth the *Orientals* for anathematizing *Honorius*, he being accuſed of Hereſie.

Joh. 22 Gerſon. *Serm. in Paſch.* Occam. Celeſtinus --- Alph. *à* Caſtro. *Her.* 1. 4. Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 994.

There is one Hereſie, of which, if all Hiſtories do not lie grievouſly, divers Popes have been guilty; a Hereſie defined by divers Popes, the *Hereſie of Simony.* How many ſuch Hereticks have ſate in that Chair? of which how many Popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice

P. Greg. VII. Ep. lib. 3. 7. *Simoniaca hæreſis.*

P. Jul. II Conc. Lat. Seſſ 5 (*p.* 57.) *Idem electus non Apoſtolicus, ſed Apoſtaticus, & tanquam hæreſiarcha, &c. Ibid. Tract.* 4. § 12. & §. 16.

in Hiſtory? *The hand*, ſays St.* *Bernard*, *does all the Papal buſineſs, ſhew me a man in all this greateſt City, who would admit thee to be Pope without the mediation of a bribe?* Yea how few for ſome Ages have been guiltleſs of this Hereſie? It may be anſwered, they were no Popes, becauſe their Election was null; but then the Church hath often and long been without a *Head*. Then numberleſs Acts have been void, and Creations of *Cardinals* have been null; and conſequently there hath not probably been any true Pope for a long time.

Decernimus, quòd — ſed etiam contra dictum ſic electum vel aſſumptum à Simoniaca labe opponi & excipi poſſit ſicut de vera & indubitata hæreſi —

* *Omne Papale negotium manus agunt, quem dubis mihi de tota maxima Urbe, qui te in Papam receperit prætio non intercedente?* Bern. *de conſid.* 4. 2.

In the judgment of ſo many great *Divines*, which did conſtitute the Synod of *Baſil*, many Popes (near all ſurely) have been Hereticks; who have followed or countenanced the opinion that Popes are ſuperior to General Councils; the which there is flatly declared Hereſie. Pope *Eugenius* by name was there declared *a pertinacious Heretick, deviating from the faith* —

A fide devius pertinax hæreticus — *Conc. Baſil. Seſſ.* 34. *p.* 96. *&* p. 107.

It often happeneth that the Pope is not skilled in *Divinity*, as Pope *Innocent* X. was wont to profeſs concerning himſelf (to wave diſcourſe about Theological points) he therefore cannot pronounce, in uſe of ordinary means, but only by miracle, as *Balaam*'s Aſs. So Pope *Innocent* X. ſaid, that *the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt was not obliged to examine all things by diſpute; for that the truth of his decrees depended only on divine Inſpiration:* what is this but downright *Quakeriſm, Enthuſiaſm, Impoſture?*

Le Pape répondit, che le Vicaire de J. C. ne eſtoit point obligé d'examiner toutes choſes par la diſpute; que la verité de ſes decrets dependoit ſeulement de l'Inſpiration divine. Memor. *de* 5. *Propoſ.*

Pope *Clement* V. did not take himſelf to be infallible, when in his great Synod of *Vienna*, the queſtion, whether beſide remiſſion of ſin, alſo virtue were conferred to Infants, he reſolved thus very honeſtly, — *The ſecond opinion, which ſays that informing grace and virtues are in baptiſm conferred both upon infants and adult perſons, we think fit with the conſent of the holy council to be choſen; as being more probable, and more conſonant and agreeable to the Divinity of the modern Doctors.*

— *Opinionem ſecundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quàm adultis conferri in baptiſmo informantem gratiam & virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem, ac Doctorum modernorum Theologiæ magis conſonam & concordem, ſacro approbante Concilio duximus eligendam.* Clem. *in* Tit. 1.

Which of the *two* Popes were in the right, Pope *Nicholas* IV. who decided that our Lord was ſo poor that he had right to nothing, or Pope *John* XXII. who declared this to be a Hereſie, charging our Lord with injuſtice?

Bell. 4. 14. (*p.* 1318.) *Confer.* Sext. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 12. *cap.* 3. *Extrav.* Joh. XXII. *tit.* 14. *cap.* 3, 4, 5.

XIV. A Sovereign is in Dignity and Authority Superiour to any number of Subjects, however conjoyned or congregated; as a Head is above all the Members however compacted; He is not Supreme, who is any-wiſe ſubject or inferiour to a Senate, or any Aſſembly in his Territory.

Therefore the Pope doth claim a Superiority over all Councils; pretending that their determinations are invalid without his conſent and confirmation; that he can reſcind or make void their Decrees; that he can ſuſpend their Conſultations, and tranſlate or diſſolve them.

Bellarm. *de Concil.* 2. 15

And Baronius *reckons this as one error in* Hincmarus *Biſhop of* Rhemes, *that he held as if the canons of Councils were of greater authority in the Church of God than the decrees of Popes, which,* ſays he, *how abſurd and unreaſonable an opinion it is,* &c.

Planè ſignificat majoris eſſe auctoritatis in Eccleſia Dei Canones Conciliorum decretis Pontificum: hæc quàm ſint abſurda & ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c. Baron. *ad Ann.* 992. §. 56.

Concil. Later. V. Seſſ 11. *p.* 152.

Th. Cajet. *Orat. in Conc. Lat. p.* 36.

That the Authority of the Apoſtolick See in all Chriſtian Ages hath been preferred before the univerſal Church, both the Canons of our predeceſſors, and manifold tradition do confirm.

Apoſtolicæ verò Sedis auctoritas quod cunctis ſeculis Chriſtianis Eccleſiæ prælata ſit univerſæ, & canonum ſerie paternorum, & multiplici traditione firmatur. P. Gelaſ. I. *Ep.* 8. (*O impudentiam!*)

This is a queſtion ſtiffly debated among *Romaniſts*; but the moſt (as *Æneas Sylvius*, afterward Pope *Pius* II. did acutely obſerve) with good reaſon do adhere to the Pope's ſide, becauſe the *Pope* diſpoſeth of *Benefices*, but *Councils* give none.

But in truth anciently the Pope was not underſtood Superior to Councils: for *greater is the Authority of the world than of one city*, ſays St. *Hierome*. He was but one Biſhop that had nothing to do out of his precinct. He had but his Vote in them;

Major eſt auctoritas orbis quàm urbis. Hier. *ad* Evagr.

them; He had the firſt Vote, as the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria* the ſecond, of *Antioch* the third —— but that order neither gave to him or them any advantage, as to deciſion; but common conſent, or the ſuffrages of the majority did prevail. He was conceived Subject to the Canons no leſs than other Biſhops. Councils did examine matters decreed by him, ſo as to follow or forſake them as they ſaw cauſe. The Popes themſelves did profeſs great veneration and obſervance of *Conciliar* Decrees. Pope *Leo* I. did oppoſe a Canon of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, (not pretending his Superiority to Councils, but the inviolability of the *Nicene* Canons) but yet notwithſtanding that oppoſition did prevail.

Even in the Dregs of times, when the Pope had clambred ſo high to the top of power, this Queſtion in great and numerous Synods of Biſhops was agitated, and poſitively decided againſt him, both in doctrine and practice.

Concil. Conſt. Seſſ. 4. (*p.* 1003) *Concil. Baſ. Seſſ.* 33.

The Synod of *Baſil* affirmeth the matter of theſe Decrees to be a *verity of the Chriſtian faith, which whoever doth pertinaciouſly reſiſt, is to be deemed a heretick* —— Thoſe *Fathers* ſay that *none of the skilful did ever doubt of this truth, that the Pope in things belonging to faith, was ſubject to the judgment of the ſame General Councils* —— *that the Council has an authority immediately from Chriſt, which the Pope is bound to obey.* Thoſe Synods were confirmed by Popes, without exception of thoſe determinations.

Veritas Catholica fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans eſt cenſendus hæreticus. Concil. Baſ. Seſſ. 33.

Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit ſummum Pontificem, in his quæ fidem concernunt, judicio eorundem Conciliorum univerſalium eſſe ſubjectum. Conc. Baſil. decret. p. 117.

Concilium habet poteſtatem immediatè à Chriſto, cui Papa obedire tenetur —— *Conc. Baſ. Seſſ.* 38. *p.* 101.

Great *Churches*, moſt famous *Univerſities*, a mighty ſtore of learned *Doctors* of the Roman Communion have reverenced thoſe *Councils*, and adhered to their Doctrine. Inſomuch that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* did affirm him to be an Heretick in *France*, who did hold the contrary.

Theſe things ſufficiently demonſtrate that the Pope cannot pretend to Supremacy by univerſal Tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? not ſurely by Scripture, nor by Decrees of ancient Synods, nor by any clear and convincing reaſon.

XV. The Sovereign of the Church is by all Chriſtians to be acknowledged the chief Perſon in the world, inferiour and ſubject to none: above all commands; the greateſt *Emperour* being his *Sheep* and *Subject*.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all Princes. Divers Popes have affirmed this Superiority. They are allowed and moſt favoured by him, who teach this Doctrine. In their *Miſſal* he is preferred above all Kings, being prayed for before them.

As in *Iſrael Saul* was the *Head*. 1 Sam. 15. 17.

But in the primitive times this was not held; for St. *Paul* requires *every ſoul to be ſubject to the higher powers.* Then the *Emperor* was avowed the firſt perſon, next to God; *To whom*, ſays *Tertullian*, *they are ſecond, after whom they are firſt, before all and above all Gods. Why?* &c. —— *we worſhip the Emperor as a man next to God, and leſs only than God.* And *Optatus*, —— *ſince there is none above the Emperor, but God who made him* —*while* Donatus *extolleth himſelf above the Emperor, he raiſes himſelf as it were above humanity, and thinks himſelf to be God, and not Man. For the King is the top and head of all things on earth.* Then even * *Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, all men whoever were ſubject to the Emperor.* The *Emperors* did command them, † *even the bleſſed Biſhops and Patriarchs of old* Rome, Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis *and* Jeruſalem. Divers Popes did avow themſelves ſubject to the Emperor.

Rom. 13. 1.

—— *à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi, ante omnes, & ſuper omnes Deos; quidni? cùm ſuper omnes homines, qui ſitique vivunt.* Tertul. *Apol. cap.* 30.

Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & ſolo Deo minorem. Tertul. *ad Scap. cap.* 2.

Cùm ſuper Imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem. Opt. 3. *Vid. Tr.* 5. § 14.

Dum ſe Donatus ſuper Imperatorem extollit, jam quaſi hominum exceſſerat modum, ut ſe ut Deum non hominem æſtimaret. Id. Ibid.

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ πορφυρᾷ καὶ περιαλλὴ τῆς ὁπὸ τὺς γῆς ὄντ ἀπάντων. Chryſ. Ανδρ. β. p. 463.

* Chryſ. *in* Rom. 13. 1.

† *Jubemus igitur beatiſſimos Epiſcopos & Patriarchas, hoc eſt ſenioris Romæ, & Conſtantinopoleos, & Alexandriæ & Theopoleos & Hieroſolymorum.* Juſtinian. *Novel.* 123. *cap.* 3. P. Greg. M. *Ep.* 2. 62. *Supra in præf.* § 4. *Tract.* 5. § 14.

XVI. The Confirmation of Magiſtrates, elected by others, is a *Branch* of *Supremacy* which the Pope doth aſſume.

Vid. § 5. *Diſt.* 63. *c.* 4.

P. Nic. I. Ep. Ann. 482. §. 1.

Baronius saith that this was the ancient custom; and that Pope *Simplicius* did confirm the Election of *Calendion* Bishop of *Antioch*.

Ἐβεβαίωσε τῇ θειοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως παροικίαν Theod. 5. 8.

Meletius *confirm'd the most holy* Gregory *in the Bishoprick of* Constantinople.

But the truth is, that anciently Bishops being elected did only give an account of their choice unto all other Bishops; especially to those of highest rank, desiring their approbation and friendship, for preservation of due communion, correspondence and peace. So the Synod of *Antioch* gave an account to the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, *and all their Fellow-ministers throughout the world*, &c. of the election of *Domnus* after *Paulus Samosatenus*. So the *Fathers* of *Constantinople* aequainted Pope *Damasus* and the *Western* Bishops with the Constitution of *Nectarius*, *Flavianus*, &c.

Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς. —— Euseb. 7. 30.

This was not to request Confirmation, as if the Pope or other Bishops could reject the Election if regular, but rather to assure whom they were to communicate with. *We have* (say the Fathers of the Synod against *Paulus Samosatenus*) *signified this*, (*our chusing of* Domnus *into* Paulus's *room*) *that you may write to him and receive letters of communion from him* —— And St. *Cyprian*; *That you and our Collegues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters.*

Ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τούτῳ γράψητε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα. —— Euseb. *Ibid.*

Ut scires tu & Collegæ nostri quibus scribere & literas mutuò à quibus vos accipere oporteret —— Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Cornel.)

Vid P. Greg. *Tract. de Unit. Eccl.*

Thus the Bishops of *Rome* themselves did acquaint other Bishops with their Election, their Faith, &c. So did *Cornelius*; whom therefore St. *Cyprian* asserteth as established by the consent and approbation of his *Collegues*; *When the place of* Peter *and the Sacerdotal Chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our consents confirmed*, &c. —— *and the testimony of our Fellow-bishops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimously consented.*

Cum locus Petri, & gradus Cathedræ Sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrûm consensione firmato —— Cypr. Ep. 52.

—— *& Co-Episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consensit. Ibid.*

The *Emperour* did confirm Bishops, as we see by that notable passage in the Synod of *Chalcedon*; where *Bassianus*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, pleading for himself saith, *Our most religious Emperour knowing these things, presently ratified it, and by a memorial published it, confirming the Bishoprick; afterwards he sent his rescript by* Eustathius *the Silentiary again confirming it.*

Τοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁσιωτάτους καὶ ἀληθῶς Καισαρίους, οὓς ὅτε αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσε, τῇ εὐθείᾳ διὰ ὑπομνηστικοῦ ἐβεβαίωσεν ἐν φανερῷ, βεβαιοῖ νῦν τῷ Ἐπισκοπῷ. ᾧ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλε πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Σιλεντιαρίου βεβαιοῦντος τῷ Ἐπισκοπῷ. Conc. Chalc. *Act.* 11. (p. 404.)

XVII. It is a Privilege of Sovereigns to grant *Privileges*, *Exemptions*, *Dispensations*.

Vid. Bern.

This he claimeth; but against the Laws of God and Rights of Bishops. Against the Decrees of Synod---against the sense of good men in all times.

XVIII. It is a Prerogative of Sovereign power, to Erect, Translate Spiritual Presidencies.

P. Innoc. III. in Greg. *decr. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *c.* 1.--- *&c.*

Wherefore this the Pope claimeth. *Cum ex illa*, &c.

But at first he had nothing to do therein, except in his own Province or Diocese.

As Christianity did grow and enter into Cities, so the neighbour Bishops did ordain Bishops there.

Princes often, as they did endow, so they did erect Episcopal Sees, and did, as was suitable, change places.

Pope *Paschal* II. doth by complaining attest to this, writing to the Archbishop of *Poland*, *What shall I say of the translations of Bishops, which among you are presumed to be made, not by Apostolick authority, but the King's command.*

Quid super Episcoporum translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate Apostolicâ, sed nutu Regis præsumuntur? P. Pasch. II. Ep. 6. Præter authoritatem nostram Episcoporum translationes præsumitis —— Eadm. *p.* 115.

XIX. It is a great Prerogative of Sovereignty to impose *Taxes* on the *Clergy* or *People*.

Wherefore

Wherefore the Pope doth assume this; as for instance, that Decree of Pope *Innocent* IV. in the first Synod of *Lions*; *By the common Consent of the Council we ordain that all the Clergy, as well those who are under authority as the Prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their Ecclesiastical revenues towards the assistance of the holy Land, into the hands of those who shall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the Apostolick See. --- and let all know that this they are bound faithfully to do, under pain of excommunication.*

Caterùm ex communi Concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnes omnino Clerici, tam subditi quàm prælati, vigesimam Ecclesiarum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium terræ sanctæ, per manus eorum qui ad hoc Apostolicâ fuerint providentiâ ordinati —— sciantque se omnes ad hoc fideliter observandum per excommunicationis sententiam obligatos. Lugdun. Concil. 1. (*Anno* 1245.)

But Antiquity knew no such Impositions: when the Church, the Clergy, the Poor were maintained and relieved by voluntary Offerings, or Obventions.

Even the invidious splendour of the *Roman* Bishop was supported by the *Oblations of Matrons*, as *Marcellinus* observeth.

Ut ditentur Oblationibus Matronarum.

Marcell. 27. *Vid Const. Apost.* 2. 25. *Nam qui constituerunt vel fundârunt sanctissimas Ecclesias pro sua salute & communis Reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis substantias, ut per eas debeant sacræ liturgiæ fieri, & ut illis à ministrantibus piis Clericis Deus colatur. Cod. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 3. *Sect.* 42.

This is an encroachment upon the right of Princes, unto whom Clergymen are Subjects, and bound *to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.*

SUPPOSITION VII.

A farther grand Assertion of the *Roman* Party, is this, *That the Papal Supremacy is indefectible, and unalterable.*

BUT good reasons may be assigned, why even supposing that the Pope had an Universal Sovereignty in vertue of his Succession to Saint *Peter* conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent, that it must always, or doth now belong to him. For it might be settled on him not absolutely, but upon conditions, the which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should only continue for a time. And there are divers ways, whereby according to common rules of justice, he might be disseised thereof.

1. If God hath positively declared his will concerning this Point, that such a Sovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then indeed it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration doth appear, then to assert it for such, is to derogate from his power and providence, by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of things. Whence no humane power can be supposed absolutely stable or immoveably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source, or firmer ground, than that of the Civil Government hath, for *all such power is from heaven*, and in relation to that it is said, *There is no power but from God, the powers that are, are ordained by God.* But yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the Sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds either personal or local. Joh. 29. 11. Rom. 13. 1.

Any temporal Jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things, to which all humane Constitutions are subject; and which are order'd *by the will and providence of the most High, who ruleth in the Kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth; putting down one, and setting up another.* Dan. 5. 21. Psal. 75. 7.

Adam By God's appointment was Sovereign of the world; and his first born Successours derived the same power from him: yet in course of time that order hath been interrupted, and divers independent Sovereignties do take place.

Every Prince hath his authority from God, or by vertue of Divine Ordination within his own Territory; and according to God's Ordinance the lawful Successour hath a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority doth often fail totally or in part, changing its extent.

Why

Why then may not any Spiritual power be liable to the ſame viciſſitudes? why may not a Prelate be degraded as well as a Prince? why may not the Pope, as well as the Emperour, loſe all, or part of his Kingdom?

Why may not the Succeſſour of *Peter*, no leſs than the Heir of *Adam*, ſuffer a defaileur of Juriſdiction?

That Spiritual Corporations, Perſons and Places are ſubject to the ſame contingencies with others, as there is like reaſon to ſuppoſe, ſo there are examples to prove; God removed his ſanctuary from *Shiloh*, *Go ye now unto my place, which was in* Shiloh, *where I ſet my name at firſt*, &c. He deſerted *Jeruſalem*. He removeth the Candleſticks. He placed *Eli* (of the Family of *Ithamar*) in the High-Prieſthood, and diſplaced his Race from it: *I ſaid indeed* (ſaith God) *that thy houſe, and the houſe of thy father ſhould walk before me for ever. But now the Lord ſaith, Be it far from me*, &c.

Jer. 7. 12.
Jer. 7. 14.
Apoc. 2. 5.
1 Sam. 2. 30.
1 King. 2. 27.

3. The reaſon and exigency of things might be ſufficient ground for altering an Univerſal Juriſdiction; for when it ſhould prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order ſuch an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God firſt did inſtitute one Univerſal Monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious, providence gave way for its change, and ſetting up of particular Governments, to which men are bound to ſubmit; So God might inſtitute a ſingular Preſidency of the Church; but when the Church grew vaſtly extended, ſo that ſuch a Government would not conveniently ſerve the whole, he might order a diviſion, in which we ſhould acquieſce.

4. It hath ever been deemed reaſonable, and accordingly been practiſed, that the Church in its exteriour form and political adminiſtrations, ſhould be ſuted to the ſtate of the world, and Conſtitution of worldly Governments, that there might be no claſhing or diſturbance from each to other.

Wherefore ſeeing the World is now ſettled under ſo many Civil Sovereignties, it is expedient that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline ſhould be ſo modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reaſonable, that any pretence of Juriſdiction ſhould veil to the publick good of the Church and the World.

That it ſhould be neceſſary for the Church to retain the ſame form of policy, or meaſure of power affixed to perſons or places, can nowiſe be demonſtrated by ſufficient proof, and it is not conſiſtent with experience; which ſheweth the Church to have ſubſiſted with variations of that kind.

There hath in all times been found much reaſon or neceſſity to make alterations as well in the places and bounds of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as of ſecular Empire.

Wherefore St. *Peter*'s Monarchy, reaſon requiring, might be cantonized into divers ſpiritual Supremacies; and as other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminiſhed, removed and extinguiſhed, ſo might that of the *Roman* Biſhop. The Pope cannot retain power in any State againſt the will of the Prince: he is not bound to ſuffer correſpondences with Foreigners, eſpecially ſuch who apparently have intereſts contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Eſpecially that might be done, if the continuance of ſuch a Juriſdiction ſhould prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the Church.

6. That power is defectible, which, according to the nature and courſe of things, doth ſometime fail.

But the Papal Succeſſion hath often been interrupted by contingencies (of *Sedition*, *Schiſm*, *Intruſion*, *Simoniacal Election*, *Depoſition*, &c. as before ſhewed) and is often interrupted by Vacancies from the death of the Incumbents.

7. If leaving their dubious and falſe ſuppoſitions, (concerning Divine Inſtitution, Succeſſion to St. *Peter*, &c.) we conſider the truth of the caſe, indeed the more grounded plea of the Pope, that Papal pre-eminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the *Roman* City, and by the collation or countenance of the Imperial authority; then by the defect of ſuch advantages it may ceaſe

or

or be taken away: for when *Rome* hath ceaſed to be the Capital City, the Pope may ceaſe to be Head of the Church. When the Civil powers, which have ſucceeded the Imperial, each in its reſpective Territory, are no leſs abſolute than it, they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by humane Authority, by the ſame may be revoked; and what the Emperor could have done, each Sovereign power now may do for it ſelf.

An indefectible power cannot be ſettled by man, becauſe there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; ſo that whatever power one may raiſe, the other may demoliſh, there being no bounds whereby the preſent time may bind all poſterity.

However no humane Law can exempt any Conſtitution from the providence of God, which at pleaſure can diſſolve whatever man hath framed. And if the Pope were diveſted of all adventitious power, obtained by humane means, he would be left very bare, and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for Juriſdiction.

8. However or whenceſoever the Pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the Pope doth encroach on the rights and liberties of others, uſurping a lawleſs domination beyond reaſon and meaſure, they may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and ſhake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwiſe than by infringing the Sacred Laws, and trampling down the inviolable Privileges of the Churches, either granted by Chriſt, or eſtabliſhed by the Sanctions of General Synods; he thereby depriveth himſelf of all Authority; becauſe it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others (whoſe right outweigheth his) and without great miſchief to the Church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the *Maxim* of a great Pope, a great ſtickler for his own dignity; for when the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was advanced by a General Synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that Pope oppoſing him did ſay, that *whoever doth affect more than his due, doth loſe that which properly belonged to him*; the which Rule if true in regard to another's caſe, may be applied to the Pope, for *with what judgment ye judge, ye ſhall be judged*; *and with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.*

Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiſcit. P. Leo I. Ep. 54.

On ſuch a ſuppoſition of the Papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him; *It is too proud and immoderate a thing to ſtretch beyond ones bounds, and in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other mens right, and to oppoſe the Primacies of ſo many Metropolitans, on purpoſe to advance the dignity of one.*

Superbum nimis eſt & immoderatum ultrà fines proprios tendere, & antiquitate calcatâ alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius creſcat dignitas, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare primatus —— P. Leo I. Ep. 55.

For the privileges of Churches, being inſtituted by the Canons of the holy Fathers, and fixt by the Decrees of the venerable Synod of Nice, *cannot be pluckt up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation.*

Privilegia enim Eccleſiarum, ſanctorum Patrum Canonibus inſtituta, & venerabilis Nicenæ Synodi fixa Decretis, nullâ poſſunt improbitate convelli, nullâ novitate mutari. Ibid.

Far be it from me, that I ſhould in any Church infringe the Decrees of our Anceſtors made in favour of my fellow-prieſts; for I do my ſelf injury, if I diſturb the rights of my brethren.

Abſit hoc à me, ut Statuta Majorum conſacerdotibus meis in qualibet Eccleſiâ infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, ſi fratrum meorum jura perturbo. Greg. I. Epiſt. 2. 37

The Pope ſurely (according to any ground of Scripture, or Tradition, or ancient Law) hath no Title to greater Principality in the Church, than the Duke of *Venice* hath in that State. Now if the Duke of *Venice*, in prejudice to the publick right and liberty, ſhould attempt to ſtretch his power to an abſoluteneſs of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the conſtitution of that Common-wealth, he would thereby ſurely forfeit his Supremacy (ſuch as it is) and afford cauſe to the State of rejecting him: The like occaſion would the Pope give to the Church by the like demeanour.

9. The Pope by departing from the Doctrine and Practice of St. *Peter*, would forfeit his Title of Succeſſor to him; for in ſuch a caſe no ſucceſſion in

place

Pontifices ipſi à Petri veſtigiis diſceſſerunt. Plat. *in* Joh. 10. (p. 275.)

Non ſanctorum Filii ſunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum —— Hieron. *ad* Heliod. *apud* Grat. *Diſt.* 40. *cap.* 2.

Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent quam impiâ diviſione diſcerpunt. Ambr. *de Pœn.* l. 6.

Οὐχ ἧττον ἀποβολῆς, ἢ ἀπεκδοσεως διαδοχὴ —— ἣν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιτηδειον διαδοχὴν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόδοξον, τὸ δὲ διάδοχον καὶ ἀντίδοξον.—— Greg. Naz. Or. 21.

place or in name could preſerve it; *The Popes themſelves had ſwerved and degenerated from the example of* Peter.

They are not the Sons of the Saints, who hold the places of the ſaints, but they that do their works. (Which place is razed out of St. *Hierome*.)

They have not the inheritance of Peter, *who have not the faith of* Peter, *which they tear aſunder by ungodly diviſion.*

So *Gregory Nazianzene* ſaith of *Athanaſius*, that *he was Succeſſor of* Mark, *no leſs in piety than preſidency: the which we muſt ſuppoſe to be properly ſucceſſion*; otherwiſe the *Mufti* of *Conſtantinople* is Succeſſor of St. *Andrew*, of St. *Chryſoſtome*, &c. the *Mufti* of *Jeruſalem* to St. *James*.

If then the Biſhop of *Rome*, inſtead of teaching Chriſtian Doctrine doth propagate Errors contrary to it; If inſtead of guiding into Truth and Godlineſs, he ſeduceth into Falſhood and Impiety; If inſtead of declaring and preſſing the Laws of God, he delivereth and impoſeth Precepts oppoſite, prejudicial, deſtructive of God's Laws; If inſtead of promoting genuine Piety, he doth (in ſome inſtances) violently oppoſe it; If inſtead of maintaining true Religion, he doth pervert and corrupt it by bold defalcations, by ſuperſtitious additions, by foul mixtures and alloys; If he coineth new Creeds, Articles of Faith, new Scriptures, new Sacraments, new Rules of Life, obtruding them on the Conſciences of Chriſtians; If he conformeth the Doctrines of Chriſtianity to the Intereſts of his Pomp and Profit, *making gain godlineſs*; If he preſcribe vain, prophane, ſuperſtitious ways of Worſhip, turning Devotion into Foppery and Pageantry; If inſtead of preſerving Order and Peace, he fomenteth Diſcords and Factions in the Church, being a Make-bate and Incendiary among Chriſtians; If he claimeth exorbitant Power, and exerciſes Oppreſſion and tyrannical Domination over his Brethren, curſing and damning all that will not ſubmit to his Dictates and Commands; If inſtead of being a Shepherd, he is a Wolf, worrying and tearing the Flock by cruel Perſecution; He by ſuch behaviour *ipſo facto* depriveth himſelf of Authority and Office; he becometh thence no Guide or Paſtor to any Chriſtian; there doth in ſuch caſe reſt no obligation to hear or obey him, but rather to decline him, to diſcaſt from him, to reject and diſclaim him.

Non facit Eccleſiaſtica dignitas Chriſtianum. Hier.
Eccleſiaſtical dignity makes not a Chriſtian.

Non omnes Epiſcopi Epiſcopi ſunt. *Id.*
All Biſhops are not Biſhops.

Οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς κατάσκοποι, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἐπίσκοποι. Athan. *Conſt. Ap.* 8. 2.
They with them are ſcouts or ſpies, not Overſeers or Biſhops.

This is the reaſon of the caſe, this the Holy Scripture doth preſcribe, this is according to the Primitive Doctrine, Tradition and Practice of the Church. For,

10. In reaſon, the nature of any ſpiritual Office conſiſting in Inſtruction, in Truth and Guidance in Virtue toward attainment of Salvation; if any man doth lead into pernicious Errour or Impiety, he thereby ceaſeth to be capable of ſuch Office: As a blind man, by being ſo, doth ceaſe to be a Guide; and much more he, that declareth a will to ſeduce; for, *Who ſo blind as he that will not ſee?*

Luk. 6. 39. Μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

Matt. 15. 14. Ezek. 3. 18. Matt. 15. 9. No man can be bound to *follow any one into the ditch*: or to obey any one in prejudice to his own Salvation; *to die in his iniquity*. Seeing God ſaith in ſuch a caſe, μάτην σέβονταί με, *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for Doctrines the Precepts of men.*

Bell. *de P. R.* 2. 30. (p. 1083) They themſelves do acknowledge that Hereticks ceaſe to be Biſhops; and ſo to be Popes. Indeed they ceaſe to be Chriſtians; for ἀκέφαλοι ὁ τοιοῦτος, *ſuch a one is ſubverted.*

11. According to their Principles, the Pope hath the ſame relation to other Biſhops and Paſtours of the Church, which they have to their people; he being Paſtour of Paſtours: But if any Paſtour ſhould teach bad Doctrine, or preſcribe bad Practice, his People may reject and diſobey him; therefore in proportion, the Paſtours may deſert the Pope miſguiding or miſ[illegible]orning them. In ſuch caſes any Inferiour is exempted from obligation to com[illegible] with his Superiour, either truly or pretendedly ſuch.

12. The

12. The caſe may be, that we may not hold communion with the Pope, but may be obliged to ſhun him; in which caſe his Authority doth fail, and no man is ſubject to him.

13. This is the Doctrine of the Scripture. The High Prieſt and his Fellows, under the Jewiſh Oeconomy, had no leſs Authority than any Pope can now pretend unto; they did *ſit in the Chair of* Moſes, and therefore all their true Doctrines and lawful Directions the people were obliged to learn and obſerve; but their falſe Doctrines, and impious Precepts they were bound to ſhun; and conſequently to diſclaim their Authority ſo far as employ'd in urging ſuch Doctrines and Precepts; Ἄφετε αὐτούς, *Let them alone*, ſaith our Saviour, *they are blind leaders of the blind.* Under the Chriſtian diſpenſation, the matter is no leſs clear; our Lord commandeth us *to beware of falſe Prophets*; and to *ſee that no man deceive us*; although he wear the cloathing of a Sheep, or come under the name of a Shepherd (*coming in his name* ——). Saint *Paul* informeth us, that if *an Apoſtle*, if *an Angel from Heaven* doth preach beſide the old Apoſtolical Doctrine (introducing any new Goſpel, or a Divinity deviſed by himſelf) he is to be *held accurſed* by us. He affirmeth, that even the Apoſtles themſelves were not *Lords of our faith*, nor might challenge any power inconſiſtent with the maintenance of Chriſtian Truth and Piety; *We* (ſaith he) *can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*; the which an ancient Writer doth well apply to the Pope, ſaying, that he *could do nothing againſt the truth more than any of his Fellow-prieſts could do*; which St. *Paul* did in practice ſhew, when he *reſiſted* Saint *Peter*, *declining from the truth of the Goſpel.* He chargeth that if any one doth ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach heterodoxies*, we ſhould *ſtand off from him*; that, *if any brother walketh diſorderly, and not according to Apoſtolical tradition, we ſhould withdraw from him*; that if any one doth *raiſe diviſions and ſcandals beſide the doctrines received from the Apoſtles, we ſhould decline from him*; that we are *to refuſe any heretical perſon.* He telleth us that *grievous Wolves ſhould come into the Church, not ſparing the flock*; that *from among Chriſtians there ſhould ariſe men ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw diſciples after them*; but no man ſurely ought to follow, but to ſhun them.

Matt. 23. 2. Matt. 15. 6.

Matt. 16. 6. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης —— καὶ τῆς διδαχῆς. Verſ. 12. *Beware and take heed of the leaven —— of the doctrine.*

Matt. 15. 15. Matt. 7. 15. Matt. 24. 4. Gal. 1. 8. 9. 2 Cor. 1. 24. 2 Cor. 13. 7. 8.

Nec aliquid contra veritatem ſed pro veritate, plus ſuis Con-ſacerdotibus poteſt. Fac. Hermian. 2. 6.

Gal. 2. 11, 14. Ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

1 Tim. 6. 3. 5. Εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ —— ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

2 Theſſ. 3. 6. Στέλλεσθε ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ——

Rom. 16. 17. Ἐκκλίνετε ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

Tit. 3. 10.

Act. 20. 29. Εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Act. 20. 30.

Theſe Precepts and Admonitions are general, without any reſpect or exception of Perſons great or ſmall, Paſtour or Lay-men: nay they may in ſome reſpect more concern Biſhops than others; for that they declining from truth, are more dangerous and contagious.

14. The Fathers (in reference to this caſe) do clearly accord, both in their Doctrine and Practice. St. *Cyprian* telleth us, that *a people obedient to the Lord's commandments, and fearing God, ought to ſeparate it ſelf from a ſinful Biſhop*, that is, from the guilty of ſuch ſins which unqualifie him for Chriſtian communion or Paſtoral charge; and *Let not* (addeth he) *the common people flatter it ſelf, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt, if it communicate with a ſinful Biſhop*; whoſe irreligious Doctrine or Practice doth render him uncapable of communion; for *how* (ſaith he otherwhere) *can they preſide over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices do begin to proceed from them?*

Plebs obſequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens, à peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet. Cypr. Ep. 68.

Nec ſibi plebs blandiatur, quaſi immunis eſſe à contagio delicti poſſit cum Sacerdote peccatore communicans. Ibid.

Quomodo enim poſſunt integritati & continentiæ præeſſe, ſi ex ipſis incipiant corruptelæ & vitiorum magiſteria procedere? Cypr. Ep. 62.

They who reject the Commandment of God, and labour to eſtabliſh their own tradition, let them be ſtrongly and ſtoutly refuſed and rejected by you.

Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt & traditionem ſuam ſtatuere conantur, fortiter à vobis & firmiter reſpuantur. Cypr. Ep. 40. (p. 73.)

St. *Chryſoſtome*, commenting on Saint *Paul*'s words, *If I or an Angel*---ſaith, that Saint *Paul meaneth to ſhew, that dignity of perſons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned; that if one of the chief Angels from Heaven ſhould corrupt the Goſpel, he were to be accurſed*; that, *not only if they ſhall ſpeak things contrary, or overturn all,*

Ἀλλὰ δέξαι ἐκλύμβου, ὅτι ἀξίωμα περισσὸν οὐ περιτίθησι. ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. Chryſ. in Gal. 1. 9.

Κἂν ὁ πρῶτος Ἄγγελος ἢ τις ἀπ' ἐκείνων, διαβάλλων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ibid. 1. 8.

Καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἐὰν ἀναιρῇ καθόλου λέγειν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὰ πάντα, ἀλλὰ κἂν

κινεῖν τι εὐαγγελίζων παρὰ ἃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν μετακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Ibid.*

but if they preach any ſmall matter beſide the Apoſtolical doctrine, altering the leaſt point whatever, they are liable to an anathema.

And other-where, very earneſtly perſuading his Audience to render due reſpect and obedience to their Biſhop, he yet interpoſeth this exception; *If he hath a perverſe opinion, although he be an Angel, do not obey him; but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life, but his words.*

Εἰ μὲν δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κἂν Ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τὸν βίον περίεργε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι. Chryſ. *in* 2 Tim. *Orat.* 2.

Eccleſiaſtical Judges as men, are for the moſt part deceived.

Eccleſiaſtici Judices ut homines plerumque falluntur —— Aug. *c.* Creſc. 2. 21.

For neither are Catholick Biſhops to be aſſented to, if peradventure in any caſe they are miſtaken, ſo as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.

Quia nec Catholicis Epiſcopis conſentiendum eſt, ſicubi fortè falluntur, ut contra Canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid ſentiant. Auguſt. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 10.

If there be any Church which rejects the faith, and does not hold the fundamentals of the Apoſtolical doctrine, it ought to be forſaken, leſt it infect others with its heterodoxy.

Si qua eſt Eccleſia, quæ fidem reſpuat, nec Apoſtolicæ prædicationis fundamenta poſſideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ poſſit aſpergere, deſerenda eſt. Ambr. *in* Luc. 9. (*p* 85.)

If in ſuch caſe we muſt deſert any Church, then the *Roman*; if any Church, then much more any Biſhop, particularly him of *Rome*.

This hath been the Doctrine of divers Popes.

Which not only the Apoſtolick Prelate, but any other Biſhop may do, viz. *diſcriminate and ſever any men, and any place from the Catholick communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned hereſie.*

Quam non ſolùm præſuli Apoſtolico facere licet, ſed cuicunque Pontifici, ut quoſlibet & quemlibet locum ſecundum regulam hæreſeos ipſius ante damnatæ à Catholica communione diſcernant. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep* 4.

Faith is univerſal, common to all, and belongs not only to Clergymen, but alſo to Laicks, and even to all Chriſtians.

Fides univerſalis eſt, omnium communis eſt, non ſolùm ad Clericos, verùm etiam ad Laicos, & ad omnes omnino pertinet Chriſtianos. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 8. *p.* 596.

Therefore the ſheep which are committed to the cure of their Paſtor, ought not to reprehend him, unleſs he ſwerve and go aſtray from the right faith.

Oves ergo quæ paſtori ſuo commiſſæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, niſi à rectâ fide exorbitaverit, debent —— P. Joh. *I. Ep.* 1. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 812.)

15. That this was the current opinion, common practice doth ſhew, there being ſo many inſtances of thoſe who rejected their Superiors, and withdrew from their communion, in caſe of their maintaining errors, or of their diſorderly behaviour; ſuch practice having been approved by General and Great Synods, as alſo by divers Popes.

When *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* did introduce new and ſtrange Doctrine, *divers of his Presbyters did rebuke him, and withdraw communion from him*; which proceeding is approved by the *Epheſine* Synod.

Ἐν τῇ συνεδρίῳ πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν ἐκλεκτοτάτων πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν τῆς καινοτομίας αὐτὸς κέκλαυκεν —— *Conc.* Eph. *part. I. p.* 220.

Particularly *Chariſius* did aſſert this proceeding, in thoſe remarkable words preſented to that ſame Synod; *'Tis the wiſh and deſire of all well-affected perſons, to give always all due honour and reverence eſpecially to their ſpiritual Fathers and Teachers: but if it ſhould ſo happen that they who ought to teach, ſhould inſtil into thoſe who are ſet under them ſuch things concerning the faith, as are offenſive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of neceſſity the order muſt be inverted, and they who teach wrong Doctrine muſt be rebuked of thoſe who are their inferiors.*

Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν ἀεὶ καὶ πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μᾶλλον πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δέ τι συμβαίη ποτὲ διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν ἃ πᾶσιν ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας καλλαλάπλει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς διδάσκειν εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσύχων διελέγχεσθαι. Charis. *in Conc.* Eph. *Act.* 6 *p.* 328.

Pope *Celeſtine* I. in that caſe did commend the people of *Conſtantinople*, deſerting their Paſtor; *Happy flock* (ſaid he) *to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own Paſtor.*

Μακάριος ὁ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη ἣ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς. Celeſt. *I. in Conc.* Eph. *p.* 190.

St. *Hierome* did preſume to write very briskly and ſmartly in reproof of *John* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, in whoſe province he a ſimple Presbyter did reſide.

Who makes a Schiſm in the Church? we whoſe whole houſe in Bethlehem *communicate with the Church, or thou, who either believeſt aright, and proudly concealeſt the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makeſt a breach in the Church? Art thou only the Church? and is he who offendeth thee, excluded from Chriſt?*

Quis ſcindit Eccleſiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in Eccleſia communicat; an tu qui aut benè credis, & ſuperbè de fide taces, aut malè, & verè ſcindis Eccleſiam? —— *An tu ſolus Eccleſia es, & qui te offenderit à Chriſto excluditur?* Hier. *Ep.* 61. *cap.* 16. *Ep.* 62.

Malchion Prebyter of *Antioch* diſputed againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus* his Biſhop.

Malchion diſertiſſimus Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ Presbyter, adverſus Paulum Samoſatenum, qui Antiochenæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus dogma Artemonis, [illegible] diſputavit. Hieron. *in* Catal.

Beatus

Beatus Presbyter confuted his Biſhop *Eliphandus* of *Toledo*.

But if the Rector ſwerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by thoſe who are under him. *Quòd ſi à fide exorbitaverit Rector, tunc arguendus erat à ſubditis.* Iſid. Hiſp. *de Offic.* 3. 39. *Vid.* Thomam Aq. *in* 4. *Diſt.* 19. *Art.* 2.

16. The caſe is the ſame of the Pope; for if other Biſhops, who are reckoned Succeſſours of the Apoſtles, and Vicars of Chriſt within their precinct; if other Patriarchs, who ſit in Apoſtolical Sees, and partake of a like extenſive Juriſdiction, by incurring hereſie or ſchiſm, or committing notorious diſorder and injuſtice, may be deprived of their Authority, ſo that their Subjects may be obliged to forſake them, then may the Pope loſe his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the Chair of *Rome* more than to any other; there is no ground of aſſerting any ſuch Privilege either in Holy Scripture or in old Tradition; there can no promiſe be alledged for it, having any probable ſhew (that of *Oravi pro te*, being a ridiculous pretence) it cannot ſtand without a perpetual miracle; there is in fact no appearance of any ſuch miracle; from the ordinary cauſes of great errour and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, ſloth, luxury) the Papal ſtate is not exempt, yea apparently it is more ſubject to them than any other; All Ages have teſtified and complained thereof.

17. Moſt eminent perſons have in ſuch caſes withdrawn communion from the Pope; as other-where we have ſhewed by divers Inſtances

18. The Canon Law it ſelf doth admit the Pope may be judged, if he be a Heretick.--- *Becauſe he that is to judge all perſons, is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone aſtray from the faith.* *Quia cunctos ipſe judicaturus à nemine eſt judicandus, niſi deprehendatur à fide devius.* Grat. *Diſt.* 40. *cap.* 6. *Vid. P.* Innoc. *III. apud* Laun. *contra* Baron.

The ſuppoſition doth imply the poſſibility, and therefore the caſe may be put that he is ſuch, and then he doth (according to the more current Doctrine ancient and modern) ceaſe to be a Biſhop, yea a Chriſtian; Hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great Pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope *Honorius* for good, becauſe he was erroneous in point of Faith: *for* (ſaith he, in that which is called the *Eighth* Synod) *although* Honorius *was anathematized after his death by the Oriental Biſhops, it is yet well known, that he was accuſed for hereſie; for which alone it is lawful for inferiours to riſe up againſt ſuperiours.*

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ὁνορίου τοῦ τῶν Ἀναγλυπτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου ἀνάθεμα ἐγράφη, ὅμως γνωσὸν ἔστι, ὅτι ὑπὸ αἱρέσεως κατηγορήθη. εἰ ἦν γὰρ μόνον ἔξεστι τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις τῶν μειζόνων καθεξανίστασθαι. Syn. VIII. Act. 7. p. 963.

Now that the Pope (or Papal ſucceſſion) doth pervert the truth of Chriſtian Doctrine, in contradiction to the Holy Scripture, and Primitive Tradition; that he doth ſubvert the practice of Chriſtian piety in oppoſition to the Divine commands; that he teacheth falſhoods, and maintaineth impieties, is notorious in many particulars, ſome whereof we ſhall touch.

We juſtly might charge him with all thoſe extravagant Doctrines and Practices which the high-flying Doctors do teach, and which the fierce Zealots upon occaſion do act; for the whole ſucceſſion of Popes of a long time hath moſt countenanced and encouraged ſuch folks, looking ſquintly on others, as not well affected to them; But we ſhall only touch thoſe new and noxious or dangerous poſitions which great Synods, managed and confirmed by their Authority, have defined, or which they themſelves have magiſterially decreed; or which are generally practiſed by their influence or countenance.

It is manifeſt, that the Pope doth ſupport and cheriſh as his ſpecial Favourites the Venters of wicked Errours; ſuch as thoſe who teach the *Pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal Princes*, to caſhier and *depoſe* them, to *abſolve Subjects from their allegiance* ---- the Doctrine of *equivocation*, *breach of faith with hereticks*, &c. the which Doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever doth ſo much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Chriſtianity, is guilty of the ſame crimes.

The Holy Scripture and Catholick Antiquity do teach and enjoyn us to *worſhip and ſerve God alone*, our Creatour; forbidding us to worſhip any Creature, or *Fellow-Servant*; Matt. 4. 10. Apoc. 19. 10. 22. 9. Col. 2. 18. Rom. 1. 25.

Κτίσμα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ ὅμοιόν μου προσκυνεῖν. Baſ. apud Sozom. 6. 16.

Servant; even not Angels. *For I who am a Creature will not endure to worſhip one like to me.*

Similiter & Sanctorum cum Chriſto regnantes venerandos atque invocandos eſſe: —— *atque horum reliquias eſſe venerandas.* Pii *IV. Profeſſ. fid. Bonum atque utile eſſe eos invocare* —— *Sanctorum quoque corpora* —— *à fidelibus veneranda eſſe. Conc.* Trid.

But the Pope and his Clients do teach and charge us to worſhip Angels, and dead men; yea even to venerate *the reliques and dead bodies of the Saints.*

The Holy Scripture teacheth us *to judge nothing* (about the preſent or future ſtate of men, abſolutely) *before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of hearts, and then each man ſhall have praiſe of God.*

But the Pope notoriouſly (in repugnance to thoſe precepts, anticipating God's Judgment, and arrogating to himſelf a knowledge requiſite thereto) doth preſume to determine the ſtate of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be Saints, and propoſing them to be worſhipped; and on the other ſide, he damneth, curſeth and cenſureth his Fellow-Servants.

Exod. 20. 4. Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα.——

God in his Law doth command us not *to bow down our ſelves unto any image*, or worſhip *the likeneſs of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth*; the which Law (whether Moral or Poſitive) the Goſpel doth ratifie and confirm, charging us to *keep our ſelves from idols*, and *to fly worſhipping of idols*, that is, to obſerve the Second Commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers moſt expreſly aſſert; and divers of them were ſo ſtrict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful ſo much as to make any Image.

1 Joh. 5. 21.
1 Cor. 10. 14, 7.
Clem. Alex.
Tertul.

Imagines porrò —— *Sanctorum in Templis præſertim habendas, & retinendas, eiſque debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam* —— *ita ut per Imagines, quas oſculamur, & coram quibus caput aperimus, & procumbimus, Chriſtum adoremus, & Sanctos quorum illa ſimilitudinem gerunt, veneremur. Conc.* Trid. *Seſſ.* 25.

But the Pope and his adherents (in point-blank oppoſition to Divine Law, and Primitive Doctrine) do require us to *fall down before* and to worſhip Images. *Moreover we decree that the Images of Saints be eſpecially had and retain'd in Churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them—— ſo that by thoſe Images which we kiſs, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Chriſt, and venerate the Saints whoſe likeneſs they bear.*

Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut ſenſerit, anathema ſit. Conc. Trid. *Seſſ.* 25.

Neither is he ſatisfied to recommend and decree theſe unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible ſtrange kind of uncharitableneſs and ferity) doth he *anathematize thoſe, who teach* or think *any thing oppoſite to his decrees concerning them*; ſo that if the ancient Fathers ſhould live nŏw, they would live under this curſe.

Ezek. 18.
Luk. 15.
Rom. 10. 9.
Mark. 1. 15.

The Holy Scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourſe to God and truſt in his mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, doth offer and promiſe Remiſſion of ſins, Acceptance with God, Juſtification and Salvation: This is the tenor of the Evangelical Covenant; nor did the Primitive Church know other terms.

But the Pope doth preach another Doctrine, and requireth other terms as neceſſary for Remiſſion of Sins and Salvation; for he hath decreed the confeſſion of all and each mortal ſin, which a man by recollection can remember, to a Prieſt, to be neceſſary thereto; anathematizing all who ſhall ſay the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. *Chryſoſtome* frequently) have affirmed the contrary.

Si quis dixerit in Sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remiſſionem peccatorum neceſſarium non eſſe jure divino confiteri omnia & ſingula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita & diligenti præmeditatione habeatur —— *anathema ſit. Seſſ.* 14. *de Pœn. Can.* 7.

If any one ſhall ſay, that in the Sacrament of Penance, it is not neceſſary by divine right to confeſs all and ſingular mortal ſins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation —— let him be anathema.

The which is plainly preaching another Goſpel (forged by himſelf and his abettors) as offering Remiſſion upon other terms than God hath preſcribed; and denying it upon thoſe which Chriſtianity propoſeth.

He teacheth that no ſin is pardoned without abſolution of a Prieſt.

Si quis negaverit ad integram & perfectam peccatorum remiſſionem requiri —— *contritionem, confeſſionem & ſatisfactionem. Seſſ.* 14. *Can.* 4.

If any ſhall deny that contrition, confeſſion and ſatisfaction, is required to the entire and perfect remiſſion of ſin,

He requireth ſatisfaction impoſed by a Prieſt, beſides repentance and new obedience, as neceſſary. Which is alſo another Goſpel.

He diſpenſeth pardon of ſin upon condition of performances unneceſſary and inſufficient; ſuch as undertaking *Pilgrimages to the Shrines of Saints, Viſiting*

Viſiting Churches, making *War upon Infidels* or *Hereticks*, *Contributing Money*, *repeating Prayers*, undergoing *Corporal Penances*, &c. Which is likewiſe to frame and publiſh another Goſpel.

Et qui Hieroſolymam proficiſcuntur, & ad Chriſtianam gentem defendendam, & tyrannidem Infidelium debellandam efficaciter auxilium præbuerint quorum peccatorum remiſſionem concedimus —— Conc. Lat. I. Can. 11.

And whoever go to *Jeruſalem*, and powerfully afford help to defend Chriſtian people, and to ſubdue the tyranny of Infidels, to them we grant forgiveneſs of their ſins ——

Theſe Doctrines are highly preſumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

God hath commanded that *every ſoul ſhould be ſubject to the higher powers* temporal, *as to God's Miniſters*; ſo as to obey their Laws, to ſubmit to their Judgments, to pay Tribute to them —— And the Fathers expound this Law to the utmoſt extent and advantage. *If every ſoul, then yours, if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you.*

Rom. 13. 1. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. Καὶ ὑποτασσόμενοι ——

Chryſ. *Si omnis, & veſtra* —— *ſi quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.* Bern. Ep. 42.

But the Pope countermandeth, and exempteth all Clergymen from thoſe duties, by his *Canon Law*; excommunicating Lay-Judges, who ſhall perform their office in regard to them. *Becauſe indeed ſome Lay-perſons conſtrain Eccleſiaſticks, yea and Biſhops themſelves, to appear before them, and to ſtand to their judgment; thoſe that henceforth ſhall preſume to do ſo, we decree that they ſhall be ſeparate from the communion of the faithful.*

Lex Canonica ſimpliciter eos eximit. Bell. de Cler. cap. 1. *Sanè quia Laici quidam Eccleſiaſticas perſonas & ipſos etiam Epiſcopos ſuo judicio ſtare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præſumpſerint à communione fidelium decernimus ſegregandos.* Conc. Lat. III. Can. 14. Con. Lat. II. Can. 15. Steph. VI. Ep. 1. (Tom. 1. p. 130) Nichol. 1. Ep. 8. Tom. 6. p. 513.)

The Scriptures do repreſent the King (or Temporal Sovereign) as Supreme over his Subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield ſpecial reſpect and obedience: The Fathers yield him the ſame place, above all next to God, and ſubject to God alone: The ancient good Popes did acknowledge themſelves Servants, and Subjects to the Emperor.

Tertul. Opt. Cyril, &c. *alibi.* Greg. Ep. 2. 62. Agatho, &c.

But later Popes, like *the man of ſin* in St. *Paul*, have advanced themſelves above all Civil power; claiming to themſelves a ſupereminency not only of rank, but of power over all Chriſtian Princes; even to depoſe them. *Chriſt has committed the rights both of terreſtrial and celeſtial government to that bleſſed man who bears the keys of eternal life.*

2 Theſſ. 2. 4.

Chriſtus beato Petro vitæ æternæ vitæ & Claviger terreni ſimul & cœleſtis Imperii jura commiſit. P. Nich. II. *apud* Grat. Diſt. 22. cap. 1. Greg. VII. Ep. 8. 21. Cauſ. 15. qu. 6. cap. 3.

If the ſecular power be believers, God would have them ſubject to the Prieſts of the Church — Chriſtian Emperors ought to ſubmit, and not prefer the execution of their Laws to the Rulers of the Church.

Seculi poteſtates ſi fideles ſunt, Deus Eccleſiæ Sacerdotibus voluit eſſe ſubjectas —— *Imperatores Chriſtiani ſubdere debent executiones ſuas Eccleſiaſticis præſulibus, non præferre.* P. Joh. VIII. *apud* Grat. diſt. 96. cap. 11.

God by indiſpenſable Law hath obliged us to retain our obedience to the King even Pagan: charging us under pain of damnation to be ſubject to him, and not to reſiſt him ——

But the Pope is ready upon occaſion to diſcharge Subjects from that obligation, to abſolve them from their ſolemn Oaths of Allegiance, to incourage Inſurrection againſt him, to prohibit obedience —— *We obſerving the Decrees of our holy Predeceſſors, by our Apoſtolical Authority abſolve thoſe from their Oath, who were bound by their Fealty and Oath to excommunicated Perſons: and we forbid them by all means, that they yield them no Allegiance, till they come and make ſatisfaction.*

Nos ſanctorum Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum Statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis Fidelitate aut Sacramento conſtricti ſunt, Apoſtolicâ authoritate à Sacramento abſolvimus, & ne eis Fidelitatem obſervent omnibus modis prohibemus, quouſque ipſi ad ſatisfactionem veniant. Greg. VII. in Syn. Rom. Grat. Cauſ. 15. qu. 6. cap. 4.

Thus doth he teach and preſcribe *Rebellion*, *Perjury* — together with all the *Murthers* and *Rapines* conſequent on them; which is a far greater Hereſie, than if he ſhould teach *Adultery*, *Murther* or *Theft* to be lawful. *For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the Allegiance which they have ſworn to a Chriſtian Prince, who is an adverſary to God and his Saints, and contemns their commands.*

Fidelitatem enim quam Chriſtiano Principi jurârunt, Deo ejúſque Sanctis adverſanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nullâ cohibentur auctoritate perſolvere —— P. Urb. II. *apud* Grat. Cauſ. 15. qu. 6. cap. 5.

Not

Ezek. 13. 3, &c.

Not only the Holy Scripture, but Common Senſe doth ſhew it to be an enormous preſumption, to obtrude for the Inſpirations, Oracles and Dictates of God, any Writings or Propoſitions, which are not really ſuch.

Si quis autem libros ipſos integros cum ſuis partibus, prout in Eccleſia Catholica legi conſueverunt, & in veteri vulgata Latina Editione habentur, pro Sacris & Canonicis non ſuſceperit —— anathema ſit. Conc Trid. *Seſſ.* 4.

But if any ſhall not receive for Sacred and Canonical, thoſe whole Books with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the Catholick Church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin Edition; let him be *Anathema.*

This the Pope doth notoriouſly, charging us to admit divers writings, (which the greateſt part of learned men in all Ages have refuſed for ſuch) as Sacred and Canonical; anathematizing all thoſe who do not hold each of them for ſuch —— Even as they are extant in a Tranſlation, not very exact, and framed partly out of *Hebrew*, partly out of *Greek*, upon divers accounts liable to miſtake; as its Author St. *Hierome* doth avow.

According to which Decree, all who conſent with St. *Hierome*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Athanaſius*, *&c.* with common ſenſe, with the *Author* of the Second of *Maccabees* himſelf, muſt incur a curſe —— what can be more uncharitable, more unjuſt, more ſilly than ſuch a Definition?

He pretendeth to Infallibility, or encourageth them who attribute it to him; which is a continual Enthuſiaſm and profane bold Impoſture.

The Scripture doth avow a ſingular reverence due to it ſelf, as containing the Oracles of God ——

But the Pope doth obtrude the *Oral Traditions* of his Church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain —) to be worſhipped with equal reverence as the Holy Scripture. *And alſo receives and venerates with the like pious reſpect and reverence the Traditions themſelves —— which have been preſerved by continual ſucceſſion in the Catholick Church.*

—— nec non traditiones ipſas —— continuâ ſucceſſione in Eccleſia Catholica conſervatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia ſuſcipit, & veneratur. Syn. Trid. *Seſſ.* 4.

Among which Traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their Maſs-ſervice; together with all their new notions about Purgatory, Extreme Unction, *&c.* *He alſo uſed ſeveral ceremonies, as myſtical benediction, lights, incenſings, garments, and many other ſuch things, from Apoſtolical diſcipline, and tradition.*

Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut myſticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, veſtes, aliâque id genus multa ex Apoſtolica diſciplina & traditione —— Conc. Trid. *Seſſ.* 22. *cap.* 5. 11. *de ſacrif. Miſſ.*

The Scriptures affirm themſelves to be written for common inſtruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themſelves to be ſtudied and ſearched by all people; as the beſt and ſureſt means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. The Fathers alſo do much exhort all people, (even women and girls) conſtantly to read, and diligently to ſtudy the Scriptures.

2 Tim. 3. 15 —— Rom. 15. 4. 1 Cor. 9. 10. 10. 11. 2 Pet. 1. 20. Ἐκ ἐπιλύσεως.
Joh. 5. 39. Act. 17. 11.
Pſal. 119 ——
Hier. *ad* Laet. *Epitaph.* Paul. *Vit.* Hilar.—
Chryſ. *in* Coloſ. *Or.* 9.
Aug. *Serm.* 55. *de temp.*

N. P. *Pius* IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and permiſſion of books; in which it is permitted to Biſhops to grant a faculty of reading the Scriptures tranſlated —— but to this rule there is added an obſervation, that *this power was taken from Biſhops by command of the* Roman *Univerſal Inquiſition. Ind. Lib. prohib. à* Clem. *VIII.*

But the Pope doth keep them from the People, locked up in Languages not underſtood by them; prohibiting Tranſlations of them to be made, or uſed ---- The Scripture teacheth, and common ſenſe ſheweth, and the Fathers aſſert (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly) that all neceſſary points of faith and good morality are with ſufficient evidence couched in Holy Scripture, ſo that a 2 Tim. 3. 17. *man of God*, or pious men may thence *be perfectly furniſhed to every good work*; But they contrary-wiſe blaſpheme the Scriptures as obſcure, dangerous, *&c.*

Common ſenſe dictateth, that devotions ſhould be performed with underſtanding and affection; and that conſequently they ſhould be in a known tongue: And Saint *Paul* expreſly teacheth, that it is requiſite for private and publick edification; *from this Doctrine of* Paul *it appears, that it is better for the edification of the Church, that prayers, which are ſaid in the audience of the people, ſhould be ſaid in a tongue common to the Clergy and the people, than that they ſhould be ſaid in Latin.*

1 Cor. 14. 14 —— *Ex hac* Pauli *doctrina habetur, quòd melius eſt ad Eccleſiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi Clericis & populo, quàm dici Latine.* Cajet. *in* 1 Cor. 14.

All ancient Churches did accordingly practiſe; and moſt others do ſo, beſide thoſe which the Pope doth ride.

But

But the Pope will not have it ſo, requiring the publick Liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue; and that moſt Chriſtians ſhall ſay their devotions like Parrots. He anathematizeth thoſe, who *think the Maſs ſhould be celebrated in a vulgar tongue*; that is all thoſe who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient Church.

— *aut Linguâ tantum vulgari Miſſam celebrari debere — anathema ſit. Seſſ. 22. Can. 9.*

The Holy Scripture teacheth us, that there is but one Head of the Church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have otherwhere ſhewed.)

But the Pope aſſumeth to himſelf the headſhip of the Church, affirming all *power and authority to be derived from him, into the ſubject members of the Church.*

A quo tanquam Capite omnis in ſubjecta membra poteſtas & authoritas derivetur. P. Pius II. *in Bull. Retract.*

We decree that the Roman Pontife is the true Vicar of Chriſt, *and the head of the whole Church.*

Definimus Romanum Pontificem — verum Chriſti Vicarium, totiúſque Eccleſiæ caput — Defin. Syn. Flor.

The Scripture declareth that God did inſtitute marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of ſin; forbidding the uſe of it to none, who ſhould think it needful or convenient for them; reckoning the prohibition *of it* among heretical doctrines; implying it to be *impoſing a ſnare* upon men.

Matt. 19. 11.
Μὴ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν; — 1 Cor. 9. 5.
Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν 1 Tim. 4. 3.
Βέλτιον ὑπερδάλλειν 1 Cor. 7. 35.

But the Pope and his Complices do prohibit it to whole Orders of men, (*Prieſts, &c.*) engaging them into dangerous vows.

Vid. Tom. 7. Conc. p. 465. Syn. Trid. Seſſ. 24. de matr. Can. 9.

Our Lord forbiddeth any marriage lawfully contracted to be diſſolved, otherwiſe than in caſe of adultery.

Matt. 5. 32. 19. 7. 1 Cor. 7. 10.

But the Pope commandeth Prieſts married to be divorced. *And that marriages contracted by ſuch perſons ſhould be diſſolved*

Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujuſmodi perſonis disjungi — Conc. Lat. I. cap. 21; Lat. II.
Trid. *Seſſ. 24. Can. 9 —*

He diſſolveth matrimony agreed, by the profeſſion of monkery of one of the eſpouſed. *If any ſhall ſay, that matrimony confirmed, not conſummate, is not diſſolved by the ſolemn profeſſion of religion of either party, let him be anathema.*

Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non conſummatum, per ſolennem religionis profeſſionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema ſit. Seſſ. 24. Can. 6.

Our Saviour did inſtitute and enjoyn us (under pain of damnation, if we ſhould wilfully tranſgreſs his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his blood, in participation of the Holy Supper.

Πίεσθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Matt. 26. 27.
Ἐὰν μὴ — πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔχετε ζωήν. Joh. 6. 53.

The Fathers did accordingly practiſe, with the whole Church, till late times.

But *notwithſtanding Chriſt's inſtitution* (as they expreſs it) Papal Synods do prohibit all Laymen, and Prieſts not celebrating, to partake of Chriſt's blood; ſo maiming and perverting our Lord's Inſtitution: † *and yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption.*

Non obſtante. Conc. Conſt. *Seſſ.* 13.
Conc. Trid. *Seſſ. 13. cap. 8. & Can. 3. Seſſ 21. cap. 4. & Can. 3.*
† This P. Leo I. condemneth. *De Quadr. Serm. 4. (p. 38.) Sanguinem redemptionis noſtræ haurire declinant.* —

In defence of which practice, they confound body and blood; and under a curſe would oblige us to believe, that the kind doth contain the other; or that a part doth contain the whole.

P. *Gelaſius* calleth the diviſion of the Sacrament a grand Sacrilege. Grat. *in De Conſecr. diſt. 2. cap. 12.*

Conc. Trid. *Seſſ. 21. Can. 3. Seſſ. 13. Can. 3.*

Whereas our Lord ſaith, that *whoſo eateth his fleſh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life*, and conſequently ſuppoſeth, that bad men do not partake of his body and blood; yet they condemn this aſſertion under a curſe.

Joh. 6. 54.

Si quis dixerit tantum in uſu, &c. Trid. *Conc. Seſſ. 13. cap. 8. & Can. 4.*

The Holy Scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the Euchariſt, after conſecration, bread and wine; affirming them to retain their nature.

Ἄρτον τοῦτον. 1 Cor. 11. 26.
Theod. Gelaſ. —

But the Popiſh *Cabal* anathematizeth thoſe who ſay, *that bread and wine do then remain.*

If any ſhall ſay that in the Holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt, the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth---- let him be Anathema.

Si quis dixerit in Sacroſancto Euchariſtiæ Sacramento remanere ſubſtantiam panis & vini — anathema ſit. Trid. *Conc. de Euch. Seſſ. 13. Can. 2.*

The nature of the Lord's Supper doth imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to ſay that a Prieſt

Si quis dixerit Miſſas in quibus ſacerdos ſolus ſacramentaliter communicat, illicitas eſſe; anathema ſit.

may

Seſſ. 22. de ſacr. Miſſ. Can. 8. Seſſ. 13. Can. 8.

may not communicate alone; ſo eſtabliſhing the belief of nonſenſe, and contradiction.

The Holy Scriptue teacheth us, that our Lord hath departed, and is abſent from us in body; until that he ſhall come to judge, which is *called his preſence*; that heaven, whither he aſcended, and where he ſitteth at God's right hand, muſt *hold him till the times of the reſtitution of all things*

2 Cor. 5. 6.— Act. 2. 33. Col. 3. 1. Εἰς τὸ δεξιὰν καθῆσθαι. Heb. 10. 12. Ὃν δεῖ δέξασθαι οὐρανὸν ἄχρις. Act. 3. 21.

But the Pope with his *Lateran* and *Tridentine* Complices, draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally preſent every day, in numberleſs places here.

The Scripture teacheth us, that our Lord is a man, *perfectly like to us, in all things.*

Ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. Heb. 2. 17.

But the Pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once preſent in innumerable places; inſenſible, *&c.* diveſted of the properties of our body; thereby deſtroying his humane nature, and in effect agreeing with *Eutyches*, *Apollinarius*, and other ſuch peſtilent *Hereticks.*

The Scripture repreſenteth him born once for us; but they affirm him every day made by a Prieſt, uttering the words of conſecration; as if that which before did exiſt, could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

Heb. 9. 26. 10. 10, 12, 14. Ἐφάπαξ, μία προσφορά.

The Scripture teacheth, that our Lord was *once offered for expiation of* our ſins; but they pretend every day to offer him up as a *propitiatory ſacrifice.*

Theſe devices, without other foundation than a figurative expreſſion (which they reſolve to expound in a proper ſenſe, although even in that very matter divers figurative expreſſions are uſed, as they cannot but acknowledge) they with all violence and fierceneſs intrude upon the belief, as one of the moſt neceſſary and fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Religion.

Eph. 2. 8. 9. Tit. 3. 5. Rom. 3. 24. Luk. 17. 10.

The Scripture teacheth us humbly to acknowledge the rewards aſſigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, *after we have done all, muſt acknowledge our ſelves unprofitable ſervants.*

Seſſ. 6. de Juſtif. Can. 32.

But the *Papiſts* curſe thoſe, who, although out of humility and modeſty, will not acknowledge the good works of juſtified Perſons to be truly meritorious; *deſerving the encreaſe of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory:* ſo forcing us to uſe ſaucy words and phraſes, if not impious in their ſenſe.

The Scripture teacheth one Church diffuſed over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace and communion with the reſt, upon brotherly terms.

Orbis terrarum Apoſtatavit, & ſola remanſit Donati Communio. Aug. de Unit. 12.—

But the *Romaniſts* arrogate to themſelves the name and privilege of the only Church; condemning all other Churches beſides their own; and cenſuring all for Apoſtatical who do not adhere to them, or ſubmit to their yoke: Juſt like the *Donatiſts*, who ſaid that *the world had apoſtatized*, excepting thoſe who upon their own terms did communicate with them; *only the communion of* Donatus *remained* the true Church.

1 Joh. 4. 1. Jer. 29. 8.—

The Holy Scripture biddeth us take care of perſons pretending to extraordinary Inſpirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices.

Such have been their *Synods*, boldly fathering their Decrees on God's Spirit — And their Pope is infallible, by vertue of inſpiration communicated to him, when he pleaſeth to ſet himſelf right in his Chair! Hence we may take them for bodies of Enthuſiaſts and Fanaticks: the difference only is, that other Enthuſiaſts pretend ſingly, they conjunctly and by conſpiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence; theſe impoſe their dreams on the whole Church.

Luk. 11. 13. Jam. 1. 5. 1 Joh. 2. 27. Heb. 8. 11. Rom. 8. 9. Act. 5. 32. Aug. Doctr. Chriſt. Ep. ad Jen.

If they ſay that God hath promiſed his Spirit to his Church, it is true; but he hath no leſs plainly and frequently promiſed it to ſingle Chriſtians, who ſhould ſeek it earneſtly of him.

The Ancient Fathers could in the Scriptures hardly diſcern more than two Sacraments or Myſterious Rites of our Religion, by poſitive Law and Inſtitution of our Saviour to be practiſed.

But

But the Popes have deviſed others, and under uncharitable curſes propound them to be profeſſed for ſuch; affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Every Clergy-man and Monk is bound by *Pius* IV. to profeſs *there are juſt ſeven of them*; and the *Tridentine* Synod *anathematizeth all thoſe, who do ſay they are more or fewer*; although the Ancients did never hit on that number.

But theſe our Sacraments both contain grace, and alſo confer it upon thoſe who worthily receive them.

They require men to believe under a curſe, that each of thoſe were inſtituted of Chriſt, and confer grace by the bare performance.

Particularly, they curſe thoſe who do not hold *Matrimony for a Sacrament, inſtituted by Chriſt, and conferring grace.* What can be more ridiculous than to ſay, that marriage was inſtituted by Chriſt, or that it doth confer grace?

Yet with another *anathema* they prefer Virginity before it: and why forſooth is not that another Sacrament? And then they muſt be comparing the worth of theſe Sacraments, condemning thoſe heavily, who may conceive them equal, as being Divine Inſtitutions.

If any ſay, that theſe ſeven Sacraments are ſo equal one to another, that one is in no reſpect of more worth than another, let him be Anathema.

The firſt, as it ſeemeth, who reckoned the Sacraments to be ſeven, was *Peter Lombard*; whom the Schoolmen did follow; and Pope *Eugenius* IV. followed them; and afterward the *Trent* men formed it into an Article back'd with an *Anathema.*

Upon which raſh and peremptory Sentence touching all ancient Divines, we may note;

1. Is it not ſtrange that an Article of Faith ſhould be formed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, uſed with great variety?

2. Is it not ſtrange to define a Point, whereof it is moſt plain that the Fathers were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or reſolve any thing?

3. Yea whereof they ſpeak variouſly.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curſe people for a point of ſo little conſideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and preſumption to define, nay indeed to make an Article of Faith, without any manner of ground or colour of Authority either from Scripture or Tradition of the ancient Fathers?

* *Si Sacramenta eſſent panciora, magna impietas fuiſſet & ſuperſtitio &c.* Bell. *de Sacr.* 2. 25. If the Sacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and ſuperſtition. *&c.*

Profiteor quoque ſeptem eſſe propriè & verè Sacramenta. Bulla Pii IV.

Si quis dixerit —— eſſe plura vel panciora quàm ſeptem —— anathema ſit. Syn. Trid. *Seſſ.* 7. *Can.* 1.

Hæc verò noſtra & continent gratiam & ipſam dignè ſuſcipientibus conferunt. P. Eug. *in Inſtr. Arm.*

Si quis dixerit per ipſa nova legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam —— anathema ſit. Ibid. Can. 8.

* *Si quis dixerit matrimonium non eſſe verè ac propriè unum ex ſeptem legis Evangelicæ Sacramentis, à Chriſto Domino inſtitutum —— neque gratiam conferre, anathema ſit. Seſſ.* 24. *Can.* 1.

Seſſ. 24 *Can.* 10.

Si quis dixerit hæc ſeptem Sacramenta ita eſſe inter ſe paria, ut nullâ ratione aliud ſit alio dignius, anathema ſit. Seſſ. 7. *Can.* 3.

Novæ legis ſeptem ſunt Sacramenta, & P. Eug. *in Inſtr. Arm.*

Bellarmine could find none before him. *Vid. de Sacram.* 2. 25.

Multa dicuntur à veteribus Sacramenta præter iſta ſeptem. Bell. *de Sacr.* 2. 24. Many things are by the Ancients called Sacraments beſides theſe ſeven.

The Holy Scripture forbiddeth us *to call any man maſter upon earth*, or abſolutely to ſubject our Faith to the dictates of any man; it teacheth us that the Paſtors themſelves are not *Lords of our Faith*, ſo as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; It forbiddeth us to ſwallow whole the Doctrines and Precepts of men, without examination of them. It forbiddeth us to admit * *various and ſtrange doctrines.*

Mat. 23. 8. 2 Cor. 1. 24. 1 Theſſ. 5. 21. Col. 2. 8. Mar. 15. 9.

* Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Heb. 13. 9.

But the Pope and Roman Church exact from us a ſubmiſſion to their Dictates, admitting them for true without any farther enquiry or diſcuſſion, barely upon his Authority. *They who are provided of any Benefices whatever, having care of Souls, let them promiſe and ſwear obedience to the* Roman *Church.*

Proviſi de beneficiis quibuſcunque curam animarum habentibus —— in Romanæ Eccleſiæ obedientiam ſpondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 24. *cap.* 12. *de Ref.* —— *nec non veram obedientiam ſummo Pontifici ſpondeant & præſtentur. Seſſ.* 25. *cap. de Ref.*

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profeſs, to aſſert innumerable Propoſitions, divers of them new and ſtrange, no-wiſe deducible from Scripture or Apoſtolical Tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the Primitive Church, deviſed by humane ſubtlety, curioſity, contentiouſneſs —— divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common ſenſe) uncertain, obſcure and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivo-

frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably falſe. Namely all ſuch Propoſitions, as have been taught by their great *Junto's*, allowed by the Pope, eſpecially that of *Trent*.

Cætera item omnia à Sacris Canonibus & Oecumenicis Conciliis, ac præcipuè à Sacroſancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; ſimulque contraria omnia atque hæreſes quaſcunque ab Eccleſia damnatas & reſectas & anathematizatas ego pariter damno, reſpuo & anathematizo. P. Pii IV *profeſſ. Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla ſalus eſſe poteſt. Ibid.*

Moreover all other things delivered, defined and declared by the Sacred Canons and Oecumenical Councils, and eſpecially by the Holy Synod of Trent, *I undoubtedly receive and profeſs; and alſo all things contrary thereunto, and all Hereſies whatſoever condemned and rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner do condemn, reject and anathematize——This is the true Catholick Faith, out of which there can be no Salvation.*

This Uſurpation upon the Conſciences of Chriſtians (none like whereto was ever known in the World) they proſecute with moſt uncharitable cenſures; curſing and damning all who do not in heart and profeſſion ſubmit to it, obliging all their comforts to joyn therein, againſt all charity and prudence,

Rom. 14. 1. 15. 1, 7. The Scripture enjoineth us to bear with thoſe who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or diſputable matters.

But the Popes with cruel uncharitableneſs, not only do cenſure all that cannot aſſent to their devices, which they obtrude as Articles of Faith; but ſorely perſecute them with all ſorts of puniſhments; even with death it ſelf; a practice inconſiſtent with Chriſtian meekneſs, with equity, with reaſon; and of which the Fathers expreſſed the greateſt deteſtation.

Totam Theologiam à capite uſque ad calcem retexuerunt, & ex divina Sophiſticam fecerunt. Eraſm. *præf. ad* Hieron.

They have unwoven and altered all Theology from head to foot, and of Divine have made it Sophiſtical.

The Pope with his pack of mercenary Clients at *Trent*, did indeed eſtabliſh a Scholaſtical or Sophiſtical, rather than a Chriſtian Theology; framing Points, deviſed by the idle wits of latter times, into Definitions and peremptory Concluſions back'd with Curſes and Cenſures: concerning which Concluſions it is evident,

Formaliter juſtos Seſſ. 6. Can. 10. Ex opere operato Seſſ. 7. Can. 8. Character. Seſſ. 7. Can. 9.

That the Apoſtles themſelves would not be able to underſtand many of them.

That ancient Fathers did never think any thing about them.

That divers of them conſiſt in application of artificial terms and phraſes deviſed by humane ſubtilty.

That divers of them are in their own nature diſputable; were before diſputed by wiſe men, and will ever be diſputed by thoſe who freely uſe their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and curſing they know not who, Fathers, Schoolmen, Divines, &c. who have expreſly affirmed points ſo damned by them.

That many Truths are uncharitably back'd with Curſes; which diſparageth them; (ſeeing a man may err pardonably—ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες) *in many things we offend all.*

Seſſ. 5. Can. 5. Rom. 7. For inſtance; what need was there of defining, what need of curſing thoſe, who think concupiſcence *to be truly and properly ſin*, upon Saint *Paul's* Authority calling it ſo?

Cùm mandatum dei in paradiſo fuiſſet tranſgreſſus, ſtatim ſanctitatem & juſtitiam in qua conſtitutus fuerat, amiſiſſe. Ibid. Can. 1.

That *Adam preſently upon the tranſgreſſion did looſe the Sanctity and Juſtice which he was conſtituted.*

Seſſ. 6. Can. 11.—— What need of curſing thoſe, who ſay that men are juſtified *by the ſole remiſſion of ſins*, according to Saint *Paul's* notion, and uſe the word Juſtification?

Seſſ. 6. Can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam qua juſtificamur, eſſe tantum favorem Dei. Seſſ. 6. Can. 12.

What need of thoſe, who ſay the *grace of God by* which *we are juſtified, is only the favour of God*, whereas it is plain enough that *God's grace* there in Saint *Paul*, doth ſignifie nothing elſe, applied to that caſe.

Or that Faith is *nothing elſe, but a reliance in God's mercy, remitting ſins for Chriſt*; ſeeing it is plain that Saint *Paul* doth by Faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of Goſpel.

Seſſ. 6. Can. 24. Non autem ipſius augendæ cauſam.—— Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exſolvendæ

Or that good works *do not cauſe an encreaſe of juſtification*; ſeeing Saint *Paul* doth exclude juſtification by works; and it is a free work of God—uncapable of degrees.

Or that after remiſſion of ſin in juſtification, *a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide.*

——*Seſſ. 6. Can. 30. Seſſ. 14. de pœnit Can. 15.*

O 2

Or that a man cannot *by his works merit encreaſe of grace, and glory and eternal life*; ſeeing a man is not to be blamed, who doth diſlike the uſe of ſo ſawcy a word; the which divers good men have diſclaimed. *Seſſ. 6. Can. 32.*

What need of curſing thoſe, who do not take the Sacraments to be *preciſely Seven?* or who conceive that ſome one of their ſeven may not be *truly and properly* a Sacrament? ſeeing the word *Sacrament* is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. *Auſtin*, *Signum rei ſacræ*; and that before *Peter Lombard* ever did mention that number. *De Sacramentis. Si quis dixerit.— eſſe plura vel pauciora quàm ſeptem. Seſſ. 7. Can. 1.*

What need of damning thoſe, who do conceive the Sacraments equal in dignity?

What need of defining, that Sacraments do confer grace *ex opere operato*; which is an obſcure Scholaſtical phraſe? *Seſſ. 7. Can. 3.*

What need of curſing thoſe who ſay, that a *Character is not impreſſed in the ſoul* of thoſe who take *Baptiſm, Confirmation, or Orders?* ſeeing what this Character is (or *this ſpiritual or indelible mark*) they do not themſelves well underſtand or agree. *Seſſ. 7. Can. 8. Non imprimi characterem in anima. Seſſ. 7. Can. 9. Hoc eſt ſignum quoddam ſpirituale, & indelebile. Ibid.*

What need of curſing thoſe, who do not think that the validity of Sacraments (and conſequently the aſſurance of our being Chriſtians) dependeth on the Intention of the Miniſter? *Seſſ. 7. Can. 11.*

What need of curſing thoſe, who think that a Paſtour of the Church may change the Ceremonies of adminiſtring the Sacraments; ſeeing St. *Cyprian* often teacheth, that every Paſtour hath full authority in ſuch caſes within his own precinct? *Seſſ. 7. Can. 13.*

What need of defining the Second Book of *Maccabees* to be Canonical, againſt the common opinion of the Fathers (moſt expreſly of St. *Auſtin* himſelf) of the moſt learned in all Ages, of Pope *Gelaſius* himſelf (*in decret.*) which the Author himſelf (calling his work an Epitome, and asking pardon for his errours) diſclaimeth? and which common ſenſe therefore diſclaimeth. *Seſſ. 4.*

Fidem minutis diſſecant ambagibus
Ut quiſque linguâ nequior.
Solvunt ligántque quæſtionum vincula
Per Syllogiſmos plectiles——
Prudent. *in Apotheoſ.*

Their new Creed of *Pius* IV. containeth theſe Novelties and Heterodoxies. 1. *Seven Sacraments.* 2. Trent *Doctrine of Juſtification and Original ſin.* 3. *Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *Communicating under one kind.* 6. *Purgatory.* 7. *Invocation of Saints.* 8. *Veneration of Reliques.* 9. *Worſhip of Images.* 10. *The* Roman *Church to be the Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches.* 11. *Swearing Obedience to the Pope.* 12. *Receiving the Decrees of all Synods* and of *Trent.*

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

UNITY

OF THE

CHURCH.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D.D.

Late MASTER of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge.*

Aug. de Bapt. 3.

Non habet Charitatem Dei, qui Eccleſiæ non diligit Unitatem.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROUND in *Exchange-Alley*, J. TONSON in the *Strand*, and W. TAYLOR in *Pater-noſter-Row*. MDCCXVI.

A

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EPHES. iv. 4.

One Body, and one Spirit.

THE *Unity of the Church* is a Point which may ſeem ſome what ſpeculative and remote from Practice; but in right Judgment it is otherwiſe; many Duties depending upon a true notion and conſideration of it; ſo that from ignorance or miſtake about it we may incur divers offences or omiſſions of Duty; hence in Holy Scripture it is often propoſed as a conſiderable Point, and uſeful to Practice.

And if ever the Conſideration of it were needful, it is ſo now when the Church is ſo rent with Diſſenſions; for our ſatisfaction and direction about the Queſtions and Caſes debated in Chriſtendom; for on the Explication of it, or the true Reſolution wherein it doth conſiſt, the Controverſies about *Church Government*, *Hereſie*, *Schiſm*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, and by conſequence many others do depend; yea indeed all others are by ſome Parties made to depend thereon.

Saint *Paul*, exhorting the *Epheſians*, his diſciples, to the maintenance of Charity and Peace among themſelves, doth for inducement to that Practice, repreſent the Unity and Community of thoſe things which jointly appertain to them as Chriſtians: the Unity of that *Body* whereof they were members; of that *Spirit* which did animate and act them; of that *Hope* to which they were called; of that *Lord* whom they all did worſhip and ſerve; of that *Faith* which they did profeſs; of that *Baptiſm* whereby they were admitted into the ſame ſtate of Duties, of Rights, of Privileges; of that one *God* and univerſal *Father*, to whom they had all the ſame relations.

He beginneth with the *Unity* of the *Body*; that is, of the Chriſtian Church; concerning which *Unity*, what it is, and wherein it doth conſiſt, I mean now to diſcourſe.

In order to clearing which Point, we muſt firſt ſtate what the Church is, of which we diſcourſe; for the word *Church* is ambiguous, having both in Holy Scripture, and common uſe, divers ſenſes ſomewhat different: For,

1. Some-

1. Sometimes any Aſſembly or Company of Chriſtians, is called a Church; as when mention is made of * *the Church in* ſuch *a houſe*, (whence *Tertullian* † ſaith, *Where there are three, even Laicks, there is a Church.*)

2. Sometimes a particular Society of Chriſtians living in ſpiritual Communion, and under Diſcipline, as when, * *the Church at* ſuch *a Town*; † *the Churches of* ſuch *a Province*; || the Churches, all the Churches, are mentioned; According to which notions St. *Cyprian* * ſaith, that there is a Church, where there is *a People united to a Prieſt, and a Flock adhering to their Shepherd*: and ſo *Ignatius* † ſaith, *that without the Orders of the Clergy a Church is not called.*

* Rom. 16. 5. Col. 4. 15. Philem. 2.

† *Ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licèt Laici. Tert. de Exh. Caſt.* cap. 7.

* Act. 8. 1. 14. 27. 5. 11. 1 Cor. 1. 1. Col. 4. 16. 1 Theſſ. 1. 1.

2 Cor. 1. 1. Amos. 2. 1. &c. Rom. 16. 1. † Act. 9. 31. Gal. 1. 2. 1 Cor. 16. 1, 19. 2 Cor. 8. 1. || Rom. 16. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 17. 11. 16. Act. 16. 5. Apoc. 2. 7, 11. Κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Act. 14. 23. * *Eccleſia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & paſtori ſuo Grex adhærens.* Cypr. *Ep.* 69. Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. Ignat. *ad* Tral.

3. A larger Collection of divers particular Societies combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common Government, or of Perſons acting in the Publick behalf, is termed a Church: as the Church of *Antioch*, of *Corinth*, of *Jeruſalem*, &c. each of which at firſt probably might conſiſt of divers Congregations, having dependencies of leſs Towns annexed to them, all being united under the care of the Biſhop and Presbytery of thoſe places; but however, ſoon after the Apoſtles times, it is certain that ſuch Collections were, and were named Churches.

4. The Society of thoſe who at preſent, or in courſe of time profeſs the Faith and Goſpel of Chriſt, and undertake the Evangelical Covenant, in diſtinction to all other Religions: particularly to that of the *Jews*; which is called the Synagogue.

Mat. 16. 18. Eph. 3. 10. Gal. 1. 13. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Act. 12. 1. 2. 47. 20. 28. 1 Cor. 10. 32. 12. 28. 15. 9. 14. 12.

5. The whole body of God's people that is, ever hath been, or ever ſhall be, from the beginning of the World to the conſummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually) believed in Chriſt, and ſincerely obeyed God's Laws, ſhall finally by the meritorious Performances and Sufferings of Chriſt be ſaved, is called the Church.

Of theſe Acceptions the two latter do only come under preſent conſideration, it being plain that Saint *Paul* doth not ſpeak of any one particular or preſent Society; but of all at all times who have relation to the ſame *Lord, Faith, Hope, Sacraments*, &c.

Wherefore, to determine the caſe between theſe two, we muſt obſerve that to the latter of theſe (that is, to the Catholick Society of true Believers and faithful Servants of Chriſt, diffuſed through all Ages, diſperſed through all Countries, where part doth ſojourn on Earth, part doth reſide in Heaven, part is not yet extant; but all whereof is deſcribed in the regiſter of Divine Pre-ordination, and ſhall be recollected at the Reſurrection of the juſt; that I ſay to this Church) eſpecially all the glorious Titles and excellent Privileges attributed to the Church in Holy Scripture do agree.

Epheſ. 1. 10. Col. 1. 18, 20.

This is *the Body of Chriſt*, whereof he is *the Head* and Saviour.

Epheſ. 5. 25, 32. Apoc. 16. 7. Matt. 22. 2. 25. 1.

This is the Spouſe, and Wife of Chriſt; whereof he is the Bridegroom and Husband.

Matth. 24. 13. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Heb. 3. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 5. Eph. 2. 21. Matth. 16. 18. Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10. Gal. 4. 26. Heb. 12. 22.

This is *the Houſe of God*; whereof our Lord is the Maſter: which is *built upon a Rock, ſo that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.*

This is *the City of God*; *the new, the holy, the heavenly* Jeruſalem, *the Mother of us all.*

Pſal. 132. 13. Iſ. 2. 22.

This is the *Sion which the Lord hath choſen, which he hath deſired for his habitation*, where he hath reſolved to *place his reſt and reſidence for ever.*

This is *the mountain of the Lord, ſeated above all mountains, unto which all Nations ſhall flow.*

Mic. 4. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 9.

This is *the elect Generation, royal Prieſthood, holy Nation, peculiar People.*

Heb. 12. 23.

This is *the general Aſſembly, and Church of the firſt-born, who are enrolled in Heaven.*

Act. 20. 28. Eph. 5. 25.

This is *the Church which God hath purchaſed with his own Blood; and for which Chriſt hath delivered himſelf, that he might ſanctifie it, and cleanſe it, with the waſhing of Water by the word, that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church, not having ſpot or wrinkle, nor any ſuch thing; but that it might be holy and unblemiſhed.*

To

To this Church as thoſe high Elogies moſt properly do appertain, ſo that Unity which is often attributed to the Church doth peculiarly belong thereto.

This is that *One body, into which we are all baptized by one Spirit*; which is *knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid and ſupply to its nouriſhment and encreaſe*; the members whereof do hold a mutual ſympathy and complacence; which is joyned to one Head, deriving ſenſe and motion from it; which is enlivened, and moved by *one Spirit*. 1 Cor. 12. 13. Rom. 12. 5. Eph. 4. 16. Col. 2. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 26.

This is that *one ſpiritual Houſe*, reared *upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt being the chief corner ſtone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 4. 16. Col. 2. 19.

This is that *One Family of God*, whereof Chriſt is the Οἰκοδεσπότης whence good Chriſtians are οἰκεῖοι Θεοῦ. Heb. 3. 6. 1 Tim. 3. 15.

This is that one City, or Corporation, endued with an ample Charter and noble Privileges, in regard to which St. *Paul* ſaith we are Συμπολῖται τῶν Ἁγίων, (fellow Citizens of the Saints) and that our πολίτευμα (our civil ſtate and capacity) *is in Heaven*, or that we are Citizens thereof. Mat. 19. 25. Heb. 12. 22. Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10. Eph. 2. 19. Phil. 3. 20.

That one holy nation, and peculiar People, (the ſpiritual *Iſrael*,) ſubject to the ſame Government and Law, (that which is called the Kingdom of Heaven,) enjoying the ſame Franchiſes and Privileges, following the ſame Cuſtoms and Faſhions; uſing the ſame Converſation and Language; whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord and King. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Ezek. 37. 22.

This is the * *one Flock, under one Shepherd.* * Joh. 10. 16. Ezek. 37. 24.

This is the Society of thoſe for whom Chriſt did pray, that they might † *be all one.* 24. 23. † Joh. 17. 20.

It is true, that divers of theſe Characters are expreſſed to relate to the Church after Chriſt; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithful Servants of God before, who in effect were Chriſtians, being ſaved upon the ſame account: and therefore did belong to the ſame Body. *Ex quo vocantur Sancti, eſt Eccleſia in terra.* Aug. *in* Pſal. 128.

Since Men are called Saints, there is a Church upon Earth. *Sancti ante Legem Sancti ſub Lege, Sancti ſub Gratia omnes hi perficientes Corpus Domini in membris ſunt Eccleſiæ conſtituti.* Greg. Mag. *Epiſt.* 24. Saints before the Law, Saints under the Law, Saints under the Gospel, all theſe make up the Body of Chriſt, and are reckoned among the Members of the Church.

To this Church in a more ſpecial and eminent manner all thoſe Titles, and particularly that of *Unity*, are aſcribed; but the ſame alſo in ſome order and meaſure do belong and are attributed to the Univerſal Church ſojourning upon Earth.

For becauſe this viſible Church doth enfold the other, (as one Maſs doth contain the good Ore and baſe alloy; as one Floor the Corn and the Chaff; as one Field the Wheat and the Tares; as one Net the choice Fiſh and the refuſe; as one Fold the Sheep and the Goats; as one Tree the living and the dry Branches:) Becauſe this Society is deſign'd to be in reality what the other is in appearance, the ſame with the other: becauſe therefore preſumptively every member of this doth paſs for a member of the other, (the time of diſtinction and ſeparation not being yet come:) Becauſe this in its Profeſſion of Truth, in its Sacrifices of Devotion, in its practice of Service and Duty to God doth communicate with that: therefore commonly the Titles and Attributes of the one are imparted to the other. For (ſaith Saint *Paul*, *are not* Iſrael *who are of* Iſrael; nor *is he a* Jew, *that is one outwardly*; yet in regard to the conjunction of the reſt with *the faithful* Iſraelites; becauſe of external Conſent in the ſame Profeſſion and conſpiring in the ſame Services, all the Congregation of *Iſrael* is ſtyled a *holy Nation*, and *peculiar People*.

" *One great houſe hath veſſels of honour and diſhonour*, 2 Tim. 2. 20. (Rom. 9. 21.) Mat. 3. 12. 13. 38, 47. Joh. 15. 2. Mat. 13. 30. Rom. 9. 6. 2. 28. Joh. 1. 18. *Sicut lilium in medio ſpinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum* ——

Unde filias appellat, niſi propter communionem Sacramentorum? Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 13. As the Lily among Thorns, ſo is my Love among the Daughters. —— Why doth he call them Daughters, but for the Communion, and agreement in Sacraments?

So likewiſe do the Apoſtles ſpeak to all Members of the Church as to elect and holy Perſons, unto whom all the Privileges of Chriſtianity do belong; although really Hypocrites and bad men *do not belong to the Church*, nor are *concerned in its Unity*, as St. *Auſtin* doth often teach. *Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores, fœneratores. Videntur eſſe in Eccleſia, non ſunt.* Aug. *de Bap. c.* Don. 4. 1. 6. 3. *Eccleſiam veram intelligere non audeo niſi in ſanctis & juſtis.* Aug. *de Bapt.* 5. 27. I dare not underſtand the true Church to be but among holy and righteous Men. *Pax autem hujus Unitatis in ſolis bonis eſt —— Sicut autem iſti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur, quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem & illam glorioſam Eccleſiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid eſuſmodi non pertineant.* Idem. *de Bapt.* 3. 18. *Nec regenerati ſpiritualiter in corpus & membra Chriſti eo ædificentur niſi boni, &c.* Aug. *de Unit.* 18. *Multi tales ſunt in Sacramentorum communione cum Eccleſia, & tamen jam non ſunt in Eccleſia.* Idem. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 20. There are many ſuch who communicate in Sacraments with the Church, and yet they are not in the Church. *Omnes mali ſpiritualiter à bonis ſejuncti ſunt. De Bapt.* 6. 4. All Evil men are ſpiritually ſevered from the good.

Ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ τὸ ἀθροισμα ἢ ἐκλεκτῶν. Clem. Alex. *Str.* p. 514.
I call the Church the Congregation of the Elect.

The places therefore of Scripture which do repreſent the Church one, as unqueſtionably they belong (in their principal notion and intent) to the true univerſal Church, (called the Church myſtical and inviſible;) ſo may they by analogy and participation be underſtood to concern the viſible Church Catholick here in Earth; which profeſſeth Faith in *Chriſt*, and Obedience to his Laws.

And of this Church (under due reference to the other) the queſtion is, Wherein the Unity of it doth conſiſt, or upon what grounds it is called one? being that it compriſeth in its ſelf ſo many Perſons, Societies and Nations.

For reſolution of which Queſtion, we may conſider, that a Community of men may be termed one upon ſeveral Accounts and Grounds; as,

For ſpecial Unity of nature, or as *Unum genus*; ſo are all men one by participation of common rationality; τὸ Ἀνθρώπινον, *Humanum genus*.

For Cognation of blood; as, *Gens una*; ſo are all *Jews*, however living diſperſedly over the World, reckoned one Nation, or People; ſo all Kinſmen do conſtitute one Family: and thus alſo all Men, as made of one Blood, are one People.

For Commerce of Language; ſo *Italians* and *Germans* are eſteemed one People, although living under different Laws and Governments.

For conſent in Opinion, or conformity in Manners and Practices; as, Men of the ſame Sect in Religion or Philoſophy, of the ſame Profeſſion, Faculty, Trade: ſo *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Arians*; ſo *Orators*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*; ſo *Divines*, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, *Merchants*, *Artizans*, *Ruſticks*, &c.

For Affection of mind, or Compacts of good-will; or for Links of peace and amicable correſpondence; in order to mutual intereſt and aid; as, Friends and Confederates.

For being ranged in order under one Law and Rule; as thoſe who live under one Monarchy, or in one Commonwealth; as the People in *England*, *Spain*, *France*; in *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Holland*, &c.

Upon ſuch Grounds of Union or Unity a Society of men is denominated One; and, upon divers ſuch accounts, it is plain that the Catholick Church may be ſaid to be One. For,

I. It is evident, that the Church is One by Conſent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of Doctrine, eſpecially in thoſe which have conſiderable influence upon the Practice of Piety toward God, Righteouſneſs toward Men, and Sobriety of Converſation; to *teach us which the Grace of God did appear.*

My ſheep hear my voice, Joh. 10. 27. 16. Tit. 2. 11.

As he that ſhould in any principal Doctrine differ from *Plato* (denying the *Immortality of the Soul*, the Providence *of God*, the *natural difference of Good and Evil*;) would not be a *Platoniſt*; ſo he that diſſenteth from any Doctrine of Importance, manifeſtly taught by *Chriſt*, doth renounce Chriſtianity.

Regula fidei ſola immobilis & irreformabilis. Tert. *de Virg. vel.* 1.

All Chriſtians are *delivered into one form of doctrine*; to which they muſt ſtifly and ſtedfaſtly adhere, *keeping the depoſitum committed to them*: They muſt *ſtrive together for the faith of the Goſpel*; *and, earneſtly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints*: They muſt *hold faſt the form of ſound words—in faith and love which is in Chriſt Jeſus*; that *great ſalvation, which at firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers, God alſo bearing them witneſs with ſigns and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, according to his own will.*

Rom. 6. 17. Col. 2. 7. Heb. 3. 6. 13. 9. 1 Cor. 15. 58. Eph. 4. 14. Jud. 3. 2 Tim. 1. 13. Heb. 2. 3.

They are bound *to mind*, or think, *one and the ſame thing*; *to ſtand faſt in one ſpirit with one mind*; *to walk by the ſame rule*; *to be joined together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment*; *with one mind and mouth to glorify God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Τὸ ἓν καὶ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν. Phil. 2. 2. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Phil. 1. 27. Phil. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Rom. 15. 6.

They are obliged to diſclaim Conſortſhip with the Gain-ſayers of this Doctrine; *to ſtand off from thoſe who do* ἑτεροδιδασκεῖν, or who *do not conſent to the wholeſome Words——of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs, to mark thoſe who make diviſions and ſcandals beſide the Doctrine which Chriſtians had learnt, and to decline from them: To reject Hereticks*: To *beware of falſe Prophets, of Seducers*; *of thoſe who ſpeak perverſe things to draw diſciples after them*: To *pronounce* Anathema *upon whoever ſhall preach any other Doctrine.*

Ἀποστασία. 1 Tim. 6. 4. 2 Theſſ. 3. 16. Rom. 16. 17. Tit. 3. 10. Mat. 7. 15. 24. 11. Act. 20. 29, 30. 2 Pet. 2. 1. Eph. 4. 14. Gal. 1. 8. 3. 28. (26.)

Thus

Thus are all Chriſtians *one in Chriſt Jeſus*: thus are they (as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh) *confederated in the ſociety of a Sacrament*, or of one profeſſion.

De ſocietate Sacramenti conſœderantur. Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

This preaching and this faith the Church having received, though diſperſed over the World, doth carefully hold, as inhabiting one Houſe; and alike believeth theſe things, as if it had one Soul, and the ſame Heart, and conſonantly doth preach, and teach, and deliver theſe things, as if it had but one Mouth.

Τὸ͂το τὸ κήρυγμα παρειλημμ͂ένη, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ Ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα, καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσι, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. Iren. 1. 3. (*apud* Epiph. *Har.* 31.)

As for Kings, though their Kingdoms be divided, yet he equally expects from every one of them one diſpenſation, and one and the ſame ſacrifice of a true Confeſſion and Praiſe. So that, though there may ſeem to be a diverſity of temporal ordinances, yet an Unity and Agreement in the right Faith may be held and maintained among them.

Reges—— Quorum etſi diviſa ſunt regna, aquáliter tamen de ſingulis diſpenſationem exigit, unámque de eis verâ ac ſe confeſſionis hoſtiam laudis expectat—— ut etſi diſpoſitionum temporalium videatur eſſe diverſitas circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis conſonantia teneatur. (P. Leo 2. *Epiſt.* 5. *ad* Ervigium R. Hiſp.

In regard to this Union in Faith peculiarly, the body of Chriſtians adhering to it, was called the Catholick Church, from which all thoſe were eſteemed *ipſo facto* to be cut off and ſeparated, who in any point deſerted that Faith; *ſuch a one* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) ἐξέστραπται, *is turned aſide*, or hath left the Chriſtian way of Life. He in reality is no Chriſtian, nor is to be avowed or treated as ſuch, but is to be diſclaimed, rejected and ſhunned.

Ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, Tit. 3. 10. Rom. 16. 17. 2 Joh. 10.

He (ſaith Saint *Cyprian*) *cannot ſeem a Chriſtian, who doth not perſiſt in the Unity of Chriſt's Goſpel and Faith.*

Nec Chriſtianus videri poteſt, qui non permanet in Evangelii ejus & fidei veritate. Cypr. *de Unit. Eccl.*

If (ſaith *Tertullian*) *a Man be a Heretick, he cannot be a Chriſtian.*

Si Hæretici ſunt, Chriſtiani eſſe non poſſunt. Tert. *de Præſcr. c.* 37.

Whence *Hegeſippus* ſaith of the old Hereticks, that they did *divide the Unity of the Church by pernicious ſpeeches againſt God, and his Chriſt.*

Οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φθορίμοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Euſ. *Hiſt.* 4. 22.

The Vertue (ſaith the Paſtor *Hermes*, cited by *Clemens Alexan.*) *which doth keep the Church together, is Faith.*

Ἡ συνέχουσα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀρετὴ, ἡ Πίστις ἐστί. Herm. *apud* Clem. *Strom. p.* 281.

So the Fathers of the Sixth Council tell the Emperor, that *they were Members one of another, and did conſtitute the one body of Chriſt by conſent in opinion with him, and one another; and by Faith.*

Μελῶν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστάντων Χριστῷ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως. *Conc. VI. Act.* 18. *p.* 271.

We ought in all things to hold the Unity of the Catholick Church; and not to yield in any thing to the Enemies of Faith and Truth.

Per omnia debemus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei & veritatis hoſtibus cedere. Cypr. *Ep.* 71. (*ad* Quint. *de* Steph. *P.*)

In each part of the World this Faith is one, becauſe this is the Chriſtian Faith.

Utriuſque partis terrarum fides iſta una eſt, quia & fides iſta Chriſtiana eſt. Aug. *c.* Jul. 1. 2. (*p.* 203. 2.)

He denies Chriſt, who confeſſes not all things that are Chriſt's.

Negat Chriſtum, qui non omnia quæ Chriſti ſunt confitetur. Ambr. *in* Luc. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 9. *p.* 90. (*Vid. p.* 85.)

Hence in common practice, whoever did appear to differ from the common Faith was rejected as an Apoſtate from Chriſtianity, and unworthy the communion of other Chriſtians.

There are Points of leſs moment, more obſcurely delivered——in which Chriſtians with breach of Unity may diſſent, about which they may diſpute, in which they may err——without breach of Unity, or prejudice to Charity.

Alia ſunt in quibus inter ſe aliquando etiam doctiſſimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defenſores, ſalvâ fidei compage non conſonant, &c. Aug. *c.* Jul. 1. 2. *p.* 205. *Totum hoc genus liberas habet obſervationes.* Aug. *ad* Jan. *Ep.* 118. *Ep.* 86. (*ad* Caſal.)

The Faith of Chriſtians did at firſt conſiſt in few Points, thoſe which were profeſſed in Baptiſm, whereof we have divers *Summaries* in the Ancients——by Analogy whereto all other Propoſitions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto ſound Doctrines were diſtinguiſhed from falſe: ſo that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them——.

So he that holds that immovable Rule of truth which he received at his Baptiſm, will know the Words and Sayings and Parables which are taken out of the Scriptures, &c.

Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud ſe habet, quam per Baptiſmum accepit, hæc quidem quæ ſunt ex Scripturis nomina & diſtiones & parabolas cognoſcet, &c. Iren. 1. 1. *Vid.* Gr. (*p.* 4)

II. It is evident, that all Chriſtians are united by the bands of mutual Charity and Good-will.

They are all bound to wiſh one another well, to have a complacence in the good, and a compaſſion of the evils incident to each other, to diſcharge all offices of kindneſs, ſuccour, conſolation to each other.

Joh. 15. 12. 1 Joh. 3. 11. 1 Theſſ. 4. 9. Joh. 13. 35. Phil. 2. 2. 1 Pet. 3. 8. This is the command of *Chriſt* to all; (*This is my commandment*, ſaith he, *That ye love one another*;) This is the common badge by which his Diſciples are diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed, *Hereby* (ſaith he) *ſhall all Men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye love one another*: They muſt have *the ſame love*: They muſt *love as Brethren, be compaſſionate, pitiful, courteous each to other*: They muſt *bear one anothers burthens*; and, *eſpecially, as they have opportunity, do good to the houſhold of faith. If one member ſuffer, all the members muſt ſuffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members muſt rejoice. The multitude of them who believe muſt be* (like that in the *Acts*) *of one heart, and of one ſoul.* They muſt *walk in love*, and *do all things in love.*

Gal. 6. 2, 10. 1 Cor. 12. 26. Act. 4. 32. Eph. 5. 2. 1 Cor. 16. 14.

Whoever therefore doth highly offend againſt Charity, maligning or miſchieving his brethren, doth hereby ſeparate himſelf from *Chriſt's* body, and ceaſe to be a Chriſtian.

Hujus autem fraternæ charitatis inimici ſive apertè foris ſint, ſive intùs eſſe videantur, Pſeudo-chriſtiani ſunt & Antichriſti. Aug. de Bapt. 3. 19.—*Cùm intùs videntur, ab illâ inviſibili charitatis compage ſeparati ſunt; Unde* Johannes, (1 John 2. 19.) *Ex nobis exierunt, ſed non erant ex nobis*—*Non ait quòd exeundo alieni facti ſunt, ſed quòd alieni erant, propter hoc eos exiſſe declaravit.* Ibid.

They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the Church, or ſeem to be within, they are Pſeudo-chriſtians and Anti-chriſts—When they ſeem to be within the Church, they are ſeparated from that inviſible conjunction of Charity; Whence Saint John, *They went out from us, but were not of us. He ſaith not, that by their going out, they were made aliens, but becauſe they were aliens, therefore he declareth that they went out.*

Wherefore the moſt notorious violations of Charity being the cauſes of diſſenſions and factions in the Church, the cauſeleſs ſeparation from any Church, the unjuſt condemnation of Churches—Whoever was guilty of any ſuch unchriſtian behaviour, was rejected by the Fathers, and held to be no Chriſtian. Such were the *Novatians*, the *Donatiſts*, the *Meletians*, the *Luciferians*,—and other Schiſmaticks.

Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο χαριέστερον, ἢ τὰς τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν τόπων διειργμένας, τῇ διὰ τ' ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθορᾶν εἰς μίαν μελῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι κειμένας ἁγίοις. Bas. Ep. 220.

For what can be more acceptable and pleaſant, than to ſee thoſe who are ſevered and ſcattered into ſo many places, yet knit and joyned together in the bond and union of charity, as harmonious members of the body of Chriſt!

Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχαίων καιρῶν—ἡνίκα ἤνθουν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι τῇ Θεῷ ἐῤῥιζώμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μιᾶς συμπνοίας διαφόρων μελῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Bas. Ep. 338.

In old time——when the Church of God flouriſhed, being rooted in the ſame faith, united in love: there being as it were one conſpiracy or league of different members in one body.

Ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Πνεύματος συνάφεια ἐμποιεῖν πέφυκε τῷ οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ὑμῖν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ ἀγάπην ὑμᾶς πεπιστεύκαμεν. Bas. Epiſt. 182.

For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite Mens minds, which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection.

Qui ergo compage Charitatis incorporati ſunt ædificio ſuper petram conſtituto, &c. Aug. de Unit. cap. 18.

They therefore who by the bond of Charity are incorporated into the building, ſettled upon the Rock.

Membra verò Chriſti per unitatis charitatem ſibi copulantur, & per eandem capiti ſuo cohærent, quod eſt Chriſtus. Aug. de Unit cap. 2.

But the members Chriſt are joined together by the charity of Union, and by the ſame cleave cloſe to their Head, which is Chriſt.

Omnes Sancti ſibi charitate cohærent——Aug. de Bapt. 6. 3.

III. All Chriſtians are united by ſpiritual cognation and alliance; as being all *regenerated by the ſame incorruptible ſeed*, being alike *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God*; whence, as *the ſons of God*, and *brethren of Chriſt*, they become brethren one to another; ſo that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Chriſtians, *the brethren*, ſignifying all Chriſtian people; and *a brother* being the ſame with a Chriſtian profeſſour.

1 Pet. 1. 23. Jam. 1. 18. Joh. 1. 14. Gal. 3. 26. Joh. 1. 12. Heb. 2. 10, 11. 1 Cor. 7. 15. 5. 11. Rom. 14. 10. &c.

IV. The whole Chriſtian Church is one by its incorporation into the myſtical body of *Chriſt*; or as Fellow-ſubjects of that ſpiritual, heavenly Kingdom, whereof *Chriſt* is the ſovereign Head and Governour; whence they are governed by the ſame Laws, are obliged by the ſame Inſtitutions and Sanctions; they partake of the ſame Privileges, and are entitled to the ſame Promiſes, and encouraged by the ſame Rewards; (*being called in one hope of their calling.*)

They are under a Covenant of Allegiance.

Eph. 4. 4.

So they make up one ſpiritual Corporation, or Republick, whereof *Chriſt* is the Sovereign Lord.

Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων. Rom. 10. 12.
Εἰ γὰρ τόπος χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸς συνάπτει κοινὸς ὢν, &c. Chryſ. in 1 Cor. Orat. 1 Vid.

Though the place diſjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord, &c.

Hence an habit of diſobedience doth ſever a Man from this Body; for, *not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, or continue therein. Every ſuch perſon who *denieth God in Works*, is a Rebel, an Outlaw, renouncing his Allegiance, forfeiting his Title to God's protection and favour. Mat. 7. 21. Tit. 1. 16.

He is not *a ſheep* of Chriſt, becauſe he doth not * *hear his voice.*

Qui eum non ſequitur, quomodo ſe ovem ejus dicere audebit? Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 10. * Joh. 10. 27.

He is ſeparated from the Body, by not *holding the Head.* Col. 2. 9.

'Tis a lie, to call one's ſelf a Chriſtian, and not to do the Works of Chriſt.

Mendacium eſt, Chriſtianum ſe dicere, & opera Chriſti non facere. Ambr.

He that does not the work of the Chriſtian name, ſeems not to be a Chriſtian.

Qui Chriſtiani nominis opus non agit, Chriſtianus non eſſe videtur. Salv. de Gub. D. 4.

When inſtead of the Works themſelves, he begins to oppoſe even the moſt apparent truth, whereby he is reproved, then he is cut off (from the body, or the Church.)

——*Cum pro ipſis operibus etiam veritati apertiſſimæ, quâ redarguitur, reſiſtere cœperit, tunc præciditur.* Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 20.

Hence St. *Auſtin* often denieth wicked Perſons to be in the Church, or to appertain unto its Unity. *Vid. ſuprà.*

For when there is one and the ſame Lord, that dwelleth in us, he every where joins and couples thoſe that are his with the bond of Unity.

Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem ſit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique & copulat ſuos vinculo Unitatis. Firmil. apud Cypr. Ep. 75.

V. All Chriſtians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; ſo that they are bound to live in good correſpondence; to communicate in Works of Piety and Devotion; to defend and promote the common Intereſt of their Profeſſion.

Upon the entrance of the Goſpel by our Lord's Incarnation, it was by a celeſtial Herald proclaimed, *Peace on Earth, and Good-will among Men.* It was our Lord's Office * *to preach Peace.* It was a principal end and effect of his Death † *to reconcile all Men, and to deſtroy Enmity.* He ſpecially charged his Diſciples, εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *to maintain Peace one with another.* It was his Will at parting with them, *Peace I leave with you.* Luc. 2. 14. * Act. 10. 36. Eph. 2. 17. † Col. 1. 20. Eph. 2. 14. Marc. 9. 50. Joh. 14. 27.

The Apoſtles frequently do enjoin to *purſue Peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure Heart*; to follow the things *which make for Peace and Edification mutual*; *to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.* 2 Tim. 2. 22. Rom. 14. 19. Eph. 4. 3.

It was in the Prophecies concerning the Evangelical ſtate declared, that under it, *The Wolf ſhould dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhould lie down with the Kid, and the ſucking Child ſhould play on the hole of the Aſp*; that is, that Men of all tempers and conditions, by vertue of this Inſtitution, ſhould be diſpoſed to live innocently, quietly and lovingly together; ſo that they ſhould *not hurt, or deſtroy in all God's holy Mountain*; for that would be a Duty incumbent on the Diſciples of this Inſtitution, which all good Chriſtians would obſerve. Iſa. 11. 6. Iſa. 65. 25. 2. 4. 66. 12. Iſa. 2. 4. *They ſhall learn war no more.*

The Evangelical Covenant, as it doth ally us to God, ſo it doth confederate together: The Sacraments of this Covenant are alſo Symbols of Peace and Amity between thoſe who undertake it. Of *Baptiſm* it is ſaid, *that ſo many of you as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt*; and thence, *Ye are one in Chriſt Jeſus*——*All in one Spirit have been baptized into one body.* And in the *Euchariſt*, by partaking of one individual Food, they are tranſmuted into one Body and Subſtance; *We* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *being many are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.* Gal. 3. 27, 28. 1 Cor. 12. 13. 1 Cor. 10. 7.

By which Sacraments alſo our People appear to be united: for, as many grains collected, and ground, and mingled together make one bread; ſo in Chriſt, who is the bread of Heaven, we may know our ſelves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together.

Quo & ipſo Sacramento populus noſter adunatus oſtenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, & commolita & commixta, panem unum faciunt; ſic in Chriſto, qui eſt panis cœleſtis, unum ſciamus eſſe corpus, cui conjunctus ſit noſter numerus & adunatus. Cypr. Ep. 63.

With us there is both one Church, and one mind, and undivided concord.

Nobis & Eccleſia una, & mens junctа, & individua concordia. Cypr. Ep. 57.

Let us hold the peace of the Catholick Church in the unity of concord.

Catholicæ Eccleſiæ pacem concordiæ unitate teneamus. Ep. 45.

The

Manente concordiæ vinculo, & perſeverante Catholicæ Eccleſiæ individuo Sacramento, &c. Ep. 52. (ad Anton. p. 96.)

Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritûs, nec conjunctionem Pacis obſervat, & ſe ab Eccleſiæ vinculo, atque à Sacerdotum collegio ſeparat, Epiſcopi nec poteſtatem poteſt habere, nec honorem, &c. Ibid. p. 97.

The bond of concord remaining, and the individual Sacrament of the Catholick Church continuing, &c.

He therefore that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit, nor the conjunction of Peace, and ſeparates himſelf from the bond of the Church, and the college (or ſociety) of Prieſts, can have neither the power of a Biſhop, nor the honour.

Thus in general. But particularly, All Chriſtians ſhould aſſiſt one another in the common Defence of Truth, Piety and Peace, when they are aſſaulted, in the Propagation of the Faith, and Enlargement of the Church, which is συναθλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, *to contend together for the faith of the Goſpel; to be good Soldiers of Chriſt; warring the good warfare; ——ſtriving for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.*

Phil. 1. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 18. 6. 12. 2 Tim. 4. 7. Jud. 3.

Hence if any where any Hereſie or bad Doctrine ſhould ariſe, all Chriſtians ſhould be ready to declare againſt it; that it may not infect, or ſpread a doubt ariſing, as in the caſe of celebrating *Eaſter*; *They all with one conſent, declared by Letters the Decree of the Church to all every where.*

Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχοῦ ἐνετυποῦτο. Euſeb. 5. 23.

Eſpecially the Paſtors of the Churches are obliged with one conſent to oppoſe it.

Cypr. Ep. 67.

Laborantes hic nos & contra invidiæ impetum toris fidei viribus reſiſtentes, multùm Sermo veſter adjuvit, &c. Cypr. Ep. 23.

While we laboured here, and withſtood the force of envy with the whole ſtrength of our Faith, your Speech aſſiſted us very much.

Thus did the Biſhops of ſeveral Churches meet to ſuppreſs the Hereſie of *P. Samoſatenus*.

This was the ground of moſt Synods.

Οὗτοι οἱ μὴ ταῦτα πανταχοῦ ποικίλως ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς αἱρετικῶν ἀθεσιῶν καινίσμασι κοινῇ εἰς σύμψυχοι τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως λόγῳ ἅπερ ἀδελφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἐδοκίμασαν, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄρσι διαπορθμεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν ἐν Σαρδίκῃ κατὰ τῆς Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἑῴοις τὴν κρίσιν ἐβεβαίωσαν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τῷ λόγῳ ἐγνώριζον. Syn. Chalced. ad Imper. Conc. Chal. part 3, p. 78.

So they who afterward in all places and ſeveral ways were gathered together againſt the innovations of Hereticks, gave their common opinion in behalf of the Faith, as being of one mind: what they had approved among themſelves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to thoſe who were abſent: and they who at the Council of Sardis *had earneſtly contended againſt the remainders of* Arius, *ſent their judgment to thoſe of the Eaſtern Churches: and they who had diſcovered the infection of* Apolinarius, *made their opinions known to the Weſtern.*

If any Diſſenſion or Faction doth ariſe in any Church, other Churches, upon notice thereof, ſhould yield their aid to quench and ſuppreſs it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and diſavowing the factious.

Vid. Ep. 42. ad Cornel. p. 77.

Thus did Saint *Cyprian* help to diſcountenance and quaſh the *Novatian* Schiſm.

Thus when the *Oriental* Churches did labour under the *Arian* Faction, and Diſſentions between the *Catholicks*, St. *Baſil*, (with other Orthodox Biſhops cooperating with him) did write to the *Weſtern* Biſhops (of *Italy* and *France*) to yield their ſuccour.

Hoc enim vel maximè, frater, laboramus, & laborare debemus, ut Unitatem à Domino, & per Apoſtolos nobis ſucceſſoribus traditam, quàntam poſſumus, obtinere curemus; & quod in nobis eſt, &c. Cypr. Ep. 42. p. 78.

For this, my brother, we muſt earneſtly endeavour, and ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the Unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the Apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſours we are; and what lies in us, &c.

All Chriſtians ſhould be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in Offices of Piety and Charity; in Prayer, in communion of the Euchariſt, in brotherly Converſation, and pious Conference for Edification or Advice.

Ep. 368.

Ὥστε ὁ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀκεραιοσύνην πάσης ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρηγνύς. Bas. Ep. 75.

So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know, that ſuch a Man breaks himſelf off from the whole Church.

Εἶτα τὴν μεγάλην καὶ θεοφιλῆ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιδὰς οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐξῆλθε καθ' τὸ εἰωθὸς, καὶ ἃ ἄνωθεν κρατήσαντα ἔθεσιν οὐκ ἡμῖν συνεῤῥόησε, καὶ λόγου μετέδωκεν, οὐκ εὐχῆς, οὐ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ὑπαὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, &c. Chryſ. ad Innoc. P. (Ep. 122.)

Saint Chryſoſtome *doth complain of* Epiphanius; *Then when he came to the great and holy City* Conſtantinople, *he came not out into the Congregation, according to cuſtom and the ancient manner, he joined not himſelf with us, nor communicated with us in the Word, and Prayer, and the Holy Communion,* &c.

So

So *Polycarp* being at *Rome*, did communicate with P. *Anicetus*.

Ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν Εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν φιλονότι. Euseb. 5.24.

If Dissension arise between divers Churches; another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of *Carthage*, between that of *Rome* and *Alexandria*. Cod. Afr. Can. 101.

If any Bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his Office, (to the common damage of Truth and Piety,) his neighbour Bishops might admonish him thereto; and, if he should not reform, might deprive him of Communion. Cod. Afr. Can. 123.

All Christians should hold friendly correspondence, as occasion doth serve, and as it is useful to signifie consent in Faith, to recommend Persons, to foster Charity, to convey Succour and Advice, to perform all good Offices of Amity and Peace.

Siricius, *who is our Companion, and fellow-Labourer, with whom the whole world by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory Letters, agree together with us in one common Society.*

Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordant. Opt. *lib.* 2. *p.*40.

The Catholick Church being one body, 'tis consequent thereto, that we write and signifie one to another, &c.

Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθον ἦν γεγράφειν ἡμᾶς καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις, &c. Alex. Alexandriæ. Socr. 1.6. Theod.

In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for Advice; and any Church should yield it.

Both common charity and reason requires, most dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of those things which are done among us, that so there may be common advice taken by us concerning the most useful way of ordering Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Et dilectio communis & ratio exposcit fratres charissimi, nihil conscientiæ vestræ subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem Ecclesiasticæ administrationis communis consilium. Cyp. *Ep.* 29. (*ad Cler. Rom.*)

One Church should acquaint others of any extraordinary transaction concerning the common Faith or Discipline; requesting their approbation and countenance.

The practice of this we see frequently in Saint *Cyprian's* Epistles; particularly in *Epist.* 4, 15, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48. (*P. Corn.*)

Thus did the *Eastern* Churches give account to all other Churches of their proceedings against P. *Samosatenus*.

Which Letters are sent all the World over, and brought to the notice of all the Churches and of all the Brethren. Euseb. 7, 30.

Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, & in notitiam Ecclesiis omnibus & universis fratribus perlatæ sunt. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Anton. *p.* 92.) *Scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum*, &c. Ibid.

When any Church or any Pastor was oppressed or injured, he might have recourse to other Churches for their assistance in order to relief.

Let him who is cast out have power to apply himself to the neighbouring Bishops, that his cause may be carefully heard and discussed.

Habeat potestatem is qui abjectus est, ut Episcopos finitimos interpellet, & causa ejus audiatur ac diligenter tractetur, &c. Conc. Sard. *Can.* 17. *Vid. Cod. Afr. Can.* 125.

Thus did *Athanasius* (being overborn and expelled from his See by the *Arian* [illegible]on) go for refuge to the Church of *Rome*.

[illegible] *Chrysostome* had recourse to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to those of the *West*, [illegible]o the Bishop of *Antioch*.

VI. Now, because in the transacting of these things, the Pastors have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the Churches which they inspect, therefore is the Church united also by their consent in Doctrine, their agreement in Peace, their maintaining entercourse, their concurrence to preserve Truth and Charity.

We ought all to be vigilant and careful for the body of the whole Church, whose members are dispersed through many several Provinces.

Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque Provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. Cypr. *Ep.* 30. (*Cler. Rom. ad* Cypr. P.)

Quod servis Dei, & maximè Sacerdotibus. Cypr. *Ep.* 42. (*ad* Cornel.)
Idcirco copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. (*p.* 161.)

Seeing the Church, which is one and Catholick, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together, by the bond of Priests united one to another.

Quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una & est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & cohærentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata, Cypr. *Ep.* 69.

This

Hoc verecundiæ & diſciplinæ & vitæ ipſi omnium convenit —— ut Epiſcopi plures in unum convenientes—diſponere omnia conſilii communis religione poſſimus. Cypr. Ep. 14. (*Clero ſuo.*)

This agrees with the modeſty and diſcipline and the very life of all, that many of the Biſhops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice.

Ut cum pace à Domino nobis data plures Præpoſiti convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiſcum conſilio diſponere ſingula & reformare poſſimus. Cypr. Ep. 15. (*Clero* Rom.)

That, ſince it having pleaſed God to grant us peace, we begin to have greater meetings of Biſhops, we may alſo by your advice order and reform every thing.

Quod ut ſimul cum cæteris Collegis noſtris ſtabiliter ac firmiter adminiſtremus, atque ut Catholicæ Eccleſiæ pacem concordiâ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio. Cypr. Ep. 52. (*ad* Cornel.)

Which that, with the reſt of our Collegues, we may ſtedfaſtly and firmly adminiſter; and that we may keep the peace of the Church, the divine favour will vouchſafe to accompliſh.

Copioſus Epiſcoporum numerus —— in unum convenimus. Cypr. Ep. 45. (*ad* Anton.)

A great number of Biſhops —— we met together.

Satis erat, ut tu te Epiſcopum factum Literis nunciares. Cypr. *ad* Cornel. (Epiſt. 42.)

Biſhops being choſen did acquaint other Biſhops with it; *It was ſufficient* (ſaith St. *Cyprian* to *Cornelius*) *that you ſhould by your Letters acquaint us that you were made a Biſhop.*

Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit ſubſtitutus, ut ſciamus ad quem fratres noſtros dirigere, & cui ſcribere debeamus. Cypr. Ep. 67. P. *ad* Steph.

Declare plainly to us who is ſubſtituted at Arles *in the room of* Marcian, *that we may know to whom we ſhould direct our brethren, and to whom we ſhould write.*

Cypr. *Ep.* 41, 42, 52. (*pag.* 93.)
Theod. 5. 9.
Euſeb. *de P.* Samoſ.

All Churches were to ratifie the Elections of Biſhops duly made by others, and to communicate with thoſe. And likewiſe to comply with all reaſonable Acts for Communion.

To preſerve this Peace and Correſpondence, it was a Law and Cuſtom, that no Church ſhould admit to Communion thoſe which were excommunicated by another; or who did ſchiſmatically divide.

Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes cenſura, & diſciplinæ conſenſione ſociati. Cler. Rom. *ad* Cypr. *Epiſt.* 31.

We are believed to have done the ſame thing, wherely we are found to be all of us aſſociated and joined together by the ſame agreement in cenſure and diſcipline.

Vid. Conc. Sard. *P.* Leonis *II. Ep.* 2. (*ad* Hiſp. Epiſt.) *N. B. p.* 385. (*Tom.* 5.) *P.* Bened. *II. Ep.* 16.

The Decrees of Biſhops were ſent to be ſubſcribed.

VII. All Chriſtian Churches are one by a ſpecifical Unity of Diſcipline, reſembling one another in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations, which are regulated by the indiſpenſible Sanctions and Inſtitutions of their Sovereign.

They are all bound to uſe the ſame Sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any ſubſtantial alteration.

They muſt uphold that ſort of Order, Government and Miniſtery on all its ſubſtantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the Church, or *give thereto*, as Saint *Paul* expreſſeth it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in thoſe matters which our Lord had a ſpecial care to order and ſettle.

1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11. Rom 12. 7. Act. 20. 28.

Nec remanere in Eccleſia poſſunt qui Deificam & Eccleſiaſticam Diſciplinam nec actibus ſui converſationis, nec eorum pace tenuerunt. P. Cornel. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 48. *Vid. Ep.* 73. (*ad* Jub.)

Nor can they continue in the Church that have not retained Divine and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, neither in good converſation, nor peaceable life.

Ep. Firmil. (*pag.* 198.) Aug. *Ep.* 118. & 86. *ſupra.*

In leſſer matters of Ceremony or Diſcipline (inſtituted by humane prudence) Churches may differ, and it is expedient they ſhould do ſo, in regard to the various circumſtances of things, and qualities of perſons to which diſcipline ſhould be accommodated; but no Power ought to *abrogate*, deſtroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of Diſcipline, conſtituted by Divine appointment.

Hence, when ſome Confeſſours had abetted *Novatianus*, againſt *Corn*[illegible] thereby acting againſt a fundamental Rule of the Church, neceſſary for preſerving of Peace and Order therein, that but one Biſhop ſhould be in one Church, St. *Cyprian* doth thus complain of their proceeding—

* *Gravit enim me atque contriſtat, &c.* Ep. 44. (*ad Confeſſ.* Rom.)

Contra Sacramentum ſemel traditum Divinæ diſpoſitionis & Catholicæ unitatis, adulterum & contrarium caput extra Eccleſiam facit. Cyprian Epiſt. 42. (*ad* Cornel.)

—*Relictis Dominis Sacerdotibus contra Evangelicam diſciplinam nova Traditio ſacrilega Inſtitutionis exſurgat.*—Cypr. Ep. 40. (*Plebi ſuæ.*)

(To act any thing) *againſt the Sacrament of Divine ordination and Catholick unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the Church.*

——*Forſaking the Lord's Prieſts contrary to the Evangelical diſcipline; a new Tradition of a ſacrilegious Inſtitution ſtarts up.*

There

There is one God, and one Chriſt, and one Church, and one See founded upon Peter *by the word of the Lord; beſides one Altar and one Prieſthood, another Altar cannot be erected, nor a new Prieſthood ordained.*

Deus unus eſt, & Chriſtus unus, & Eccleſia una, & Cathedra una ſuper Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud Altare conſtituit, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum Altare & unum Sacerdotium non poteſt. Ibid.

Hence were the *Meletians* rejected by the Church, for introducing Ordinations——

Hence was *Aerius* accounted a Heretick, for meaning to innovate in ſo grand a point of Diſcipline, as the Subordination of Biſhops and Presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all Churches ſhould conform to each other in great matters of prudential Diſcipline, although not inſtituted or preſcribed by God: for this is a means of preſerving Peace, and is a Beauty or Harmony. For difference of Practice doth alienate Affections, eſpecially in common People.

So the Synod of *Nice*.

That all things may be alike ordered in every Dioceſe, it hath ſeemed good to the holy Synod, that men ſhould put up their Prayers to God ſtanding, (viz. between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, and upon the *Lord's-day.*)

Τὸ περὶ τὸ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως τετηρεῖσθαι ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ Συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ. Can. 20.

Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ κεῖνο πάρεστι συνορᾶν, ὡς ἐν τελικέτῳ πράγματι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ θρησκείας ἑορτῇ διαφωνίαν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἀξιώσιτος. Conſt. M. *in Epiſt. ad Eccleſ. vita* Conſtantini. 3. 18.

The Church is like the World; for as the World doth conſiſt of men, all naturally ſubject to one King, Almighty God; all obliged to obſerve his Laws, declared by natural Light; all *made of one blood*, and ſo Brethren; all endowed with common Reaſon; all bound to exerciſe good Offices of Juſtice and Humanity toward each other, to maintain Peace and Amity together; to further each other in the proſecution or attainment of thoſe good things which conduce to the Welfare and Security of this preſent Life: even ſo doth the Church conſiſt of perſons ſpiritually allied, profeſſing the ſame Faith, ſubject to the ſame Law and Government of *Chriſt*'s heavenly Kingdom; bound to exerciſe Charity, and to maintain Peace toward each other, and to promote each others good in order to their future Happineſs in Heaven.

All thoſe kinds of Unity do plainly agree to the univerſal Church of Chriſt; but the Queſtion is, Whether the Church is alſo neceſſarily, by the deſign and appointment of God, to be in way of external policy under one ſingular Government or Juriſdiction of any kind; ſo as a Kingdom or Commonwealth are united under the Command of one Monarch or one Senate.

That the Church is capable of ſuch an Union, is not the Controverſie; that it is poſſible it ſhould be ſo united, (ſuppoſing it may happen that all Chriſtians may be reduced to one Nation, or one civil Regiment; or that ſeveral Nations ſpontaneouſly may confederate and combine themſelves into one Eccleſiaſtical Commonwealth, adminiſtred by the ſame Spiritual Rulers and Judges according to the ſame Laws.) I do not queſtion; that when in a manner all Chriſtendom did conſiſt of Subjects to the *Roman* Empire, the Church then did arrive near to an Unity, I do not at preſent conteſt; but that ſuch an Union of all Chriſtians is neceſſary, or that it was ever inſtituted by *Chriſt*, I cannot grant; and for my refuſal of that opinion, I ſhall aſſign divers Reaſons.

This being a Point of great conſideration, and trenching upon Practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occaſions to mention it; yet the Holy Scripture doth no where expreſs or intimate ſuch a kind of Unity; which is a ſufficient Proof, that it hath no firm ground. We may ſay of it as Saint *Auſtin* ſaith of the Church it ſelf, *I will not that the Holy Church be demonſtrated from humane reaſonings, but the Divine Oracles.*

Nolo humanis documentis, ſed Divinis Oraculis Sanctam Eccleſiam demonſtrari. Aug. *de Unit. c.* 3.

Saint *Paul* particularly, in divers Epiſtles, deſignedly treating about the Unity of the Church, (together with other Points of Doctrine neighbouring thereon,) and amply deſcribing it, doth not yet imply any ſuch Unity then extant, or deſigned to be. Eph. 4. 1 Cor. 12. Rom. 12. Gal. 3. 28.

He doth mention and urge the Unity of Spirit, of Faith, of Charity, of Peace, of Relation to our Lord, of Communion in Devotions and Offices of Piety; but concerning any Union under one ſingular viſible Government or Polity he is ſilent: He ſaith, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm; one God and Father of all:*

not one Monarch, or one Senate, or one Sanhedrin——which is a pregnant ſign, that none ſuch was then inſtituted; otherwiſe he could nor have ſlipped over a Point ſo very material and pertinent to his Diſcouſe.

2. By the Apoſtolical Hiſtory it may appear, that the Apoſtles, in the Propagation of Chriſtianity, and founding of Chriſtian Societies, had no meaning, did take no care, to eſtabliſh any ſuch Polity.

They did reſort to ſeveral Places (whither Divine inſtinct, or reaſonable occaſion did carry them) where, by their Preaching, having convinced and converted a *competent number* of perſons to the embracing Chriſtian Doctrine, they did appoint Paſtours to inſtruct and edifie them, to adminiſter God's Worſhip and Service among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correſpondence of Charity and Peace with all good Chriſtians otherwhere; this is all we can ſee done by them.

Ὄχλον ἱκανόν. Act. 11. 26.

Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς Πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν, Act. 14. 23.

3. The Fathers, in their ſet Treatiſes, and in their incidental Diſcourſes about the Unity of the Church, (which was *de facto*, which ſhould be *de jure* in the Church,) do make it to conſiſt only in thoſe Unions of Faith, Charity, Peace, which we have deſcribed, not in this political Union.

The *Roman* Church gave this Reaſon why they could not admit *Marcion* into their Communion, they would not do it without his Father's conſent, between whom and them *there was one faith, and one agreement of mind.*

——μία γὰρ ὅδε ἡ πίστις καὶ μία γνώμη. Epiph. *hær.* 42.

Tertullian in his Apologetick deſcribing the Unity of the Church in his time, ſaith, *We are one body by Agreement in Religion, our Unity of Diſcipline, and our being in the ſame Covenant of hope.*

Corpus ſumus de Conſcientia religionis, & diſciplinæ Unitate, & ſpei Fœdere. Apol. 39.

And more exactly and largely in his Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks, the breakers of Unity *Therefore ſuch and ſo many Churches are but the ſame with the firſt Apoſtolical one, from which all are derived: Thus they become all firſt, all Apoſtolical; whilſt they maintain the ſame Unity; whilſt there are a Communion of peace, names of brotherhood and contributions of hoſpitality among them; the rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the ſame Myſtery.*

Itaque tot ac tantæ Eccleſiæ una eſt illa ab Apoſtolis prima, ex qua omnes; ſic omnes prima & omnes Apoſtolicæ; dum unam omnes probant Unitatem; Communicatio pacis, & appellatio fraternitatis & conteſſeratio hoſpitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quàm ejuſdem Sacramenta una traditio. Tertul. *Præſcript. cap.* 20.

Una nobis & illis fides, unus Deus, idem Chriſtus, eadem Spes, eadem lavacri Sacramenta; ſemel dixerim una Eccleſia ſumus. Tert. *de Virg. vel.* 2.

They and we have one Faith, one God, the ſame Chriſt, the ſame Hope, the ſame Baptiſm; in a word, we are but one Church.

And *Conſtantine* the Great in his Epiſtle to the Churches:

Καὶ μίαν [ἐν] τῷ Καθολικῷ αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν βεβαίωσαι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εἰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους τὰ μέρη διήρησαι, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἑνὶ Πνεύματι, τυτέστι τῷ Θείῳ Συλλήπτι ἠλάπεσαι. Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccleſ. Euſeb. vit. Conſt. 3. 18.

(Our Saviour) *would have his Catholick Church to be one: the Members of which, though they be divided into many and different places, are yet cherisht by one Spirit, that is, by the will of God.*

Caput noſtrum, quod Chriſtus eſt, ad hoc ſua eſſe membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis & fidei unum nos in ſe corpus efficeret. Greg. M. Ep. 7. 111.

And *Gregory* the Great.——

Our Head which is Chriſt, would therefore have us b[illegible] members, that by the joints of Charity and Faith he [illegible] make us one body in himſelf.

Ὁ ἓν νῦμε καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν Πίστιν συναγόμενος λαός Strom. 6 init. τῇ τε τὰς Διαθήκας δόσει σκευαζόμενον εἰς Ἑνότητα Πίστεως. Str. 7. (p. 516.)

Clem. Alex. defineth the Church;

A people gathered together out of Jews *and* Gentiles *one Faith, by the giving of Teſtaments fitted into U[illegible] Faith.*

Τῇ γὰρ τῆς Ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληρῶται Ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατεμνειν βιάζονται αἱρέσεις· καθά τε ἐν ὑπέστασιν, καθά τε ἐπίνοιαν, καθά τε ἀρχὴν (principium) καθά τε ἐξοχήν, μόνην εἶναι φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ἑνότητα Πίστεως μιᾶς τε καὶ τὰς οἰκείας Διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὴν Διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις Ἑνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Συλλήπτορι δι' Ἑνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατελεγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν, δικαίως ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. Strom. 7. (p. 549.)

The rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the ſame Myſtery.

They and we have one Faith, one God, the ſame Chriſt, the ſame Hope, the ſame Baptiſm; in a word, we are but one Church.

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Our Head which is Chriſt, would therefore have us b[illegible] members, that by the joints of Charity and Faith he [illegible] make us one body in himſelf.

Clem. Alex. defineth the Church;

A people gathered together out of Jews *and* Gentiles *one Faith, by the giving of Teſtaments fitted into U[illegible] Faith.*

This one Church therefore partakes of the nature of Unity, which Hereſies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and Catholick Church, whether we reſpect its conſtitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one; which into the belief of that one Creed, which is agreeable to its own peculiar Teſtaments, or rather to that one and the ſame Teſtament, in times however different, by the will of one and the ſame God, through one and the ſame Lord, doth unite and combine together all thoſe who are before ordained, whom God hath predeſtinated, juſt perſons, before the foundation of the world.

as knowing that they would be

Many

Many Paſſages in the Fathers, applicable to this Point, we have alledged in the foregoing Diſcourſes.

Catholicam facit ſimplex & verus intellectus, intelligere ſingulare, ac veriſſimum Sacramentum, & Unitas animorum. Opt. I. (p. 14.) *Eccleſia non parietibus conſiſtit, ſed in dogmatum veritate, &c.* Hier. Pſ. 133.

4. The Conſtitution of ſuch an Unity doth involve the veſting ſome Perſon or ſome number of Perſons with a Sovereign Authority (ſubordinate to our Lord) to be managed in a certain manner, either abſolutely according to pleaſure, or limitedly according to certain Rules preſcribed to it.

But that there was ever any ſuch Authority conſtituted, or any Rules preſcribed to it by our Lord or his Apoſtles, doth not appear, and there are divers reaſonable preſumptions againſt it.

It is reaſonable that whoever claimeth ſuch Authority, ſhould for aſſuring his Title ſhew Patents of his Commiſſion, manifeſtly expreſſing it; how otherwiſe can he juſtly demand Obedience, or any with ſatisfaction yield thereto?

It was juſt that the Inſtitution of ſo great Authority ſhould be fortified with an undoubted Charter, that its Right might be apparent, and the Duty of Subjection might be certain.

If any ſuch Authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in Scripture; it being a matter of high importance among the eſtabliſhments of Chriſtianity, conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty. Eſpecially conſidering that

There is in Scripture frequent occaſion of mentioning it; in way of Hiſtory, touching the uſe of it (the acts of Sovereign Power affording chief matter to the Hiſtory of any Society) in way of Direction to thoſe Governours how to manage it; in way of Exhortation to Inferiours how to behave themſelves in regard to it; in way of commending the Advantages which attend it; it is therefore ſtrange that its mention is ſo balkt.

The Apoſtles do often ſpeak concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of all matters, concerning the Decent adminiſtration of things, concerning preſervation of Order and Peace, concerning the furtherance of Edification, concerning the Prevention and Removal of Hereſies, Schiſms, Factions, Diſorders; upon any of which occaſions it is marvellous that they ſhould not touch that Conſtitution, which was the proper means appointed for maintenance of Truth, Order, Peace, Decency, Edification, and all ſuch Purpoſes, for remedy of all contrary Miſchiefs.

There are mentioned divers Schiſms and Diſſenſions, the which the Apoſtles did ſtrive by inſtruction and perſuaſion to remove; in which caſes, ſuppoſing ſuch an Authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the Parties diſſenting of having recourſe thereto for deciſion of their Cauſes, that they do not exhort them to a Submiſſion thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining ſuch a Remedy.

It is alſo ſtrange, that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the [illegible] Parties to the Judgment of ſuch Authority.

[illegible]deed, if ſuch an Authority had then been avowed by the Chriſtian Churches, [illegible]rdly conceivable that any Schiſms could ſubſiſt, there being ſo powerful a [illegible]dy againſt them, then notably viſible and moſt effectual, becauſe of its freſh [illegible]tion, before it was darkned or weakned by Age.

[illegible]hereas the Apoſtolical Writings do inculcate our Subjection to one Lord in [illegible]n, it is much they ſhould never conſider his Vicegerent, or Vicegerents, [illegible]on Earth; notifying and preſſing the Duties of Obedience and Reverence to[illegible]rd them.

There are indeed Exhortations to honour the Elders, and to obey the Guides of particular Churches, but the Honour and Obedience due to thoſe Paramount Authorities, or Univerſal Governours, is paſſed over in dead ſilence, as if no ſuch thing had been thought of.

They do expreſly avow the ſecular Pre-eminence, and preſs Submiſſion to the Emperor as Supreme; why do they not likewiſe mention this no leſs conſiderable Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, or enjoin Obedience thereto? why *Honour the King*, and be *ſubject to Principalities* ſo often, but Honour the ſpiritual Prince or Senate doth never occur? Rom. 13. 1.——Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 17. 1 Tim. 1. [illegible]

If there had been any ſuch Authority, there would probably have been ſome Intimation concerning the Perſons in whom it was ſettled, concerning the Place

of their reſidence, concerning the Manner of its being conveyed, (by Election, Succeſſion, or otherwiſe.)

Probably the Perſons would have ſome proper Name, Title or Character to diſtinguiſh them from inferiour Governours; that to the Place ſome mark of Preeminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely, that ſomewhere ſome Rules or Directions would have been preſcribed for the management of ſo high a Truſt, for preventing Miſcarriages and Abuſes to which it is notoriouſly liable.

It would have been declared Abſolute, or the Limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enſlaving God's heritage.

But of theſe things in the Apoſtolical Writings, or in any near thoſe times, there doth not appear any footſtep or pregnant intimation.

There hath never to this day been any place but one (namely *Rome*) which hath pretended to be the Seat of ſuch an Authority; the Plea whereof we largely have examined.

At preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that before the *Roman* Church was founded, there were Churches otherwhere; there was a great Church at *Jeruſalem* (which indeed was the *Mother of all Churches*, and was by the Fathers ſo ſtyled, however *Rome* now arrogates to her ſelf that Title.) There were iſſuing from that Mother a fair Offſpring of Churches (thoſe of *Judea*, of *Galilæa*, of *Samaria*, of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, of divers other places) before there was any Church of *Rome*, or that Saint *Peter* did come thither; which was at leaſt divers years after our Lord's Aſcenſion. Saint *Paul* was converted——after five years he went to *Hieruſalem*, then Saint *Peter* was there; after fourteen years thence he went to *Hieruſalem* again, and then St. *Peter* was there; after that, he met with St. *Peter* at *Antioch*. Where then was this Authority ſeated? How then did the political Unity of the Church ſubſiſt? Was the Seat of the Sovereign Authority firſt reſident at *Jeruſalem*, when Saint *Peter* preached there? did it walk thence to *Antiochia*, fixing it ſelf there for ſeven years? Was it thence tranſlated to *Rome*, and ſettled there ever ſince? Did this roving and inconſtancy become it?

Act. 2. 41. 47. 4. 4. 6. 1. 8. 1. Ἐπληθύνετο δὲ ὁ μαθητὴς ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Act. 6. 7. Μήτηρ ἁπασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, Conc. Conſt. in Synod. Ep. Theod. 5. 9.

Act. 9. 31. 15. 41. 11. 19. 8. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 1, 19. Rom. 16. 4. Valeſ. in Euſeb. 2. 16. Gal. 1. 18. 19. 2. 1, 9, 11.

5. The primitive State of the Church did not well comport with ſuch an Unity. For Chriſtian Churches were founded in diſtant places, as the Apoſtles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore could not, without extreme inconvenience, have reſort or reference to one Authority, any where fixed.

Each Church therefore ſeparately did order its own Affairs, without recourſe to others, except for charitable Advice or Relief in caſes of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each Church was endowed with a perfect Liberty and a full Authority, without dependence or ſubordination to others, to govern its own Members, to manage its own Affairs, to decide Controverſies and Cauſes incident among themſelves, without allowing Appeals, or rendring Accounts to others.

Apoc. 2. & 3. 1 Cor. 14. 40. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 12. 6. 1.

This appeareth by the Apoſtolical Writings of Saint *Paul* and Saint *John* to ſingle Churches; wherein they are ſuppoſed able to exerciſe ſpiritual Power in eſtabliſhing Decency, removing Diſorders, correcting Offences, deciding Cauſes, *&c.*

6. This Αὐτονομία, and Liberty of Churches, doth appear [illegible] long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumſtances of place and time.

It is true, that if any Church did notoriouſly forſake the Truth, or commit Diſorder in any kind, other Churches did ſometimes take [illegible] them (as the caſe did move) to warn, adviſe, reprove it, and to declare [illegible] its proceedings, as prejudicial not only to the welfare of that Church, but [illegible] common intereſts of Truth and Peace; but this was not in way of commanding Authority, but of fraternal Sollicitude, or of that Liberty which Equity and Prudence do allow to Equals in regard to common good: So did the *Roman* Church interpoſe in reclaiming the Church of *Corinth* from its Diſorders and Seditions: So did Saint *Cyprian* and Saint *Denys* of *Alex.* meddle in Affairs of the *Roman* Church, exhorting *Novatian* and his adherents to return to the Peace of their Church.

Iren. 3. c. 2.

It

It is alſo true, that the Biſhops of ſeveral adjacent Churches did uſe to meet upon Emergencies (concerning the maintenance of Truth, Order and Peace; concerning Settlement and Approbation of Paſtours, *&c.*) to conſult and conclude upon Expedients for attaining ſuch Ends; this probably they did at firſt in a free way, without rule, according to occaſion, as Prudence ſuggeſted; but afterwards, by confederation and conſent, thoſe Conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain Orders eſtabliſhed by conſent, whence did ariſe an Eccleſiaſtical Unity of Government, within certain Precincts; much like that of the United States in the *Netherlands*; the which courſe was very prudential, and uſeful for preſerving the Truth of Religion and Unity of Faith againſt heretical Devices ſpringing up in that free Age; for maintaining Concord and good Correſpondence among Chriſtians, together with an Harmony in Matters and Diſcipline; for that otherwiſe Chriſtendom would have been ſhattered and crumbled into numberleſs Parties, diſcordant in Opinion and Practice; and conſequently alienated in Affection, which inevitably among moſt men doth follow Difference of Opinion and Manners; ſo that in ſhort time it would not have appeared what Chriſtianity was, and conſequently the Religion, being overgrown with Differences and Diſcords, muſt have periſhed.

Thus in the caſe, about admitting the *Lapſi* to Communion, Saint *Cyprian* relates, *when the perſecution* [of *Decius*] *ceaſed, ſo that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a conſiderable number of Biſhops, whom their own faith and God's protection had preſerved ſound and entire* [from the late Apoſtaſie and Perſecution] *being aſſembled, we deliberated of the compoſition of the matter with wholſome moderation,* &c.

Perſecutione ſopitâ, cùm data eſſet facultas in unum conveniendi, copioſus Epiſcoporum numerus, quos integros & incolumes fides ſua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, & ſcripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum ſalubri moderatione libravimus &c. Cypr. Ep. 52. (*ad* Antonian.)

Which thing alſo Agrippinus *of bleſſed memory, with his other Fellow-Biſhops who then governed the Church of Chriſt in the* African *Province, and in* Numidia, *did eſtabliſh; and by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together confirmed it.*

Quod quidem & Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir cum cæteris Co-epiſcopis ſuis, qui illo tempore in Provinciâ Africa & Numidia *Eccleſiam Domini gubernabant ſtatuit, & librato concilii communis examine firmavit.* Cypr. *Epiſt.* 71. (*ad* Quint.)

Thus it was the cuſtome in the Churches of *Aſia*, as *Firmilian* telleth us in theſe words:

Upon which occaſion it neceſſarily happens; that every year we the Elders and Rulers do come together, to regulate thoſe things which are committed to our care; that if there ſhould be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined.——

Quâ ex cauſâ neceſſariò nos apud ſit, ut per ſingulos annos Seniores & Præpoſiti in unum conveniamus, ad diſponenda ea quæ curæ noſtræ commiſſa ſunt; ut ſi quæ graviora ſint, communi conſilio dirigantur—— Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

Yet while things went thus, in order to common Truth and Peace; every Church in more private matters, touching its own peculiar ſtate, did retain its Liberty and Authority, without being ſubject or accountable to any but the common Lord; in ſuch caſes even Synods of Biſhops did not think it proper or juſt [illegible] them to interpoſe, to the prejudice of that Liberty and Power which was derived from a higher Source.

Supereſt ut de hac ipſa re ſinguli quid ſentiamus proferamus neminem judicantes, aut [illegible] *communionis aliquem, ſi diverſum ſenſerit, amoventes*——*&c. Vid. Conc.* Carthag. *apud* Cypr. *p.* 399. *Vid. Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 9.

[illegible]ſe things are very apparent, as by the courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſo [illegible]ularly in that moſt pretious Monument of Antiquity, St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles; [illegible]hich it is moſt evident, that in thoſe times every Biſhop or Paſtour was con[illegible]ed to h[illegible]tle relation or capacity; one toward his own Flock, another [illegible]ward the whole Flock: One toward his own Flock; by [illegible]rtue of which * taking advice of his Presbyters, together with *the conſcience of his People aſſiſting*, he did order all things tending to [illegible]ir Edification, Order, Peace, Reformation, Cenſure, *&c.* without fear of being [illegible]bled with Appeals, or being liable to give any account but to his own Lord [illegible]oſe Vicegerent he was.

* *Vide Epiſt.* 28. 39. 14. 18. *Sub Populi aſſiſtentis conſcientiâ.* Cypr. *Epiſt.* 78.

——*Actum ſuum diſponit, & dirigit unuſquiſque Epiſcopus, rationem propoſiti ſui Domino redditurus.* Cypr. *Ep.* 52. Every Biſhop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpoſe to the Lord.

Cùm ſtatutum ſit omnibus nobis, æquum ſit pariter ac juſtum, ut uniuſcujuque cauſa illic audiatur, ubi eſt crimen admiſſum; & ſingulis Paſtoribus portio Gregis ſit adſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque Præpoſitus, rationem actûs ſui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. *ad* ——

Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewiſe juſt and equal, that every man's cauſe ſhould be there judged, where the crime is committed, and to each Paſtor a portion of the Flock is aſſigned, which is to rule and govern, being to give account of his act to the Lord.

Quam rem nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cùm habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ liberum arbitrium unuſquiſque Præpoſitus, rationem actûs ſui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 72. *ad* Steph. *P. Vide Ep.* 72 *p* 186. *Ep* 76. *p.* 212.

In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man, or preſcribe any Law, ſince every Biſhop hath in the government of [illegible]Chure the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord.

Another

Another toward the whole Church, in behalf of his People; upon account whereof he did (according to occaſion or order) apply himſelf to conſer with other Biſhops for preſervation of the common Truth and Peace, when they could not otherwiſe be well upheld, than by the joint conſpiring of the Paſtours of divers Churches.

So that the Caſe of Biſhops was like to that of Princes; each of whom hath a free Superintendence in his own Territory; but for to uphold Juſtice and Peace in the World, or between adjacent Nations, the entercouſe of ſeveral Princes is needful.

The Peace of the Church was preſerved by communion of all Parts together, not by the Subjection of the reſt to one Part.

7. This political Unity doth not well accord with the nature and *genius* of the Evangelical diſpenſation.

Our Saviour affirmed, that *his Kingdom is not of this World*, and St. *Paul* tel-
Joh. 18. 36. Rom. 14. 17. leth us, that it conſiſteth in a Spiritual influence upon the Souls of men; producing in them Virtue, Spiritual Joy, and Peace.

Gal. 4. 3. 9. Col. 2. 20. It diſavoweth and diſcountenanceth *the elements of the World*, by which worldly deſigns are carried on, and worldly frames ſuſtained.

1 Pet. 2. 1. It requireth not to be managed by politick Artifices or *fleſhly Wiſdom*, but by Simplicity, Sincerity, Plain-dealing: as every Subject of it muſt lay aſide all *guile*
2 Cor. 1. 12. 2 Cor. 4. 2. 2. 17. (καπηλ.) 1 Theſ. 2. 3. 5. *and diſſimulation*, ſo eſpecially the Officers of it muſt do ſo, in conformity to the Apoſtles, who *had their converſation in the world* (and proſecuted their deſign) *in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God*; not *walking in craftineſs*, or *handling the word of God deceitfully*, &c.

It needeth not to be ſupported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by com-
1 Cor. 1. 27. Jam. 2. 5. pulſive force and violence; for *God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and baſe, deſpicable things*, &c. *that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence.*

2 Cor. 10. 4. And, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*, &c.

It diſcountenanceth the impoſition of new Laws and Precepts, beſides thoſe
Matt. 15. 9. Coloſ. 2. 8, 20, 21. Gal. 4. 10. which God hath joined, or which are neceſſary for order and edification; derogating from the Liberty of Chriſtians, and from the Simplicity of our Religion.

The Government of the Chriſtian ſtate is repreſented purely ſpiritual; adminiſtred by meek perſuaſion, not by imperious awe; as an humble miniſtery, not
2 Cor. 1. 24. 2 Cor. 4. 5. as ſtately dominion; for the Apoſtles themſelves did not *Lord it over mens faith*, but *did co-operate to their joy*; they did *not preach themſelves, but Chriſt Jeſus to be our Lord; and themſelves their ſervants for Jeſus.*

1 Pet. 5. 3. Matt. 20. 25, 26. It is expreſly forbidden to them, *to domineer over God's people.*

They are qualified with Gentleneſs and Patience; they are forbidden *to ſtrive*,
2 Cor. 6. 4. 1 Tim. 3. 3. Tit. 2. 2. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 26. and enjoyned to be *gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.*

They are *to convince, to rebuke, to exhort with all long-ſuffering and do*
Chryſ. Iſid. 2 Tim. 4. 2. *Epiſcopus praeſt volentibus, non nolentibus.* Hier. *Ep.* 3. (*ad* Nepot.)

'Αναλάβετε τ πανοπλίαν Θεῦ, Eph. 6. 13, 17. They are furniſhed with no arms beſide the *divine Panoply*; they bear no but that *of the Spirit*; *which is the word of God*,——they may teach, reprove, they cannot compell——

2 Tim. 2. 4. They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life.

Μάλιστα μὲν ἀπάντων χειριστέον ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἐπαοιδὴν τὴν ἀμαξανόντων πλάσμα;——Chryſ. de Sacerd. 2.
Ἐγλαῦσι ἢ βαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πάσσοφα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω ἢ τοιοῦτον.

But ſuppoſing the Church was deſigned to be one in this matter of political regiment, it muſt be quite another thing, nearly reſembling a worldly ſtate, yea in effect ſoon reſolving it ſelf into ſuch an one; ſuppoſing, that now pretended, that its management is committed to an Eccleſiaſtical Mon[illegible], it muſt become a worldly Kingdom; for ſuch a Polity could not be upheld without applying the ſame means and engines, without practiſing the ſame methods and arts, whereby ſecular Governments are maintained.

Ἕτερόν τι φῦλα τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς οἱ ἄρχοντες.

It

Its Majeſty muſt be ſupported by conſpicuous Pomp and Phantaſtry.

Its Dignity and Power muſt be ſupported by Wealth; which it muſt corrade and accumulate by large Incomes, by exaction of Tributes and Taxes.

It muſt exert Authority in enacting of Laws for keeping its State in order, and ſecuring its Intereſts, backed with Rewards and Pains; eſpecially conſidering, its Title being ſo dark and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will conteſt it.

It muſt apply Conſtraint and Force, for procuring Obedience, and correcting Tranſgreſſion.

It muſt have Guards to preſerve its Safety and Authority.

It muſt be engaged in Wars, to defend its ſelf and make good its Intereſts.

It muſt uſe Subtilty and Artifice, for promoting its Intereſts, and countermining the Policies of Adverſaries.

It muſt erect Judicatories, and muſt decide Cauſes with Formality of legal proceſs; whence tedious Suits, crafty Pleadings, Quirks of Law and Pettifoggeries, Fees and Charges, Extortion and Barretry, *&c.* will neceſſarily creep in.

Is modus qui frequentatur, execrabilis planè, & qui non dico Eccleſiam, ſed nec forum deceret, &c. Bern. *de Conſid. l.* 10. *Attendens itaque S. Synodus, quòd ſpiritualia ſine carnalibus ſuſtineri nequeant. Syn.* Baſil. *Seſſ.* 42. *p.* 108.

All which things do much diſagree from the original conſtitution and deſign of the Chriſtian Church, which is averſe from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth or force to maintain it; but did at firſt, and may ſubſiſt without any ſuch means.

Omnis pulchritudo filiæ Regis intrinſecus. Aug. *Ep.* 68.

I do not ſay, that an Eccleſiaſtical Society may not lawfully, for its ſupport, uſe Power, Policy, Wealth, in ſome meaſure to uphold or defend it ſelf; but that a Conſtitution needing ſuch things is not Divine; or that ſo far as it doth uſe them, it is no more than Humane.

Thus in effect we ſee that it hath ſucceeded, from the Pretence of this Unity; the which hath indeed transformed the Church into a mere worldly ſtate; wherein the Monarch beareth the garb of an Emperor, in external ſplendor ſurpaſſing all worldly Princes; crowned with a triple Crown.

One Crown doth ſerve an Emperor, but he muſt have a triple: to kiſs the hands of a King is a ſufficient reſpect, but you cannot ſalute him without kiſſing *his bleſſed Feet.*

He aſſumeth the moſt haughty Titles of, *Our moſt holy Lord*, the Vicar-general of *Chriſt*, *&c.* and he ſuffereth Men to call him the Monarch of Kings, *&c.*

He hath Reſpects paid him, like to which no Potentate doth aſſume, (having his Feet kiſſed, riding upon the backs of Men, letting Princes hold his Stirrup and lead his Horſe.)

That which *Seneca* did take for a piece of enormous Pride in *Caligula*. *De Benef.* 2. 12.

He hath a Court, and is attended with a train of Courtiers ſurpaſſing in State, and claiming Precedence of the Peers of any Kingdom.

Cardin. *vid.* Uſſ. *p.* 103.

He is encompaſſed with armed Guards. *Switzers.*

He hath a vaſt Revenue, ſupplied by Tributes and Impoſts, ſore and grievous; the exaction of which hath made divers Nations of Chriſtendom to groan moſt [illegible]bly.

He hath raiſed numberleſs Wars and Commotions for the promotion and advancement of his Intereſts.

He adminiſtreth things with all depth of Policy, to advance his Deſigns.

He hath enacted Volumes of Laws and Decrees, to which [illegible]ith rigour and forcible conſtraint.

Sub Mortali.

He impoſes rigorous Oaths of Fealty and Obedience.

[illegible]om all Parts to his Courts of Judgment, wherein all forma[illegible]the tricks of ſqueezing Money, *&c.* are practiſed, to the [illegible]rge of Parties concerned.

[illegible] that he doth exerciſe the proudeſt, mightieſt, ſubtleſt Do[illegible] over Chriſtians.

Exaltatio & in[illegible]ac [illegible] de Chriſti magiſterio, qui humilitatem docet, ſed de Antichriſti ſpiritu naſcitur. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad F.*

8. The Union [illegible]hole Church in one Body, under one Government or Sovereign Authori[illegible]ld be inconvenient and hurtful; prejudicial to the main deſigns of Chriſtianity; deſtructive to the Welfare and Peace of Mankind in many reſpects.

This

This we have ſhewed particularly concerning the Pretence of the Papacy; and thoſe Diſcourſes being applicable to any like Univerſal Authority, (perhaps with more advantage, Monarchy being leſs ſubject to abuſe than other ways of Government) I ſhall forbear to ſay more.

9. Such an Union is of no need, would be of ſmall uſe, or would do little good; in balance to the great Miſchiefs and Inconveniences which it would produce.

This point alſo we have declared, in regard to the Papacy; and we might ſay the ſame concerning any other like Authority ſubſtituted thereto.

Such a Connexion of Churches is not any-wiſe needful or expedient to the Deſign of Chriſtianity; which is to reduce Mankind to the Knowledge, Love and Reverence of God; to a juſt and loving Converſation together; to the practice
Tit. 2. 12. of Sobriety, Temperance, Purity, Meekneſs, and all other Virtues; all which things may be compaſſed without forming Men into ſuch a Policy.

It is expedient there ſhould be particular Societies, in which Men may concur in worſhipping God, and promoting that deſign by inſtructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent and orderly way.

It is convenient that the Subjects of each temporal Sovereignty ſhould live as in a civil, ſo in a ſpiritual Uniformity, in order to the preſervation of Goodwill and Peace among them (for that Neighbours differing in opinion and faſhions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to diſaffect one another) for the Beauty and pleaſant Harmony of agreement in Divine things, for the more commodious ſuccour and defence of Truth and Piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the World ſhould be ſo joined is needleſs; and will be apt to produce more miſchief than benefit.

10. The Church in the Scripture ſenſe hath ever continued One; and will ever continue ſo; notwithſtanding that it hath not had this political Unity.

11. It is in fact apparent, that Churches have not been thus united, which yet have continued Catholick and Chriſtian.

It were great, no leſs folly than uncharitableneſs to ſay, that the *Greek* Church hath been none.

There is no Church that hath in effect leſs reaſon than that of *Rome*, to preſcribe to others.

12. The reaſons alledged in proof of ſuch an Unity are inſufficient and inconcluding; the which (with great diligence, although not with like perſpicuity) advanced by a late Divine of great repute, and collected out of his Writings with ſome care, are thoſe which briefly propoſed do follow; together with declaring their invalidity.

Epiſ. p. 38. *Lat. p.* 114. *Arg.* I. The name *Church* is attributed to the whole body of Chriſtians which implieth Unity.

Anſw. This indeed doth imply an Unity of the Church, but determines not the kind or ground thereof; there being ſeveral kinds of Unity; one of which we have touched, or ſeveral, or all of them may ſuffice to ground the comprehenſive Appellation.

Epiſ. Lat. 114. *Arg.* II. Our Creeds do import the belief of ſuch an Unity when we profeſs to believe *the Holy Catholick Church*; in the Nicene Creed *One Holy Catholick* and *Apoſtolick Church*.

Iren. Tert. Cypr. *Conc.* Nic. *Anſw.* 1. The moſt ancient Summaries of Chriſtian Faith, (by the Fathers, (*Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, &c.) do not contain the word.

The word *Catholick* was not originally in the *Apoſtolick* Creed, but was added after *Ruffin* in Saint *Auſtin's* time.

This Article was inſerted into the Creeds upon the rise of Churches [illegible] to diſcountenance and diſengage from them.

Anſw. 2. We do avow a Catholick Church [illegible] any reſpects One; wherefore not the Unity of the Church, but the Kind and Manner of Unity being in queſtion, the Creed doth not oppoſe what we ſay, nor can with reaſon alledged for the ſpecial kind of Unity which is pretended.

Anſ

Anſw. 3. That the Unity mentioned in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed is ſuch as our Adverſaries contend for, of external Policy, is precariouſly aſſumed, and relieth only upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Anſw. 4. The genuine meaning of that Article may reaſonably be deemed this; That we profeſs our adhering to the Body of Chriſtians, which diffuſed over the World doth retain the Faith taught, the Diſcipline ſettled, the Practices appointed by our Lord and his Apoſtles; that we maintain general Charity toward all good Chriſtians, that we are ready to entertain communion in Holy Offices with all ſuch; that we are willing to obſerve the Laws and Orders eſtabliſhed by Authority or Conſent of the Churches, for maintenance of Truth, Order and Peace: that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all diſorderly practices, all conſpiracy with any factious combinations of people. Παραδιατριβαί.

Anſw. 5. That this is the meaning of the Article, may ſufficiently appear from the reaſon and occaſion of introducing it; which was to ſecure the Truth of Chriſtian Doctrine, the Authority of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the common Peace of the Church; according to the Diſcourſes and Arguments of the Fathers, (*Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, St. *Auſtin*, *Vincentius Lirinenſis*,) the which do plainly countenance our Interpretation.

Anſw. 6. It is not reaſonable to interpret the Article ſo, as will not conſiſt with the ſtate of the Church in the Apoſtolical and moſt primitive ages, when evidently there was no ſuch a political Conjunction of Chriſtians.

Arg. III. The Apoſtles delivered one Rule of Faith to all Churches, the imbracing and profeſſing whereof, celebrated in Baptiſm, was a neceſſary condition to the admiſſion into the Church, and to continuance therein; therefore Chriſtians are combined together in one political Body. *Ep.* p. 40. *Lat.* p. 144. 151.

Anſw. 1. The Conſequence is very weak; for from the Antecedent it can only be inferred, that (according to the Sentiment of the Ancients,) all Chriſtians ſhould conſent in one Faith; which Unity we avow; and who denieth?

Anſw. 2. By like reaſon all Mankind muſt be united in one political Body; becauſe all men are bound to agree in what the Light of nature diſcovereth to be true and good; or becauſe the Principles of natural Religion, Juſtice and Humanity are common to all.

Arg. IV. God hath granted to the Church certain Powers and Rights, as *Jura Majeſtatis*; namely, the Power of the Keys, (to admit into, to exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven,) a Power to enact Laws, (for maintenance of its Order and Peace, for its Edification and Welfare:) a Power to correct and excommunicate Offenders; a Power to hold Aſſemblies for God's Service; a Power to ordain Governours and Paſtours. *Epil.* p. 37, 49. *Lat.* p. 153. p. 118. *Leges ferre.* *Lat.* p. 171. *Lat.* p. 54.

Anſw. 1. Theſe Powers are granted to the Church, becauſe granted to each particular Church or diſtinct Society of Chriſtians; not to the whole as ſuch, or diſtinct from the Parts.

Anſw. 2. It is evident that by vertue of ſuch Grants particular Churches do uſe thoſe Powers; and it is impoſſible to infer more from them than a juſtification of their Practice.

Anſw. 3. St. *Cyprian* often from that common Grant, doth infer the Right of exerciſing Diſcipline in each particular Church; which Inference would not be [illegible] our Suppoſition; nor indeed otherwiſe would any particular Church be exact and for its Authority.

[illegible] granted the like Rights to all Princes and States; but doth [illegible] that all Kingdoms and States muſt be united in one ſingle Republick; the conſequence is juſt the ſame as in our Caſe.

[illegible] All Churches were tied to obſerve the ſame Laws or Rules of the ſame Orders of Diſcipline and Cuſtoms; therefore all do make [illegible]ration. *Ep.* p. 42, 49. *Lat.* p. 151, 219. 1 Cor. 11, 16

Anſw. [illegible]. That [illegible]urches are bound to obſerve the ſame Divine Inſtitutions, doth argue [illegible] Unity of relation to the ſame Heavenly King, or a ſpecial Unity and [illegible]ude of Policy, the which we do avow.

Anſw. 2. We do alſo acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all Churches in principal Obſervances, introduced by humane prudence, ſhould agree ſo near as may be; an Uniformity in ſuch things repreſenting and preſerving Unity of Faith, of Charity, of Peace.

Whence the Governours of the primitive Church did endeavour such an Uniformity; as the Fathers of *Nice* profess in the Canon forbidding of Genu-flexion on Lord's days, and in the days of Pentecost.

Τὸν περὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐν πάσαις κυριακαῖς φυλάττειν. Conc. Nic. Can. 20. Vide de Paschate.

Answ. 3. Yet doth not such an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a Political Unity; no more than when all men, by vertue of a primitive general Tradition, were tied to offer Sacrifice and Oblations to God, that Consideration might argue all men to have been under the same Government: or no more than the usual Agreement of neighbour Nations in divers fashions doth conclude such an Unity.

Answ. 4. In divers Customs and Observances several Churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of Polity, than agreement in other Observances doth argue an Unity thereof.

Vid. Aug. Ep. 86. (ad Calul.)

Ep. 118. ad Jan. Cypr. Ep. 75. p. 198. Iren. apud Euseb. 5. 24. Socr. 5. 22. 7. 19. —— *Cætera jam disciplina & conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, hâc lege manente, &c.* Tert. de Virg. vel Thorn. Lat. p. 219. P. Greg. I. in una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. P. Greg. I. Epist 1. 41. P. Leo IX. Epist. 1. cap. 29. *Nil obsunt salutis credentium diversa pro loco & tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest uni Deo commendat omnes.* P. Nic. I. Ep. 6. *De consuetudinibus quidem, quem nobis opponere visi estis, scribentes per diversas Ecclesias diversas esse consuetudines, si illis canonica non resistit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis resistimus, &c.*

Cypr. Ep. 73.

Answ. 5. St. *Cyprian* doth affirm, that in such matters every Bishop had a Power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others.

Ep. p. 39. Lat. p. 159.

Arg. VI. The Jewish Church was one Corporation; and in correspondence thereto the Christian Church should be such.

Answ. 1. As the Christian Church doth in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differeth in others, being designed to excel it, wherefore this Argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our Opinion as against it.

Answ. 2 In like manner it may be argued, that all Christians should annually meet in one place; that all Christians should have one Archpriest on Earth; that we should all be subject to one temporal Jurisdiction; that we should all speak one Language, *&c.*

Answ. 3. There is a great difference in the case; for the *Israelites* were one small Nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Christian Church should consist of all Nations, which rendreth Correspondence in this particular unpracticable, at least without great inconvenience.

Eus. Hist. 1. 4. Baron. App. 2.

Answ. 4. Before the Law, Christian Religion, and consequently a Christian Church, did in substance subsist; but what Unity of Government was there then?

Answ. 5. The Temporal Union of the Jews might only figure the spiritual Unity of Christians in Faith, Charity and Peace.

Ep. p. 51--55. Lat p. 157.

Arg. VII. All Ecclesiastical Power was derived from the same Fountains, by succession from the Apostles; therefore the Church was one political Body.

Iren. 3. 3. Tert. Præscr. 31, 32.

Answ. 1. Thence we may rather infer, that Churches are not so united, because the Founders of them were several Persons endowed with co-ordinate and equal Power.

Answ 2. The Apostle did in several Churches constitute Bishops, independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by succession from those, or by the constitutions of humane prudence, according to emergencies of occasion and circumstances of things.

Answ. 3. Divers Churches were Αὐτόνομοι and all were [illegible] according to *Cyprian.*

Answ. 4. All temporal power is derived from *Adam*, and [illegible] cient Fathers of families; Doth it thence follow, that [illegible] under one secular Government?

Arg. VIII. All Churches did exercise a Power of [illegible] excluding Hereticks, Schismaticks, disorderly and scandalous people.

Ep. p. 59. p. 125. Lat. p. 185. p. 195.

Answ. 1. Each Church was vested with this Power; [illegible] doth therefore only infer a resemblance of several Churches in Discipline; which we avow.

Answ. 2. This argueth that all Churches took themselves to be obliged to preserve the same Faith, to exercise Charity and Peace, to maintain the like Holiness of conversation; What then? Do we deny this?

Answ.

Anſw 3. All Kingdoms and States do puniſh Offenders againſt Reaſon and Juſtice, do baniſh ſeditious and diſorderly perſons, do uphold the Principles and Practice of common Honeſty and Morality; Doth it thence follow that all Nations muſt come under one civil Government?

Excommunication of other Churches is only a Declararion againſt the Deviation from Chriſtian Truth, or Piety, or Charity.
Communio ſuſpenſa reſtituitur demonſtranti cauſas, quibus id acciderat, jam eſſe deterſas, & profitenti conditiones pacis impletas. P. Inn. *I. Ep.* 16. (*de* Attico Conſtant. *Ep.*)

Arg. IX. All Churches did maintain entercourſe and commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, ſynodical Epiſtles. *Ep. p.* 69. *Lat. p.* 222.

Litera formatæ. Optat. 2. *Con.* Milev. *Can.* 20.
communicatoriæ. Aug. *Ep.* 162, 163.
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τάτε κοινωνικά. Euſeb. 7. 30. Cypr. *Ep.* 55, 67.
γεγραμμένα συνοδικά. *Apoſt. Can.* 12.
ἐπιστολαὶ. *Conc.* Chald. *Can.* 11.
συνοδικαί. Soz. 7. 11. *Conc. VI. Act.* 11. (*p.* 158, 198, 123.) Greg. *M.* (*Ep.*——) P. Zach. Baron. *A.* 743. §. 29.
Significa planè nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit ſubſtitutus, ut ſciamus ad quem fratres noſtros dirigere, & cui ſcribere debeamus.—— Cypr. *Ep.* 42, 67. *ad P.* Steph. (*p.* 161.) *Ep.* 55. (*N. B p.* 113.)
Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπόλιν τε ὄντος ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ τέρεν σωδέσμου τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλυθόν ἐςι γράφειν ἡμᾶς. καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάσοις γινόμενα. &c. Alexand. *Epiſt.* Socr. *I.* 6.
The Catholick Church being one body, there being moreover a Command in the Holy Scriptures, to preſerve the bond of Peace and Concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to write, and ſignify to each other.

Anſw. 1. This doth ſignifie, that the Churches did by Admonition, Advice, &c. help one another in maintenance of the common Faith; did endeavour to preſerve Charity, Friendſhip and Peace; this is all which thence may be concluded.

Anſw. 2. Secular Princes are wont to ſend Ambaſſadors and Envoys with Letters and Inſtructions for ſettlement of Correſpondence and preſerving Peace; they ſometimes do recommend their Subjects to other Princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their Subjects trading or travelling any where in the World; common Reaſon doth require ſuch things; but may common Unity of Polity from hence be inferr'd?

Arg. X. The effectual Preſervation of Unity in the primitive Church is alledged as a ſtrong Argument of its being united in one Government. *Ep. pag.* 64. *Lat. pag.* 223.

Anſw. 1. That Unity of Faith and Charity and Diſcipline, which we admit, was indeed preſerved, not by influence of any one Sovereign Authority (whereof there is no mention) but by the concurrent vigilance of Biſhops, declaring and diſputing againſt any Novelty in Doctrine or Practice which did ſtart up; by their adherence to the Doctrine aſſerted in Scripture and confirmed by Tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as Confederates againſt Errors and Diſorders creeping in.

Anſw. 2. The many Differences which aroſe concerning the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, the Re-baptization of Hereticks, the Reconciliation of Revolters and ...ous Criminals; concerning the deciſion of Cauſes and Controverſies, ... more clearly ſhew, that there was no ſtanding common Juriſdiction in ...urch; for had there been ſuch an one, recourſe would have been had ... and ſuch Differences by its Authority would eaſily have been quaſhed.

XI. Another Argument is grounded on the Relief which one Church *Ep. pag.* 119. *Lat. pag.* 209. ... to another, which ſuppoſes all Churches under one Government, ... ſuch Tri...

1. Th... ſtrange Fetch: as if all who were under obligation to re... anot... need, were to be under one Government. Then all Man...

... by St. *Paul*, that theſe Succours were of free Charity, 2 Cor. 8. 3. αὐθαίρετοι. ... and not by Conſtraint. Verſ. 8. Οὐ ... καθὼς πεφείλη). Rom. 15. 26. Εὐδόκησε. Act. 11. 29. 24. 17. Ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων.

... councils is alſo alledged as an Argument of this Unity. *Ep. pag.* 51. *Lat. pag* 400. ...cils (in caſe Truth is diſowned, that Peace is diſtur... Aug. ...ed or perverted) are *wholeſome* Expedients to clear ... but the holding them is no more an Argument of ...rch, than the Treaty of *Munſter* was a ſign of all ...vil Government.

Anſw. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of reſtoring Truth, Peace, Order, Diſcipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the ordinary State of the Church.

Anſw. 3. For during a long time the Church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely; *For the firſt three hundred years* (ſaith *Bell.*) *there was no general aſſembly; afterwards ſcarce one in a hundred years.*

Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; poſtea verò vix centeſimo anno. De Rem P. 1. 8.

And ſince the breach between the *Oriental* and *Weſtern* Churches, for many Centuries there hath been none.

Yet was the Church from the beginning One, till *Conſtantine*, and long afterwards.

Anſw. 4. The firſt General Councils (indeed all that have been with any probable ſhew capable of that denomination) were congregated by Emperors, to cure the Diſſenſions of Biſhops; what therefore can be argued from them, but that the Emperors did find it good to ſettle Peace and Truth; and took this for a good mean thereto?

Alb. Pighius ſaid that General Councils were an invention of *Conſtantine*; and who can confute him?

Bell. de Conc. l. 13.

Anſw. 5. They do ſhew rather the Unity of the Empire than of the Church; or of the Church as National under one Empire, than as Catholick; for it was the State which did call and moderate them to its purpoſes.

Anſw. 6. It is manifeſt that the congregation of them dependeth on the permiſſion and pleaſure of ſecular Powers; and in all equity ſhould do ſo, (as otherwhere is ſhewed.)

The validity of Synodical Degrees (as Spiritual) doth proceed from the Obligation to each ſingular Biſhop; as if Princes in confederacy do make any Sanction, the Subjects of each are bound to obſerve them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but becauſe of their Obligation to their own Prince conſenting.

Anſw. 7. It is not expedient that there ſhould be any of them, now that Chriſtendom ſtandeth divided under divers temporal Sovereignties; for their Reſolutions may intrench on the Intereſts of ſome Princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the Civil Laws and Cuſtoms of every State.

Whence we ſee that *France* will not admit the Decrees of their *Tridentine* Synod.

Anſw. 8. There was no ſuch inconvenience in them while Chriſtendom was in a manner confined within one Empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the Emperor's leave, or to his prejudice.

Hiſt. Trid. p 67. A free Coun. P. Leo I. Ep.

Anſw. 9. Yea (as things now ſtand) it is impoſſible there ſhould be a free Council; moſt of the Biſhops being ſworn Vaſſals and Clients to the Pope, and by their own Intereſts concerned to maintain his exorbitant Grandeur and Domination.

Αἱ δὲ νῦν συνόδοι παρ' ἑκάστῃ αἱρέσει πολλὰν ἔχουσι εὐλόγως αἰτίαν, &c. Athan. de Syn. p. 873.

Anſw. 10. In the opinion of St *Athanaſius* there was no reaſonable cauſe of Synods, except in caſe of new Hereſies ſpringing up, which may be confuted by the joint conſent of Biſhops.

Anſw. 11. As for particular Synods, they do only ſignifie, that it was for neighbour Biſhops to conſpire in promoting Truth, Order and Peace, we have other-where ſhewed.

Subrependi enim occaſiones non prætermittit ambitio, & quoties ob incurrentes cauſas generalis congregatio factа fuerit Sacerdotum, difficile [illegible] ſupra menſuram ſuam non moliatur. Leo M. Ep. 62. (ad Maximum Ant. Ep. —)

Councils have often been convened for bad Deſigns, [illegible] been gines to oppreſs Truth and enſlave Chriſtendom.

That of *Antioch* againſt *Athanaſius:* of *Ariminum* [illegible] cond *Epheſine* to reſtore *Eutyches*, and reject *Flavianus*; to impoſe the Worſhip of Babies. The Synod of *Ar[illegible] Arians.* So the fourth Synod of *Laterane* (*ſub* Inn. [illegible] ous Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked [illegible] rity over Princes. The firſt Synod of *Lions*, to pra[illegible] Depoſing Kings. The Synod of *Conſtance*, to eſtabliſh [illegible] againſt the *Caliſtines* of *Bohemia.* The *Laterane* (un[illegible] the Arch-biſhop of *Patras* affir[illegible] *the Apoſtolical See.* The Synod [illegible] Errours and Superſtitions.

Pro Apoſtolicæ Sedis exaltatione. Lat. Syn. ſeſſ. 10. p. 129.

Obj. II. It may farther be objected, that this Doctrine doth favour the Conceits of the Independents, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

I anſwer, no. For,

1. We do aſſert, that every Church is bound to obſerve the Inſtitutions of *Chriſt*, and that ſort of Government which the Apoſtles did ordain, conſiſting of Biſhops, Prieſts and People.

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive Churches, and in order to the maintenance of Truth, Order, Peace,) for ſeveral particular Churches or Pariſhes to be combined in political Corporations; as ſhall be found convenient by thoſe who have juſt Authority to frame ſuch Corporations: for that otherwiſe Chriſtianity, being ſhattered into numberleſs ſhreds, could hardly ſubſiſt; and that great Confuſions muſt ariſe.

3. We affirm, that ſuch Bodies having been eſtabliſhed and being maintained by juſt Authority, every man is bound to endeavour the upholding of them by Obedience, by peaceable and compliant Demeanour.

4. We acknowledge it a great Crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needleſs ſeparation from them, to diſturb them, to divide them, to diſſolve or ſubvert them. Jud. 19. Οἱ ἀποδιοπείζοντες.

We allow the *Apoſt. Can.* 31. Εἴ τις καταφρονήσας τὸν ἴδιον Ἐπισκόπον χωρὶς συναγάγῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ μηδὲν κατηγορεῖν τὸν Ἐπισκόπον ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φιλάρχων, &c.

If any perſon, deſpiſing his own Biſhop, ſhall ſet up a ſeparate meeting, and build another Altar, having nothing to condemn in his Biſhop, either for his Piety or Uprightneſs, let him be depoſed as one that ambitiouſly affects to be a Governour, &c.

5. We conceive it fit that every People under one Prince (or at leaſt of one Nation, uſing the ſame Language, (Civil Law and Faſhions,) ſhould be united in the bands of Eccleſiaſtical Polity: for that ſuch a Unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of Church and State; to the furtherance of God's Worſhip and Service; to the edification of People in Charity and Piety; by the encouragement of ſecular Powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of Eccleſiaſtical Paſtours; by many advantages hence ariſing.

Δίκαιον ἦν ὅσοι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων χώρᾳ νόμοις διδασκάλοις τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοὺς φέρειν τοῖς νόμοις φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόροις διδασκαλίαις ἢ πίστιν μιαίνειν. *Syn.* Rom. *apud* Theod. 2. 22.

6. We ſuppoſe all Churches obliged to obſerve friendly communion; and, when occaſion doth invite, to aid each other by aſſiſtance and advice, in Synods of Biſhops, or otherwiſe,

7. We do affirm, that all Churches are obliged to comply with lawful Decrees and Orders, appointed in Synods with conſent of their Biſhops, and allowed by the Civil Authorities, under which they live: As if the Biſhops of *Spain* and *France* aſſembling ſhould agree upon Conſtitutions of Diſcipline which the Kings of both thoſe Countries ſhould approve; and which ſhould not thwart God's Laws; both thoſe Churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in obſervance of them.

From the Premiſſes divers Corollaries may be deduced.

Hence it appeareth, that all thoſe clamours of the pretended Catholicks [illegible] Churches, for not ſubmitting to the *Roman* Chair, are groundbending on the ſuppoſition, that all Churches muſt neceſſarily be [illegible]vernment.

[illegible] the Adherents to that See, in claiming an Empire (or [illegible]which never was deſigned by our Lord; heavily cenſu[illegible]cuting thoſe who will not acknowledge it.

[illegible]hich have a fair ſettlement in ſeveral Countries, are co[illegible]ne challenge a Juriſdiction over the other.

[illegible]hiſm is hence declared; *viz.* that it conſiſteth in di[illegible] Peace of any ſingle Church; in withdrawing from it [illegible]ce with it; in obſtructing good Correſpondence, [illegible] ſeveral Churches; in condemning or cenſuring other [illegible]ſe, or beyond due meaſure.

[illegible] Communion with other Churches without reaſonable [illegible] did challenge P. *Stephanus* with Schiſm. *Excidiſti enim teipſum, noli te fallere; ſi quicus qui ſe à communione Eccleſiaſticæ Unitatis Apoſtatam fecerit.* Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

5. Hence

5. Hence the right way of reconciling Dissensions among Christians, is not affecting to set up a political Union of several Churches, or subordination of all to one Power; not for one Church to enterprize upon the Liberty of others, or to bring others under it, (as is the practice of the *Roman* Church and its Abettors,) but for each Church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in Ecclesiastical Administrations; only declaring against apparently hurtful Errours and Factions; shewing Good-will, yielding Succour, Advice, Comfort, upon needful occasion; according to that excellent Advice of the *Constantinopolitane* Fathers to the Pope and *Western* Bishops--- (after having acquainted them with their proceedings) towards the conclusion they thus exhort them.

Οἷς ἐυδόσμως καὶ κανονικῶς περὶ ἡμῶν κεκοινωνήκασι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι συγχαίρειν προκαλοῦμεν· εὐλαβείαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης. καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πάντη ἐκ κατασείοντος (compressing) ἀνθρωπίνην προπάθειαν, ἵνα ἡ Ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴ πλείονος ποιῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς καθ' ἕνα συμπαθείας ἕνεκεν· ἵνα γὰρ τάχιστα ἡ πίστεως συμφωνία λόγῳ, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυριαρχούσης ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπης παυσόμεθα λέγοντες τὸ φῶς τὸ Ἀποστόλου καταχρωμένοι, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· πάντες δὲ Χριστοῦ φανέντες, ἐσόμεθα ἐν ἡμῖν ἀκίνητοι μεμένεικαι, ἀκριβὲς τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τηρήσομεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀδεοῦς παραστησόμεθα. Theod. 5. 9.

We, having in a legal and canonical way determined these Controversies, do beseech your Reverence *to congratulate with us, your Charity spiritually interceding, the fear of the Lord also compressing all humane affection, so as to make us to prefer the edification of the Churches to all private respect and favour toward each other; for by this means the word of faith being consonant among us, and Christian Charity bearing sway over us, we shall cease from speaking after that manner which the Apostle condemns,* I am of *Paul*, and I am of *Apollos*, but I am of *Cephas*; *for if we all do appear to be of* Christ, *who is not divided among st us, we shall then through God's grace preserve the body of the Church from Schism, and present our selves before the throne of* Christ *with boldness.*

6. All that withdraw their communion to obeysance from particular Churches fairly established, (unto which they do belong, or where they reside,) do incur the guilt of Schism: for such persons being *de Jure* subject to those particular Churches, and excommunicating themselves, do consequentially sever themselves from the Catholick Church; they commit great wrong toward that particular Church, and toward the whole Church of *Christ*.

Aug. *contra* Jul. *Ep.* 2. *Te certè occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis regeneravit Ecclesia: quid ei quæris inferre quod in ea non inveniſti, quando in ejus membra venisti? imò quid &c.*

7. Neither doth their pretence of joyning themselves to the *Roman* Church, excuse them from Schism: for the *Roman* Church hath no reason or right to admit or to avow them; it hath no power to exempt or excuse them from their duty; it thereby abetteth their Crime, and involveth it self therein; it wrongeth other Churches. As no man is freed from his Allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another Prince; neither can another Prince justly receive such disloyal Revolters into his Patronage.

Synod. Sard. *Can.* 13. Gr.

It is a Rule grounded upon apparent Equity, and frequently declared by Ecclesiastical Canons, that no Church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another Church, or who do withdraw themselves from it: (for self-excommunication or spiritual fel[on] doth involve the Churches Excommunication, deserving it, and preven[t]

Tornd. Lat. p. 220.

Αὐτοκαλδικεῖ Cod. Tit. 3. 11. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς, ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφορισμένος, μήτε ἀναλυθὼν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δέχθῃ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφορίζεσθαι καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος. *Apost. Can.* 12.

Κεκρίσθω γνώμῃ τε καὶ κανόνι τῷ διαγορεύοντι τοὺς ὑπ' ἑτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ σχεσιν [illegible]

If any Clerk, or Laick, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet readmitted (by his own Church) received in another City without Letters commendatory, both he who doth receive him, and he that communicated.

Let the sentence be ratified, which is according to that Canon which commands others not to ejected.

Which Canon, as the *African* Fathers do alledge a[gainst] exp[ress] bit the *Pope himself* from receiving persons rejected by any

Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεκκοινωνήτους εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν λοιπῶν θέλειν δέχεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ δεδόκται ἐν ἐσχάταις [illegible] *Epist. ad* P. Celest. 1.

Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων Ἐπισκόπων ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δέχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων Ἐπισκόπων —— Can. Ant. Can. 6. *Idem in Concil.* Sard. 13, 14. (Græc.)

So when *Marcion*, having been excommunicated [by] ing to *Rome*, did sue to be received by that Churc[h] refused, telling him that, *they could not do it witho[ut]* *rend Father, between whom and them there being on*

Ἔλεγε, τί μὴ ἐδεήθης με ἀποδέξαι;

mind, they could not do it in opposition to their worthy fellow-labourer, who was also his Father.

ὁπ τερπῆς τὸ τιμᾶν πλέον τὸ ὄντι πεποίηκε. μία γὰρ ἔστι πίστις ἡ μία ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἓν ἀνάθημα ἐκκλησιάζεσθαι τοῦ ἑνὸς ἔργου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄντες. Epiph. Hær. 42.

St. *Cyprian* refuſed to admit *Maximus* (ſent from the *Novatian* party) to communion. Ep. 55. p. 112

So did P. *Cornelius* reject *Felicissimus*, condemned by St. *Cyprian*, without farther inquiry. Ep. 55. init. (als 52 rectius. Vid.) Rig. p. 79.

It was charged upon *Dioscorus* as a heinous miſdemeanour, that *he had againſt the Holy Canons, by his proper authority, received into communion perſons excommunicated by others.* — quasdam diversis Canonibus vel damnatas, in communionem proprià auctoritate, susceperit. Sanctis Regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem aliorum non debere suscipere. Epist. Synod. Chalced. ad Imper. Act. 4. pag. 286.

——καθαιρεθέντας ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπὸ ἰδίων ἐπισκόπων ἀναπολογήτως εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο. Evagr. l. 4.

The *African* Synod (at the ſuggeſtion of St. *Auſtin*) decreed, that *if it happen'd that any for their evil deeds were deſervedly expell'd out of the Church, and taken again into communion by any Biſhop or Prieſt whoſoever, that he alſo who received him, ſhould incur the ſame penalty of Excommunication.* Augustinus Episcopus legatus Primatis Numidiæ dixit; Hoc statuere dignaremur, ut qui forte meritis facinorum suorum ab Ecclesiâ pulsi sunt, & sive ab aliquo Episcopo vel Presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pariter cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius —— Cod. Afr. Can. 9.

The ſame is by latter Papal Synods decreed. Sanctorum quis pro canonum

sanxit auctoritas, & ea passim Ecclesiæ consuetudo servat, ut à quolibet justè excommunicatum Episcopo, alius absolvere non præsumat. P. Urb. I. Epist. 10. (apud Bin.)

A suis Episcopis excommunicatus, ab aliis Episcopis, Abbatibus & Clericis in communionem retrò priùs habitis prohibemus. Conc. Lat. I. (sub P. Calixto II.) cap. 9.

—— Qui vero excommunicato, antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicavit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ timeatur obnoxius. Conc. Lat. (sub Innoc. II.) Can. 2

The Words of *Syneſius* are remarkable: He, having excommunicated ſome cruel Oppreſſors, doth thus recommend the caſe to all Chriſtians. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Πτολεμαΐ-

σια τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἀπειλεχθέντας γράφεται δόγματα διατάττω.—— Εἰ δέ τις ὧν μυσττικὸν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν τιμᾷ Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀποστρέφεται αὐτὸν (proſcribed by it) ὡς δι' ἀτιμίαν τὴν τούτου πεπόνθως, ἴσθι χήρας ἢ ἐκκλησίας, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀμφοῖν βλάπτων.—— Epist. 58. p. 203. Edit. Petav.

Upon which grounds I do not ſcruple to affirm the Recuſants in *England* to be no leſs Schiſmaticks than any other Separatiſts. They are indeed ſomewhat worſe; for moſt others do only forbear communion, theſe do rudely condemn the Church, to which they owe Obedience, yea, ſtrive to deſtroy it: they are moſt deſperate Rebels againſt it. P. 120 Ep. 9. cap. 9.

Court; claiming [illegible] Churches to diſclaim the Pretences of the Compliance they [illegible] Rights againſt its Uſurpation ing them [illegible] Truth and Piety: thoſe open [illegible] covetous and voluptuous [illegible] Chriſtians, [illegible] Unity of the Church & Peace. [illegible] Vanity Chains (as ſlaves) be ſecured nity or Peace.

Yet thoſe Churches, [illegible] command of Princes, do adhere in Confeſſion to the [illegible] we are [illegible], merely on that ſcore, to condemn, or reject [illegible] Communion & Peace in that they do not uſe their Liberty.

But if ſuch Churches [illegible] Practices; if they do reject Communion [illegible] upon [illegible] if they [illegible] they are [illegible] len, [illegible] by all means to ſubdue and enſlave [illegible] urches to [illegible] will of theſe [illegible] if they [illegible] ue all [illegible] refuſe to be [illegible] ſubjects [illegible] ſuch Churches as [illegible] ſchiſmatical [illegible] aritable and unjuſt [illegible] have proceed [illegible] Cor. I. 8. 7.

A TABLE of the AUTHORS quoted in the Treatise of the *Pope's Supremacy*, and *Unity of the Church*.

A

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Bodin. de Rep.
Bolle Variorum P. &c.

C

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Carol. Magn.
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Cenſ.
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S. *Cyprianus.*
Idem in *Epiſt.*
in *Act.*
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in 1 *Cor.*
Clem.
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Florent.
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Conc. ſub *Men.*
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in Conc. *Carth.*
Ep.
S. *Cyril.*

D

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E

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Evag.
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F

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G

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H

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L

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M

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N

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R

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S

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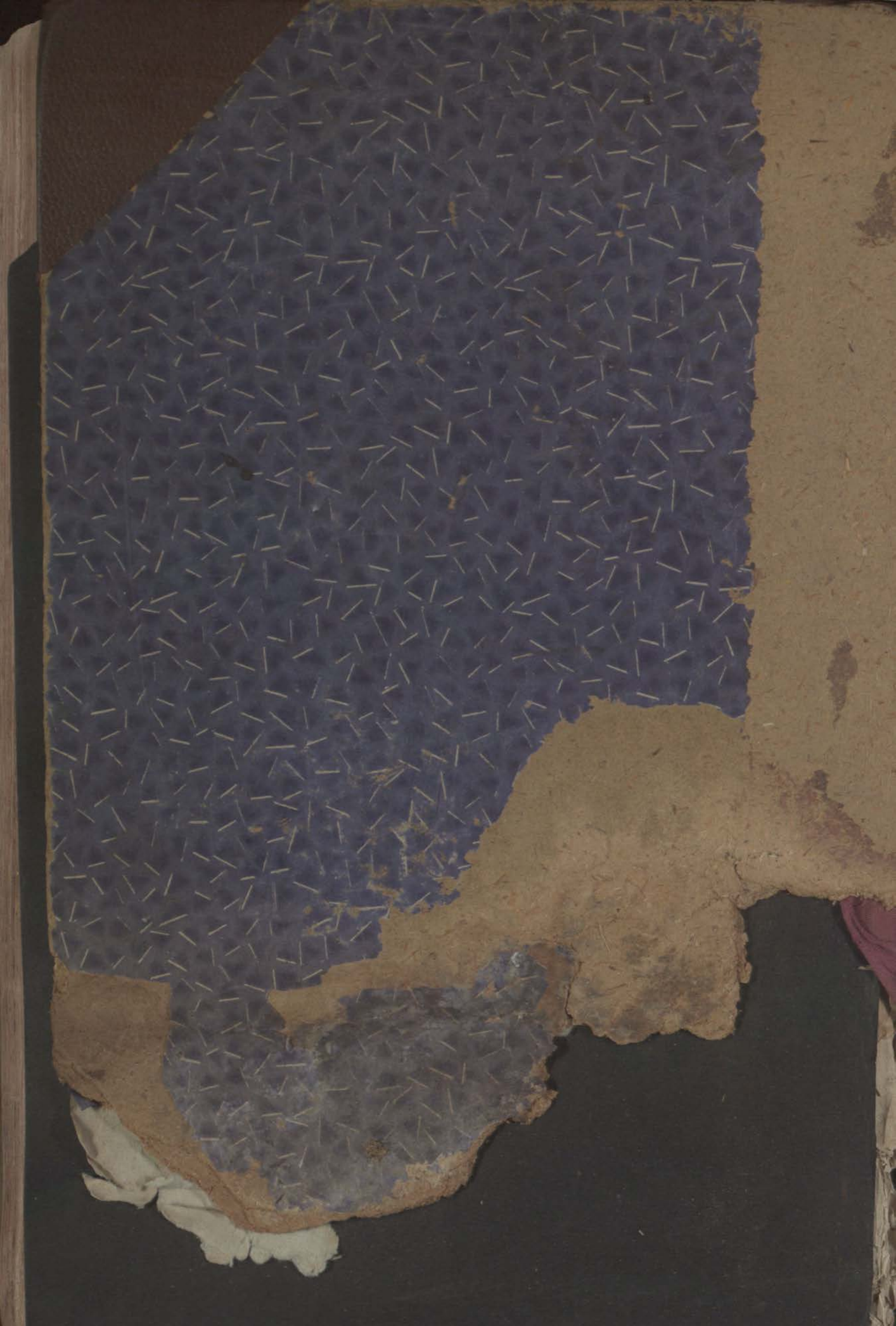
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